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CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER.

M.DCCC.LXVI

CATHAY

AND THE WAY THITHER;

BEING A COLLECTION OF

MEDIEVAL NOTICES OF CHINA,

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

COLONEL HENRY YULE, C.B.,

LATE OF THE ROYAL ENGINEERS (BENGAL).

1805

WITH A

60714

PRELIMINARY ESSAY

ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE ROUTE.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
St. XAVIER'S COLLEGE
BOMBAY

VOL. I.

1866

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M.DCCC.LXVI.

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"Sed si aliqua scribimus propter noticiam legentium quæ in partibus vestris nesciuntur, non debetis propter hoc nos appellare mendaces, qui vobis referimus illa quæ ipsi vidimus vel ab aliis pro certo audivimus quos esse credimus fide dignos. Imo est valde crudele ut homo propter bonum quod facit ab aliis infametur."—*Joannis de Plano Carpini Prologus.*

——"Such also is the case with Geography. For the experience of ages confesses that many of the outlying tracts of the earth remain excluded from the bounds of accurate knowledge, owing to the difficulty of penetrating regions of such vast extent; whilst some countries are very different from the descriptions that have been given of them on the faith of travellers' tales too uncritically accepted, and others, through the partial operation of revolutions and catastrophes, are no longer what they used to be. Hence it is needful, as a general rule, to abide by the most recent accounts that we possess, keeping an eye, however, all the while, upon the statements of older authors, and on what can be critically educed from their narratives, so as to form some judgment as to what is worthy of credit and what is not."—*The Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, i, 5.

"Wherefore the task we have undertaken is a double one: first, to preserve the opinions of our author in their integrity, so far as they call for no correction; secondly, where he has failed in making things clear, to set forth the correct view to the best of our ability from the narratives that are accessible to us, and from the data afforded by more accurate maps."—*Id.*, i, 19.

"VELLERAQUE VT FOLIIS DEPECTVNT TENVIA SERES
In Uergyl: Soe from Folioes of olde Trabells
Ye Scrybe his slender China Yarnes unrabells
And rudelie weboth them with Notes and Queries."

ANON.

00060714

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DEDICATION AND PREFACE.

TO

SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON, BART., K.C.B.,

ETC. ETC. ETC.

PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

DEAR SIR RODERICK,

I am happy to be allowed to inscribe to you, from whom I have experienced no little kindness, this book, which endeavours to throw some light on the medieval geography of Asia. The subject, at least, needs no apology to one who is the honoured President of the Geographical as well as of the Hakluyt Society; for he has the best right of any man to say, "*nihil geographicum a me alienum puto.*"

The work was originally designed to embrace only the story of Friar Odoric, and perhaps of one more traveller; but seeing how much light the various fragments of minor medieval writers concerning China threw upon one another and upon Marco Polo, and how little known several of them were to English readers, it seemed desirable to gather all into one collection, edited as thoroughly as my capacities admitted. I never ventured to think of introducing Marco himself into the group. There is room enough, probably,

for a new English edition of that prince of medieval travellers; but he claims an orbit for himself, and has no place among these asteroids. What is aimed at in these volumes is a work that shall bear some such relation to Polo as the collections of the lesser Greek geographers bear to Ptolemy.

When this task was entered on, I was more within reach of necessary aids than circumstances known to you have of late permitted, or it would scarcely have been attempted. All the reading accessible to me has, indeed, been directed to the illustration of my authors; but Palermo is not London or Paris; and the absence of some capital authority has often stopped me short in the investigation of a difficulty, just as a traveller, in projecting a complex journey, is stopped short by a black bar in the columns of his railway-guide.

I am painfully sensible also, that, in regard to many subjects dealt with in the following pages, nothing can make up for the want of genuine oriental learning. A fair familiarity with Hindustani for many years, and some reminiscences of elementary Persian, have been useful in their degree; but it is probable that they may sometimes also have led me astray, as such slender lights are apt to do.

Of the authors dealt with, Odoric, Ibn Batuta, and Goës, are already more or less accessible to English readers; the first from old Hakluyt's version, the second from Lee's translation of an Arabic abridgment, and the third from the narrative in Astley's collection.

Since the last work was published, however, a hun-

dred and twenty years have past, and our knowledge of the regions traversed by the gallant Jesuit, though still exhibiting considerable gaps, has been greatly extended; whilst the other two travellers have never, so far as I know, been systematically edited; *i.e.*, with some endeavour to accompany their narratives with a commentary which should aim at identifying the places visited by them, and at the elucidation or condemnation of their statements.

In regard to Ibn Batuta, "mine Arabike," as John Bunyan says of his Latin, "I borrowe"; not, however, from Lee, but from the unabridged travels as rendered into French by MM. Defrémery and Sanguinetti. Though the version is thus borrowed, the commentary is not; and it is certainly my belief that by it some new light is thrown on this curious traveller.

Of the other authors here laid under contribution the vain and garrulous but truthful John de' Marignolli is the most conspicuous. He has been incidentally cited by Sir Emerson Tennent, whom little escapes; but otherwise he is, I believe, almost unknown in England.

Each of the authors, however, will present his credentials in the proper place, before telling his story; and it is not needful to say more here regarding them individually.

For repetitions occurring in the text, I need not apologise; they are inevitable in what is a collection, not a selection. But it is to be feared that repetitions occur also sometimes in the notes, and for these I beg

indulgence. In addition to my great distance from the printer, circumstances rendered it necessary to send the first sheets to the press many months before the later sections were ready; and thus it has been impossible to give the whole work a consistent revision.

Several kind friends have taken trouble in making references for me, or in answering questions bearing on the work. I beg all to accept my warm thanks; but I will only name here Mr. Major and Mr. Markham, who have also in turn been good enough to see the revised proofs through the press.

I trust that my own labour, which has been considerable, may not have been in vain. I have tried to present pretty fully one special aspect of a great subject which in all ages has had a peculiar fascination. We can see that the ancients felt something of this charm attaching to the dim legends which reached them across the length of Asia about the SERES dwelling in secluded peace and plenty on the shores of the Eastern Ocean. The vast multiplication of manuscripts and translations of Polo and Odoric, and of Odoric's plunderer Mandeville, shows how medieval Christendom experienced the same attraction in the tales which those travellers related of the vast population, riches, arts, and orderly civilisation of CATHAY. The charm rekindled when the Portuguese discoveries revealed CHINA, and many marvelled with an eccentric Jesuit why God had bestowed such bounties on a hive of pagans;[1] a charm which nearly three centuries of

[1] "Cur Deus tot bonis infidelem sibi Chinam beaverit?" *Kircher, China Illustrata*, p. 165.

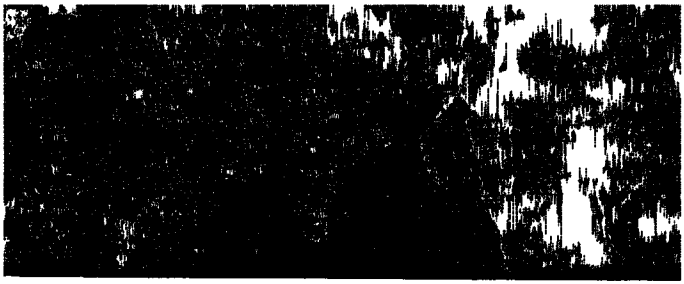
partial knowledge scarcely quenched. Familiarity of late years has had something of its proverbial result; and closer examination of a civilisation in decay has discerned how much rottenness now exists at the core of the vast and fantastic structure.

When we see communities that have long passed the zenith of their civilisation and genius going down simultaneously in population and in moral power, there seems little of mystery in their future. But in regarding a country like China, in which moral and intellectual decay and disorganisation have been accompanied by an increase of population so vast as to amount to nearly a third of the world's inhabitants, the field of speculation as to its destiny is dark indeed. Though under forms sometimes doubtless most imperfect, the influences of Christianity, the Divine Regenerator of the nations, have entered China on at least three several occasions. Twice they appear to have been choked and extinguished; on another occasion we have seen them perverted to the purposes of a vast imposture. The future is with God. Of the clouds that are gathering round the world's horizon China has its share. The empire which has a history coeval with the oldest of Chaldæa seems to be breaking up. It has often broken up before and been reconsolidated; it has often been conquered, and has either thrown off the yoke or absorbed its conquerors. But *they* derived what civilisation they possessed from the land which they invaded. The internal combustions that are now heaving the soil come in contact with

new and alien elements of Western origin. Who can guess what shall come of that chemistry?

I am,
Dear Sir Roderick,
Yours with much regard,
H. YULE.

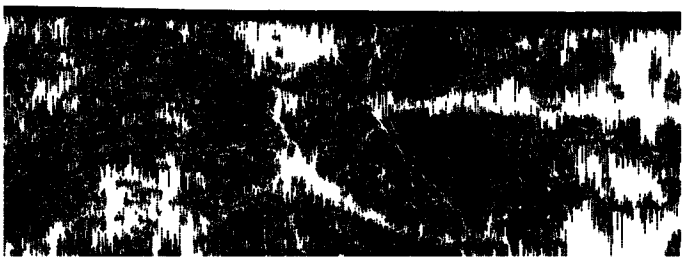
Palermo, July 23rd, 1866.



Additional Erratum.

The quotation at p. 246, note 1, is misprinted. It should run

"Con più color sommesse e soprapposte
Non fêr mai in drappo Tartari nè Turchi,
Nè fur tai tele per Aracne imposte;"



ERRATA

Minor and Typographical. (*For more material corrections, see* p. ccxl *seqq.*)

Passim; for *Remusat, Assemanni, Masudi, Sir H. Elliott,* read *Rémusat, Assemani, Mas'údí, Elliot.*

P. xxxiii, fifth line of motto, for *été,* read *étée.*

P. xlvi, line 13, after *relate,* insert *as.*

P. xlix, § 23, line 2, for *Tzintiza,* read *Tzinitza.*

P. lviii, line 8, for *account,* read *accounts.*

P. lx, near middle, for *Petzigaudius,* read *Petzigaudias.*

P. lxxii, § 49, line 8, for *Fathian,* read *Fahian.*

P. lxxv, last line, for *Jahanghir,* read *Shah Jahan.*

P. lxxvii, line 2, for (*Dwara*)=*Samundra,* read (*Dwara*) *Samundra.*

P. cix, line 13-14, for *This work,* read *His work.*

P. clxxx, Note 1, twice, for *Epthalites,* read *Ephthalites.*

P. clxxxiv is paginated as clxxxvi.

P. ccxxxix, near bottom, *Karmisin.* Kirmesin was a city from whose ruins arose Kermanshah (see *Rawlinson* in J. R. G. S., ix, 42).

P. 14, line 7, for *Beato,* read *Beata.*

P. 49, near bottom, for *Desguignes,* read *Deguignes.*

P. 114, last line, and p. 115, note 3, read *Masálak-al-Absár.*

P. 139, third last line, for *Martin,* read *Martini.*

P. 206, 4th parag. from below, for *Theophylactes,* read *Theophylactus.*

P. 217, 8th line from below, for *latter,* read *former.*

P. 218, in the third Persian word the vowel-mark has been reversed.

P. 227, note, line 3, dele *five.*

P. 240, note, for *malestouttes,* read *—toultes.*

P. 304, second last line, *Burns,* read *Burnes.*

P. 326, In quotation at bottom, for *bulza,* read *balza.*

P. 335, last note, for Benedict *XI,* read *X.*

P. 359, middle of page, for *end of fourth,* read *beginning of fifth.*

P. 377, 4th line from end of first parag. of note, for *Baldi,* read *Balbi.*

P. 400, second paragraph, for *Kishm,* read *Kísh.*

P. 448, paragraph *o,* fourth line, for *Polonius,* read *Polonus.*

P. 453, third paragraph from below, in *preceding note A,* dele *A.*

P. 457, eight lines from bottom of text, for *ul,* read *al.*

P. 468 and 470, for *Dhahir,* read *Zahir.*

P. 494 and 495, for *Ul Bushri,* read *Al-Bushri.*

P. 476, third line from below, for *Vas,* read *Vasa.*

P. 517, third line of fourth paragraph, put a comma after *Silhet.*

P. 519, line 22, for *application,* read *appellation.*

P. 526, note 1, for *Haidar Razi,* read *Mahomet Haidar.*

P. 549, title, after "*Chapters XI, XII, XIII,*" insert *of Book V.*

P. 564, for *Trigantius,* read *Trigautius.*

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PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

NOTES ON THE INTERCOURSE OF CHINA AND THE WESTERN NATIONS PREVIOUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF THE SEA-ROUTE BY THE CAPE.

"On se formeroit des notions peu exactes sur la Chine, et l'on n'auroit qu'une idée imparfaite des avantages qu'on peut obtenir en étudiant l'histoire de ce pays, si l'on se representoit un empire isolé, pour ainsi dire, à l'extrémité de l'Asie, séparé du reste du monde, dont l'entrée auroit toujours été interdite aux étrangers, et dont les relations au dehors se seroient bornées à quelques communications passagères avec les peuples les plus voisins de ses frontières."—*Abel Remusat.*

I. EARLIEST TRACES OF INTERCOURSE. GREEK AND ROMAN KNOWLEDGE OF CHINA.

1. THAT spacious seat of ancient civilisation which we call CHINA has loomed always so large to western eyes, and has, in spite of its distance, subtended so great an angle of vision, that, at eras far apart, we find it to have been distinguished by different appellations according as it was regarded as the terminus of a southern sea-route coasting the great peninsulas and islands of Asia, or as that of a northern land route traversing the longitude of that continent.

In the former aspect the name applied has nearly always been some form of the name SIN, CHIN, SINÆ, CHINA. In the latter point of view the region in question was known to the ancients as the land of the SERES; to the middle ages as the empire of CATHAY.

2. The name of Chin has been supposed, like many another word and name connected with the trade and geography of the far east, to have come to us through the Malays, and to have been applied by them to the great eastern monarchy from the

style of the dynasty of THSIN, which a little more than two centuries before our era enjoyed a brief but very vigorous existence, uniting all the Chinese provinces under its authority, and extending its conquests far beyond those limits to the south and the west.

There are reasons however for believing that the name of CHINA must have been bestowed at a much earlier date, for it occurs in the laws of Manu, which assert the *Chinas* to have been degenerate Kshatriyas, and in the Mahabharat, compositions many centuries older than the imperial dynasty of Thsin.[1] The indications of the geographical position of the nation so called are indeed far from precise, but in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary it seems reasonable to believe that the name *China* meant to the Hindus then what it means still; whilst there is also in a part of the astronomical systems of the two nations the strongest implication of very ancient communication between them, so ancient as to have been forgotten even in the far-reaching annals of China.[2]

Whether the Chinese were known at all to the Hindus in remote antiquity, and whether they were known by the name of Chinese, are of course two different questions. But if it be established that they must have known one another, the probability becomes strong that the name China in the writings of the one people indicated the other. And this name may have yet possibly been connected with the Thsin, or some monarchy of like dynastic title; for that dynasty had reigned locally in Shensi from the ninth century before our era; and when, at a still earlier date, the empire was partitioned into many small kingdoms, we find among them the dynasties of the *Tçin* and the *Ching*.[3]

[1] *Lassen*, i, 857-8; *Pauthier*, M. Polo, p. 550. The latter author says: "I shall take another occasion to establish that the statement in the Laws of Manu is partially true, and that people from India passed into Shensi, the westernmost province of China, more than one thousand years before our era, and at that time formed a state named *Thsin*, the same word as China." It is remarkable that, as the same scholar notices, the name of *China* is used in the Japanese maps (*Ib.*, 449).

[2] See *Lassen*, i, 742 *seqq.*

[3] The Tçin reigning at Fungcheu in Shansi, endured from B.C. 1107 to 677 and longer under other titles; the Ching, in Honan, from B.C. 1122 to B.C. 477, (See *Deguignes*, i, 88, 102, 105; also *Lassen*, i, 857; *St. Martin, Mem. sur l'Arménie*, ii, 51).

3. Other indications of ancient communication are found in the annals and traditions both of the Chinese and of western nations. Thus in the reign of Taiwú (B.C. 1634) ambassadors accompanied by interpreters, and belonging to 76 distinct kingdoms, are reported to have arrived from remote regions at the court of China.[1]

At a far earlier period, under the reign of Hoangti, the first historical emperor (B.C. 2698) the Chinese historians allege that the inventors of sundry arts and sciences arrived from the western kingdoms in the neighbourhood of the Kuenlung mountains.[2] In the time of Yao (B.C. 2353) there came the envoys of a race called Yué-shangshi, arriving from the south, and presented to the emperor "a divine tortoise, one thousand years old," having on its back inscriptions in strange charactors resembling *tadpoles*, in which was related the history of the world from its beginning. Yao caused these to be transcribed, and they were known thereafter as the *Annals of the Tortoise*. The same nation sent a new embassy to China in B.C. 1110. As *Yue-shang-shi* signifies "a people with long training robes" (like those of the Assyrian monuments), and as the tadpole form ascribed to the characters is suggestive of the cuneiform writing; as the commentators likewise say that the country of these people was reached in a year, after passing by Funan and Lini (or the modern Siam), Pauthier has conjectured that the envoys came from Chaldæa.[3]

4. Absolute tradition in countries west of India however is found of an exceedingly early communication with China, and this is singularly confirmed by the annals of the latter country. Thus the legendary history of the Persians relates that their ancient king, the famous Jamshid, had two daughters by a daughter of Máhang king of Máchin (or Great China). It has been suggested that his name indicates *Múwang*, of the Cheu dynasty, who reigned from B.C. 1001 to 946, dying in the latter year in the 104th year of his age, and who is related in the Chinese annals to have made

[1] *Chine Ancienne*, p. 76. [2] *Ch. Anc.*, p. 29.

[3] *H. des Relations Politiques de la Chine*, etc., pp. 5-7. If I remember rightly, some of the Chaldean inscriptions mentioned in Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies* are considered to go back to B.C. 2000 or earlier, but I have not the book to refer to.

in the year 985 a journey into the remote countries of the west, and to have brought back with him skilled artizans and various natural curiosities.[1]

Indeed China is often mentioned in the ancient legends of Persia, but as these seem to be chiefly known through the poetry of Ferdusi, probably little stress can be laid upon such allusions. Thus however Jamshid is pursued through India and China by the agents of Zohak; Feridun bestows upon his second son, Fur, Tartary and part of China; Siawush, the son of Kaikobad, marrying the daughter of Afrasiab, receives in dowry China and Khotan; Kaikhusru (Cyrus) is sent in his youth by Afrasiab beyond the sea of China, and Jiv seeks him all through that country amid wonderful adventures; in the wars of Kaikhusru and Rustum with Afrasiab Rustum captures the Emperor of China on his white elephant; Lohrasp, the successor of Kaikhusru, exacts homage from the sovereigns of Tartary and China; Gushtasp (Darius Hystaspes) makes war on Arjash, King of China, pursues him to his capital and slays him there.[2]

5. Under the third year of Chingwang (B.C. 1113) there is a curious and obscure tradition of the arrival at the court of men from the kingdom of *Nili*, who had come by sea, and in whom Pauthier again suggests that we have visitors from the banks of the Nile.[3] This notion might have derived some corroboration from the Chinese porcelain phials alleged to have been found in Egyptian tombs as old as the eighteenth dynasty; but I understand that Dr. Birch has demolished their claims to antiquity.

6. Some at least of the circumstances which have been collected in the preceding paragraphs may render it the less improbable that the SINIM of the Prophet Isaiah, a name used, as the context shows, to indicate some nation of the extreme east or south, should be truly interpreted as indicating the Chinese.[4]

7. The name of China in this form was late in reaching the

[1] *Ib.*, pp. 14-15, and *Chine Ancienne*, p. 94 *seqq.*

[2] *Malcolm's H. of Persia.* I am obliged to quote from the French Trans., i, 26-89.

[3] *Chine Ancienne*, p. 85.

[4] "Behold these shall come from far; and lo these from the north and from the west; and these from the land of SINIM" (xlix, ver. 12). See article *Sinim*, in *Smith's Dict. of the Bible.*

Greeks and Romans, and to them it probably came through people of Arabian speech, as the Arabs, being without the sound of *ch*, made the *China* of the Hindus and Malays into *Sín*, and perhaps sometimes into *Thín*. Hence the *Thín* of the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, who appears to be the first extant author to employ the name in this form;[1] hence also the Sinæ and Thinæ of Ptolemy, who doubtless derived them from his predecessor Marinus of Tyre, the loss of whose work, with the details into which it seems to have entered to a much greater extent than Ptolemy's, is so much to be regretted.[2]

8. Since the reaction from the sentiment of those days succeeding the revival of literature which ascribed all knowledge to the Greeks, it has often been doubted and denied that the Sinæ of Ptolemy indeed represented the Chinese. But compare the statement of Marcianus of Heraclea (who is in this as in most other parts of his work, merely condensing and popularising the results of Ptolemy's definitions), when he tells us that the "nations of the *Sinæ* lie at the extremity of the habitable world, and adjoin the eastern Terra Incognita," with that of Cosmas a century or two later in speaking of *Tzinista*, a name which no one has

[1] That is if Müller's view be right in ascribing the work to the first century.

[2] Though the latest scholars have abandoned that reading of Strabo which ascribed the use of the name *Thinæ* to Eratosthenes (the passages which speak of the parallel passing through *Thinæ*—δια Θινῶν—being shown to read correctly δι' Αθηνῶν; see Müller's Edition, p. 945 and the various passages referred to there); it is rather singular that the name should not have been known before the end of the first century, supposing such to be the fact. For Shi-Hoangti the great Emperor of the Thsin is said to have sent an army of three hundred thousand men into Tartary, whist Ptolemy Euergetes about the same time carried his conquests to Bactria. The expedition of the latter may probably, however, have preceded that of the Chinese prince. Ptolemy reigned B.C. 247—222, Shihoangti from 246 as king of Thsin, but only from 221 as sovereign of the whole empire. M. Reinaud, in his *Relations Politiques et Commerciales de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale*, a book which contains some ingenious suggestions and useful references to which I am indebted, but which is in the main an example of building pyramids on the apex, says that Ptolemy used the term Sinæ "*pour se donner un air d'érudition*;" but why he should say so it is hard to perceive, even if it be an error to date the Periplus before Ptolemy.

questioned to indicate China, that "beyond this there is neither habitation nor navigation." Who can doubt that the same region is meant by these two authors? The fundamental error of Ptolemy's Indian geography, I mean his notion that the Indian Sea was entirely encompassed by the land, rendered it *impossible* that he should do other than misplace the Chinese coast, and thus no doubt it is easy to perplex the question to any extent over his latitudes and longitudes. But considering that the name in the same shape has come down among the Arabs as applied to the Chinese from time immemorial; considering that in the works of Ptolemy and his successors whatever else may be said about the name it certainly represented the furthest east of which they had any cognisance; and considering how inaccurate are Ptolemy's configurations and longitudes in a region so much further within his horizon as the peninsula of Hither India, to say nothing of the Mediterranean, it seems almost as reasonable to deny that Ptolemy's India contained Hindus as to deny that his Sinæ were Chinese.

9. As far as I can collect, the names Sinæ or Thinæ are mentioned by only two ancient authors besides Ptolemy, viz., by the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, who, as we have already mentioned, uses the term Θῖν, keeping still closer to the original form, and by Marcianus, whom we have just quoted. Whilst Ptolemy assigns to the nation in question a position so far to the south,[1] the author of the Periplus places them beyond Transgangetic India indeed, but far to the *north*, under the very Ursa Minor, and touching on the frontiers of the further regions of Pontus and the Caspian.[2]

10. Marcianus is lauded by Lassen for his superior knowledge of South Eastern Asia, but it is by no means clear that the praise is well deserved.[3] His statements with regard to that quarter of

[1] The Metropolis Thinæ is placed by him in long. 180°, lat. 3° *south*.

[2] The passage of the Periplus regarding Thin and Thinæ, and those of Ptolemy regarding Sinæ and Serice, will be found in Supplementary Notes I and II at the end of this essay.

[3] See Lassen, iii, 287 *seqq.*, and especially 290. Müller treats the pretensions of Marcianus in a very different fashion, and with more justice. (See his *Prolegomena to Geog. Græci Minores*, pp. cxxix *seqq.*)

the earth appear to be merely an abstract and popularisation of those of Ptolemy, of whom he speaks as the most godlike and wisest of men. He brings out in his compacter statements still more distinctly the erroneous notion that the Indian Sea was an enclosed basin terminating beyond the Gulf of the Sinæ. Here the Terra Incognita that lay east of the Sinæ, and the Terra Incognita that ran south of the Indian Sea in prolongation of Ethiopia, met and formed an angle. But the Sinæ themselves were the remotest denizens of the habitable world. Above them to the north and north-west lay the Seres and their metropolis; all east of these two nations was unknown land full of reedy and impenetrable swamps.[1]

11. If we now turn to the SERES we find this name mentioned by classic authors much more frequently and at an earlier date by at least a century.[2] The name indeed is familiar enough to the Latin poets of the Augustan age, but always in a vague way, and usually with a general reference to Central Asia and the farther east.[3] We find, however, that the first endeavours to assign

[1] All this is merely abstracted from Ptolemy. See the passages of the latter in Note II.

[2] There are two mentions of the Seres which *may* be much earlier. One is in a passage ascribed to Ctesias, which speaks of the Seres as people of portentous stature and longevity. The passage, however, is found in only one MS. (of the Bibliotheca of Photius), and is attended by other circumstances which cause doubt whether it is really from Ctesias (see Muller's *Ctesias*, p. 86 *seq.*, and his *Geog. Gr. Minores*, ii, 152). The other mention is found in a passage, or rather two passages, of Strabo. These also allude only to the longevity of the Seres, said to exceed two hundred years, and Strabo at the time seems to be quoting from Onesicritus (*Müller's Strabo*, xv, i, 34 and 37). The date of Ctesias is about B.C. 400; Onesicritus was an officer of Alexander's (d. B.C. 328). *Smith's Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Geography*, article *Serica*, would lead one by its expressions to suppose that Aristotle had spoken of that country, which of course he does not. The reference is to that passage where he speaks of βομβύκια being wound off from a certain insect in the Island of Cos. See the passage quoted in Note IV at the end.

[3] Seneca is still more indefinite, and will not commit himself to *any* view of their locality:

> "Et *quocumque loco* jacent
> Seres vellere nobiles" (*Thyestes*, 379);

whilst Lucan *does* commit himself to the view that they were somewhere at the back of Ethiopia. For, apostrophising the Nile, he says:

"Teque vident primi, quærunt tamen hi quoque, Seres" (x, 289).

more accurately the position of this people, which are those of Mela and Pliny, gravitate distinctly towards China in its northern aspect as the true idea involved. Thus Mela says that the remotest east of Asia is occupied by the three races, the Indians, the Seres, and the Scythians, of whom the Indians and the Scythians occupy the southern and northern extremities, the Seres the middle. Just as in a general way we might say still that the extreme east of Asia is occupied by the Indies, China, and Tartary, the three modern expressions which answer with tolerable accuracy to the India, land of Seres, and Scythia of the ancients.[1]

12. Ptolemy first uses the names of SERA and SERICE, the former for the chief city, the latter for the country of the Seres, and attempts to define their position with a precision beyond what his knowledge justified, but which was the necessary result of the system of his work. Yet even his definition of Serice is quite consistent with the view that it indicated the Chinese Empire in its northern aspect, for he carries it eastward to the 180° of longitude, which is also according to his calculations, in a lower latitude, the eastern boundary of the Sinæ. In one especial point he is inferior in the justness of his views to his predecessors, for whilst Mela and Pliny both recognise the position of the Seres upon the Eastern Ocean which terminates Asia, no such ocean is recognised by Ptolemy (so far as I can discover) in any part of his work. The Ravenna Geographer denounces as an impious error the idea that there is in the extreme east an ocean passing from south to north.

13. Ammianus Marcellinus devotes some paragraphs to a description of the Seres and their country. It is no more than a conversion of the dry statements of Ptolemy into fine writing, with the addition of some more or less fabulous particulars about their mode of growing silk and carrying on commerce, which are similar to those given by Pliny. One passage indeed of the geographical description of Ammianus is startling at first sight in its seeming allusion to the Great Wall; and in this sense it has been understood by Lassen, and apparently also by Reinaud.[2]

[1] See Extracts from Mela and Pliny in Notes III and IV.

[2] See *Lassen*, ii, 536, and Reinaud's translation of the passage in *Rel. Pol.*

But a comparison of the passage with Ptolemy's chapter on Serice from which it is derived will show, I think, convincingly that he is speaking merely of an encircling rampart of lofty mountains within which the spacious and happy valley of the Seres is conceived to lie.

14. If, however, we try to fuse into one general description the ancient notices of the Seres and their country, omitting anomalous and manifestly fabulous statements, the result will be something like the following:[1] "The region of the Seres is a vast and populous country, touching on the east the Ocean and the limits of the habitable world, and extending west nearly to Imaus and the confines of Bactria. The people are civilised men, of mild just and frugal temper, eschewing collisions with their neighbours, and even shy of close intercourse, but not averse to dispose of their own products, of which raw silk is the staple, but which include also silk stuffs, furs, and iron of remarkable quality."

Now the Chinese Empire had during the century before our era, and again about a century after that date, just the extension which such a description would imply,[2] whilst the other characteristics all have a distinct basis in the character of the nation. Their reputation for integrity and justice, in spite of much that might be said against it, must have had some solid foundation,

et Commerc. de l'Empire Romain, etc., p. 192. The original words run: "Ultra hæc utriusque Scythiæ loca contra orientalem plagam in orbis specie consertæ celsorum aggerum summitates ambiunt Seres ubertate regionum et amplitudine circumspectos." The whole of the passage from Ammianus will be found translated in Note VI. In a previous page he speaks of Serica as a province of Persia!

[1] It must be acknowledged, however, that apart from the exceptional statement of Pausanias (see § 17) the serious notices of the Seres reduce themselves to two, viz., that given by Pliny and that given by Ptolemy. For it will easily be seen by comparing the extracts in the notes, (1) that the notices of Mela and Pliny are either the one copied from the other, or both copied from a common source, and (2), that, as has been already observed, the statements of Ammianus are copied from Ptolemy and Pliny.

[2] Strabo, in the only passage in which he seems to speak *proprio motu* of the Seres, says of the kings of Bactria that "they extended their rule to the frontier of the Seres and the Phryni" (*Muller's Strabo*, book xi, p. 1016).

for it has prevailed to our own day among their neighbours in parts of Asia most remote from each other.[1] The silk, silk-stuffs, and furs of China preserve their fame to our own day also; and their iron to which Pliny assigns the palm was probably that fine cast-iron, otherwise unknown to the ancients, which is still one of the distinguishing manufactures of China.[2]

15. Of actual diplomatic communication with the Seres I believe there is only one obscure trace in Roman history; this is in the representation of the historian Florus that among the numerous missions from remote nations that sought the footstool of Augustus there came envoys also from the Seres.[3]

[1] Thus Wood quotes the testimony regarding the Chinese of a travelled Mullah in Badakshan: "Like every other native of those countries with whom I conversed on the subject, he praised their probity and good faith" (p. 279). Burnes heard that "their commercial regulations are just and equitable. The word of a Chinese is not doubted, nor does the tea ever differ from the sample" (iii, 195). And on the remote frontier of Burma and Siam, "all the travellers whose journals I have consulted speak in unconscious unison of the bitter feeling with which the Burmese are regarded by all the alien tribes which are in any way subject to their authority. And they speak with a like unanimity of the high character which was ascribed to the Chinese for justice, moderation, and good faith" (*On Geog. of Burma*, etc., in *J. R. G. S.*, xxvii).

[2] "Ex omnibus autem generibus palma Serico ferro est. Seres hoc cum vestibus suis pellibusque mittunt" (xxxiv, 41). "We found cast-iron pots and pans of remarkable quality to form a chief item among the miscellaneous "notions" (apart from the silk which is the staple) imported by the Chinese into Ava by the Yunan Road. The art of iron casting is, like most Chinese arts, a very old one; and we find that in the first century B.C. the people of Tawan or Farghana acquired the new art of casting iron tools and utensils from Chinese deserters (*Julien*, quoted by *Lassen*, ii, 615). There is mention of Chinese iron in a passage of the Arabian geographer Ibn Khurdadbah, quoted below (§ 83).

[3] "Even the rest of the nations of the world which were not subject to the imperial sway were sensible of its grandeur, and looked with reverence to the Roman people, the great conqueror of nations. Thus even Scythians and Sarmatians sent envoys to seek the friendship of Rome. Nay the Seres came likewise, and the Indians who dwelt beneath the vertical sun, bringing presents of precious stones and pearls and elephants, but thinking all of less moment than the vastness of the journey which they had undertaken, and which they said had occupied four years. In truth it needed but to look at their complexion to see that they were people of another world than ours. The Parthians also, as if repenting for their presumption in defeating the Romans, spontaneously brought

16. That Greek and Roman knowledge of the true position of so remote a nation should at best have been somewhat hazy is not to be wondered at. As the circle of their knowledge widened its circumference from the central shores of the *Mare Nostrum*, it also became of course, in something like quadruple ratio, fainter and less definite; a fact that seems to have been forgotten by those who, in dealing with the identity of Sera and Thinæ, have attached as much precision to the expressions of partial knowledge hovering on the verge of ignorance, as if these had been the expressions of precise but fragmentary knowledge such as our geographers possess of the Antarctic Coasts, or of the Nyanza Lakes. Yet how very vague this knowledge was we may see in comparing the positions of Thinæ as assigned respectively by Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus, or in observing the wholesale corrections which Ptolemy applied to the data of Marinus in determining the distance in longitude of Sera from the Stone Tower and of the Stone Tower from the Euphrates. Moreover it is natural in such a state of imperfect knowledge both that the name of the remoter but dominant nation should sometimes be applied to its nearest subject races, and that the characteristics of these nearest races should sometimes be transferred to the governing nation. Something in a degree analogous has taken place in our own specific application of the term DUTCH only to our own neighbours of the Netherlands. Still more in point is the fact that in the days of the Thang dynasty, when the Chinese power extended to Transoxiana, Arab, and Armenian writers sometimes spoke of Farghana by the name of China; and the Armenians sometimes gave the name of Chinese even to the Khazars and other races north of the Caspian.[1]

17. We shall also find presently that the view entertained by

back the standards which they had captured in the catastrophe of Crassus. Thus all round the inhabited earth there was an unbroken circle of peace or at least of armistice" (iv, 12).

[1] *St. Martin, Armenie,* ii, 19, 20. An author quoted by Ibn Haukal places the frontiers of *Sín* close to Mawarulnahr, and an Arab poet speaks of Kutaiba, the conqueror of Transoxiana for the Moslem, as being interred in the land of *Sín*, whilst it is known from other testimony that this was in Farghana (*Remusat* in *Mem. de l'Ac. des Insc.*, viii, 107).

the Chinese themselves of the Roman Empire and its inhabitants had some striking points of analogy to those views of the Chinese which are indicated in the classical descriptions of the Seres. There can be no mistaking the fact that in this case also the great object was within the horizon of vision, yet the details ascribed to it are often far from being true characteristics, being only the accidents of its outer borders towards the east.

18. The name of Seres is probably from its earliest use in the west identified with the name of the silkworm and its produce, and this association continued until the name ceased entirely to be used as a geographical expression.[1] Yet it was long before the westerns had any correct conception of the nature of the article which they imported at so much cost. Virgil tells how the Seres combed out from the leaves of the forest the fleecy staple of their trade; and poet after poet echoes the story down to Claudian.[2] Pliny knows no better, nor does Ammianus, three

[1] The Chinese *See* and *Szu*, Silk, is found in the Corean language or dialect in the form *Sir*, in Mongol *Sirkek*, in Manchu *Sirghé*. Klaproth supposes this word to have given rise to the Greek σὴρ, the silk-worm, and Σῆρες, the people furnishing silk, and hence *Sericum*, silk. (*Mem. rel. à l'Asie*, iii, 265.) Looking to the Tartar forms of the word the idea suggests itself that *Sericum* may have been the first importation, and that Sēr and Seres may have been formed by inverse analogy from that word taken as an adjective. Deguignes makes or borrows a suggestion that the word *Sherikoth*, which occurs in the Hebrew of Isaiah, xix, 9 ("They that work in fine flax and they that weave net-works shall be confounded" —Deguignes by mistake quotes *Ezekiel*) means silk, and he refers to the Arabic *Saraqat*. This, according to Freytag, means a long piece of white silk, sometimes silk in general. (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xlvi, 575.) Pardessus, in the modern *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xv, p. 3, says *Sir* is Persian for silk, but I cannot discover the authority. *Sarah*, connected with the Arabic word just quoted, is "a stripe of white silk." (*F. Johnston's Dict.*)

[2] A specimen from Silius Italicus is worth quoting, as it shows a correct idea of the position of the Seres on the shores of the remotest eastern sea:

> "Jam Tartessiaco quos solverat æquore Titan
> In noctem diffusus equos, jungebat Eoïs
> Littoribus, primique novo Phaethonte retecti
> Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis". (Opening of book vi).

In another passage an audacious hyperbole carries the ashes of Vesuvius to that distant land:

> "Videre Eoï monstrum admirabile Seres
> Lanigeros cinere Ausonio canescere lucos" (xvii, 600).

centuries later than Pliny;[1] yet in the interval a juster idea of the facts had been published by Pausanias, who knew that silk was spun by insects which the Seres tended for the purpose. Either there was sounder knowledge on the subject afloat in the mercantile world which the poets ignored, sticking to the old literary tradition of the fleecy leaves as they did to the Descend O Muse; or Pausanias must have had some special source of information. The former solution of the difficulty would be the most probable, if the error were confined to the poets, but when we find a sober historian like Ammianus adopt the tale, we seem forced upon the latter. M. Reinaud thinks that Pausanias must have come in contact with a Roman visitor of China in the days of Marcus Aurelius, respecting whom we shall have to speak further on. I may observe, however, that among the ancients, and indeed down to the time when the invention of the press had had time to take effect, the *fluctuation* of knowledge in regard to geographical truth in general, and to the far east in particular, is very noticeable; chiefly due no doubt to the absence of efficient publication and the difficulties of reference. Familiar instances of this are seen in the false notion of the Caspian entertained by Strabo, and the opposite error in regard to the Indian Sea held by Ptolemy, as compared with the correct ideas on both subjects possessed by Herodotus. We find a like degeneration in the Arabian knowledge of India in comparing Al Biruni with Edrisi; and other examples will occur in the allusions to China which we shall have to cite.

19. The Chinese annals tell us that the people whom they call the *Asi* (supposed by Julien and others to be the Parthians)[2] were

[1] Even in the middle ages Jacques de Vitry, writing about 1213, and believing in his Virgil, says: "Quædam etiam arbores sunt apud Seres, folia tanquam lanam ex se procreantes, ex quibus vestes subtiles contexuntur (*Deguignes* in *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xlvi, 541). Probably, however, this writer did not think of silk (which he must have known well enough) as the Seric vestment in question.

[2] The name *Asi* is however said by Remusat to have been applied by the Chinese almost promiscuously to the nations between the Jaxartes and Oxus, as far south as Samarkand; and in one of his quotations it is applied to people of Khojand, and in another to people of Bokhara. In the extracts from Menander (Note VIII at the end) the *Sogdians* appear

the intermediate traders who carried silk from the east to the west, and they inform us that these Asi threw every obstacle in the way of direct communication between the Chinese and the Romans. The latter, we are assured, were exceedingly desirous of such communication, but the Asi, who were very inferior to the people of the Roman empire in the arts of weaving and the quality of dyes, feared to lose the profits of agency and manufacture entirely unless they retained a monopoly of the trade. The statement is no doubt incorrect that *all* silk was passed on to the Romans in a manufactured state, or if true, could only have been so for some brief period, but the anxiety of the Romans to rid themselves of dependance on the nations of Persia for the supply of silk is fully borne out by the story which Procopius and others relate to the introduction of the silkworm into the Byzantine territories by two monks in the time of Justinian (circa 550).[1] The country from which the monks brought their precious charge is called by Theophanes simply that of the Seres, but by Procopius *Serinda*. China may be intended, but of this there can be no certainty. Indeed it is possible that the term was meant to express a compound like our *Indo-China*, some region intermediate between Serica and India, and if so not improbably Khotan.[2]

20. There are among the fragments of the Greek historians other curious notices of intercourse with the Turkish tribes of Central Asia in the days of Justinian's immediate successors, which, though they do not bring up mention of the Chinese under any denomination, are in a degree relevant to our subject, because they show the Byzantine empire in contact and intercourse with nations who occupy a prominent place in the Chinese annals, and introduce the names of some princes who are to be recognised in those also.[3]

as intermediaries in the silk trade, i.e., the people of the country whose centre is Samarkand.

[1] See extracts in Note VII.

[2] D'Anville suggests that Serinda may be a compound name, but identifies it with *Sirhind* in North Western India. This name I presume however to be Persian, and to date from comparatively late times. Gosselin will have it to be Srinagar in Kashmir. The Ravenna Geographer puts *India Serica* in the North of India on the Ganges and Acesines (*Rav. Anon. Cosmog.* Berlin, 1860, pp. 45, 48).

[3] See a sample of these narratives in Note VIII.

We have, however, in this (6th) and the following century, from Greek writers, two remarkable notices of China, in the comparison of which we still may trace the duplicate aspect of this great country to which we have referred in the opening of this Essay. For Cosmas, the first of these authors, recognises it chiefly on its southern or maritime side, the other, Theophylactus, solely on its land side, and without knowledge of any other. The evidence of both goes to show that the name of Seres had been now practically almost, if not entirely, forgotten.

21. Cosmas, called from his maritime experiences Indicopleustes, apparently an Alexandrian Greek, who wrote between 530 and 550,[1] is the first Greek or Roman writer who speaks of China in a matter-of-fact manner, and not as a land enveloped in half mythical haze. He speaks of it also by a name which I suppose no one has ever disputed to mean China.

This writer was a monk when he composed the work which has come down to us, but in his earlier days he had been a merchant, and in that capacity had sailed on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, visiting the coasts of Ethiopia, and apparently also the Persian Gulf and the western coasts of India, as well as Ceylon.[2]

His book was written at Alexandria, and is termed a "Universal Christian Topography,"[3] the great object of it being to show that the Tabernacle in the Wilderness is a pattern or model of the universe. The earth is a rectangular plane, twice as long as it is broad. The heavens come down to the earth on all four sides like the walls of a room; from the north wall to the south wall, at an

[1] Dates deduced by Montfaucon from different parts of his work show that parts of it were written in 535, and other parts at least twelve years later. The work bears tokens of having been often altered and expanded. Five books only were at first published; six and a fraction more were added gradually to strengthen arguments and meet objections. (See preface in Montfaucon's *Collectio Nova Patrum et Script. Græc.*, ii, which contains the work; extracts were also previously published in Thévenot's Collection of Travels).

[2] Sir J. E. Tennent (*Ceylon*, i, 542) says that Cosmas got his accounts of Ceylon from Sopatrus whom he met at Adule, and Lassen ascribes all Cosmas says of India to the same authority (ii, 773). But I have not found the ground of these opinions. One anecdote is ascribed to Sopatrus, no more.

[3] Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία περιέκτικὴ παντὸς τοῦ Κόσμου.

undefined height, a semicircular waggon-vault is turned, at the level of the springing of which lies the firmament, like a flat ceiling. All below this firmament is this world; the upper story is Heaven, or the world to come. In fact one of those enormous receptacles which carry the dresses of female travellers in our day forms a perfect model of the Cosmos of Cosmas.

In the middle of the rectangular surface of this world lies the inhabited earth encompassed by the Ocean. Beyond the Ocean, bordering the edges of creation, is the unvisited transoceanic land, on which, in the far east, lies Paradise. Here, too, on a barren and thorny soil, without the walls of Paradise, dwelt man from the fall to the deluge. The ark floated the survivors of the human family across the great ocean belt to this earth which we inhabit, and which, in comparison with that where Noah and his fathers dwelt, is itself almost a Paradise. The earth rises gradually from the south towards the north and west, culminating in a great conical mountain, behind which the sun sets.

Again and again this crochety monk sputters with indignation against those who reject these views of his, "not built," he says, "on his own opinions and conjectures, but drawn from Holy Scripture, and from the mouth of that divine man and great Master, Patricius." Those wretched people who chop logic, and hold that the earth and heavens are spherical, are mere blasphemers, given up for their sins to the belief of such impudent nonsense as the doctrine of Antipodes.[1] The sun, instead of being larger than the earth, is only of the diameter of two climates (18° of latitude) on the earth's surface.[2]

Altogether the book is a memorable example of that mischievous process of loading Christian truth with a dead-weight of false science, which has had so many followers. The book as a whole is what Robert Hall called some dreary commentary, "a continent of mud," but there are a few geographical fossils of considerable interest to be extracted from it. These have been dug out accordingly, and will be found in Note IX, at the end of this Essay.

22. It will be seen from one of these extracts that Cosmas had

[1] See pp. 125, 185, 191, etc., and the drawing in ridicule of the doctrine of Antipodes.

[2] P. 264.

a very correct idea of the position of China, as lying on the extreme eastern coast of Asia, "compassed by the ocean running round it to the left just as the same ocean compasses Barbary (Somáli Land) round to the right." He knew also that a ship sailing to China, after running east for a long way, had to turn to the north at least as far as a ship bound for Chaldæa would have to run up from the straits of Hormuz to the mouths of the Euphrates; and that thus it was intelligible how China by the overland route lay much nearer to Persia than might have been thought from the length of the sea-voyage thither.

23. The form of the name which he gives the country is remarkable, *Tzintiza*, as it reads in the 2nd extract, but as it occurs further on (5th extract) more correctly TZINISTA, representing the Chinasthána of the old Hindoos, the Chinistan of the Persians, and all but identical with the name given to China in the Syriac inscription of Singanfu, of which we shall speak further on, viz., TZINISTHAN.[1] Cosmas professes no knowledge of geographical details between Ceylon and China, but he is aware that the clove country lies between the two, which is in itself a considerable step in geography for the sixth century. Silk, aloes-wood, cloves, and sandal-wood are the chief exports that came westward to Ceylon from China and the intermediate countries.

24. The other Greek notice of China, which has been alluded to above, is to be found in the History of THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA, a Byzantine writer of the early part of the seventh century. This author appears to have acquired, through some exceptional source, a knowledge of wars and revolutions that had been going on among the Turkish nations of Central Asia, and some curious fragments of the history of their relations with one another and with their neighbours, which he introduces into his book without much relevance to the thread of his narrative. Among these fragments is a notice of a great state and people called TAUGAS, which he describes as very famous over the east, originally a colony of the Turkish race, now forming a nation scarcely to be paralleled on the face of the whole earth for power and population. Their chief city was at a distance of 1500 miles from India.[2] After

[1] See Pauthier, *L'Inscript. de Singanfu*, p. 42.

[2] *Theoph. Simoc.*, vii, 7. The main subject of the history of Theophy-

treating of some other matters, the historian returns to the subject, and proceeds :[1]—

25. "The ruler of the land of the Taugas[2] is called *Taïssan*, which signifies, when translated, the *Son of God*.[3] This kingdom of Taugas is never disturbed by disputed successions, for the authority is hereditary in the family of the chief. The nation practises idolatry, but they have just laws, and their life is full of temperate wisdom. There is a law binding on these people which prohibits the men from ever wearing ornaments of gold, although they derive great wealth in gold and silver from their commerce, which is both large and lucrative. The territory of Taugas, of which we are speaking, is divided in two by a river, which in time past formed the boundary between two very great nations which were at war with one another. These nations were distinguished from one another by their dress, the one wearing clothes dyed black, the other red. In our own day, however, and whilst Maurice wielded the Roman sceptre, the nation of the black-coats crossed the river to attack the red-coats, and having got the victory over them they thus became supreme over the whole empire.[4]

lactus is the reign of Maurice. Gibbon calls this author "a vain sophist," "an impostor," "diffuse in trifles, concise in the most interesting facts."

[1] *Ib.*, vii, 9.

[2] The name of China which this probably represents will be shown below. In the Latin version in the *Corpus Hist. Byz.*, and in the Bonn edition it is *Taugast*, as also in the Ecclesiastical History of Nicephorus Callistus, who copies largely from Theophylactus (*Lang's Lat. Version*, Franf., 1588, book xviii, ch. 30).

[3] This is supposed by Klaproth to represent the Chinese *Thiantsé*, 'Son of Heaven.' It is curious, however, that the name of the emperor reigning in the latter years of Theophylactus, and a very celebrated sovereign in Chinese history, was *Taitsung*. He came to the throne in 626. The last addition *known* to have been made to the history of Theophylactus is an allusion to the death of Chosroes, King of Persia, which occurred in 628. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography* says that the historian is supposed to have died in the following year, but there does not seem to be any authority for this; and it is *possible* that at a later date the name of Taitsung might have reached him.

[4] The great river is the Kiang, which divided the Empire of the Sui, whose capital was at Chhanggan or Singanfu, from that of the Chin whose Emperor resided at Nanking. The sovereign of the Sui crossed the Kiang as here related in the year 589, and therefore in the reign of

"And this city of Taugas they say was founded by Alexander the Macedonian, after he had enslaved the Bactrians and the Sogdianians, and had consumed by fire twelve myriads of barbarians.

"In this city the king's women go forth in chariots made of gold, with one ox to draw them,[1] and they are decked out most gorgeously with gold and jewels of great price, and the bridles of the oxen are gilt. He who hath the sovereign authority hath 700 concubines.[2] And the women of the chief nobles of Taugas use silver chariots.

"When the prince dies he is mourned by his women for the rest of their lives, with shaven heads and black raiment; and it is the law that they shall never quit the sepulchre.

"They say that Alexander built a second city at the distance of a few miles, and this the barbarians call KHUBDAN.[3]

"Khubdan has two great rivers flowing through it, the banks of which are lined with nodding cypresses, so to speak.

Maurice at Byzantium (582-602). The Chin Emperor threw himself into a well; the tombs of his ancestors were violated and their bodies thrown into the Kiang. The Sui thus became masters of the United Empire as Theophylactus relates. (*Klaproth, Mem.*, as below, and see *Deguignes*, vol. i, 51, 52.) The characteristic black clothing of the people of Shensi, in which lay the capital of the Sui, is noticed by Hajji Mahomed in the extracts given in Note XVIII.

[1] In *Chine Ancienne* I see a plate from a Chinese drawing which represents Confucius travelling in a carriage drawn by one ox (Pl. 30).

[2] The Emperor Taitsung above mentioned, is said to have dismissed three thousand women from the imperial establishment (*Ch. Anc.*, p. 286).

[3] This is sufficient of itself to show that the Taugas of the Greek writer is China. For *Khumdan* was the name given by the Turkish and Western Asiatic nations to the city of Chhanggan—now represented by Singanfu in Shensi—which was the capital of several Chinese dynasties between the twelfth century, B.C., and the ninth century, A.D. The name Khumdan appears in the Syriac part of the Singanfu inscription repeatedly; in the Arab *Relations* of the ninth century published by Renaudot and by Reinaud; in Masudi; in Edrisi (as the name of the great river of China); and in Abulfeda. What is said in the text about the two rivers running through the city is substantially correct (see *Klaproth* as quoted below). I have here transposed two periods of the original, to bring together what is said of Khubdan. Pauthier takes Khumdan for a western transcription of *Chhangan*, whilst Neumann regards it as a corruption of *Kong-tien*, court or palace. Both of these explanations seem unsatisfactory.

"The people also have many elephants; and they have much intercourse for trade with the Indians. And these are said to be Indians who are white from living in the north.

"The worms from which the silk filaments are produced are found among these people; they go through many alternations, and are of various colours. And in the art of keeping these creatures the barbarians show much skill and emulation."

26. The passing remarks of some scholars have identified the Taugas of this curious passage with some of the tribes of Turkestan, but there can be no reasonable doubt that it refers to the Chinese, though there is no allusion by Theophylactus to Sinæ or Seres, and it is pretty clear that he was repeating what some well-informed person had told him without himself at all understanding where the country lay of which he spoke. Deguignes first showed that the passage referred to China. Gibbon accepted this view, and Klaproth has expounded it in the same sense, apparently unaware that he had been anticipated.[1] And yet he does not explain the name applied to the Chinese or their capital.

Deguignes explained it as indicating the *Ta-göei*, great Göei, or Wei dynasty, which preceded the Sui, but there can be little doubt that it represents the obscure name of TAMGHAJ, once applied vaguely to China or some great country lying in the mists of the far east by the western nations of Asia, and by old Arabian and Persian writers. Thus in 1218, when Mahomed, Sultan of Khwarizm, received envoys from Chinghiz Khan, at Bokhara, he sent by night for one of those envoys who was a native of his own territories, and asked him if it was really true that Chinghiz Khan had conquered Tamghaj?[2]

27. I am not aware of any other mention of China in a Greek

[1] *Gibbon*, ch. cxl, notes; *Klap. Mem. Rel. à l'Asie*, iii, 261-4.

[2] *D'Ohsson*, i, 203. That author refers in a note to the Taugas of Theophylactus. So also Albiruni terms the city of Yangju in China "the Residence of the Faghfur, who has the title of *Tamghâj Khan*" (*Sprenger's Post-und Reise-route des Orients*, p. 90). Abulfeda says the same quoting the "*Kanun*," which I believe is Albiruni's work—"the Faghfur of China, who is called Timghaj Khan, and who is the Great King, according to the history of Al-Niswy, where in his account of Khwarizm Shah and the Tartars, it is stated that the name of the King of the Tartars in China is *Tooghaj*." I take this from MS. extracts of

writer till we get to LAONICUS CHALCONDYLAS in the latter half of the fifteenth century. We need not be surprised at the vagueness of the site ascribed to Taugas by Theophylactus when we find this author, who wrote from one to two centuries after the travels of Polo, Odoric, and Ibn Batuta, describing Cathay in one passage as somewhere near the Caspian, in another as in India, between the Ganges and Indus.[1]

Abulfeda kindly translated for me by Mr. Badger. I do not know how the last word is written in the Arabic, and its closer correspondence to the Taugas of Theophylactus is almost certainly due to accident. The Niswy or Nessawi quoted by Abulfeda was secretary to Sultan Jalaluddin of Khwarizm, and no doubt the allusion is to the anecdote told in the text from D'Ohsson.

Masudi says the King of China when addressed was termed Thamghama Jabán (qu. Thamgaj ?) (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 306).

Clavijo says, "The Zagatays call him (the Emperor of China) *Tangus*, which means Pig Emperor." (!) See *Markham*, p. 133-4. In the Universal History it is mentioned (probably after Sharifuddin) that in 1398 envoys came to Timur from *Tamgaj Khan*, Emperor of Cathay.

The following examples are more doubtful. "We call this region China, the which they in their language name *Tame*, and the people *Tangis*, whom we name *Chinois*" (*Alhacen, his Arabike Historie of Tamerlane*, in *Purchas*, iii, 152).

Tangtash, Tangnash, Taknas, occur repeatedly in the translation of Sadik Isfahani and of the *Shajrat ul Atrák* as synonymous with Machín, or a great city therein. But these words are perhaps corrupt readings of *Nangiás*, which was a name applied by the Mongols to Southern China (see *D'Ohsson*, i, 190-1; *Quat., Rashideddin*, p. lxxxvi).

The name can scarcely have any reference to the *Thang* dynasty, for they did not attain the throne till the latter years of Theophylactus, and he mentions Taugas in connexion with a Khan of the Turks in the time of the Emperor Maurice. It should be mentioned, however, that the title *Thangáj* is found on a coin of a Turkish Khakan of A.D. 1043-44 (see Frœhn's remarks on this in Meyendorff's *Voyage d'Orenbourg à Bokhara*, p. 314 *seqq.*; see also *D'Herbelot* in v. *Thamgaj*). The geographer Bakui also defines *Thamgaj* as a great city of the Turks' country, near which are many villages between two mountains, and only approached by a narrow defile (*Not. et Extr.*, ii, 491).

[1] "Hence he (Timur) directed his march against the Chataides, threatening them with destruction. This people are believed to be the same with the ancient Massagetæ, who crossed the Araxes (Jaxartes ?) and took possession of an extensive region adjoining that river, in which they settled." (*De Rebus Turcicis*, iii, p. 67.) Again: "Chataia is a city towards the east of Hyrcania, great and flourishing in population, and surpassing in wealth and all other attributes of prosperity all the cities

II. CHINESE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

28. Having thus set forth such indications as we can of acquaintance with China from Greek and Roman writers, we shall now collect such notices of the Greek and Roman territories as we are able to find in translations from Chinese sources.

It was under the Emperor Hiao Wuti, of the Han dynasty (B.C. 140-86) that the Chinese first had relations with the countries west of the Bolor mountains, and even the *discovery* of those regions is ascribed by Chinese writers to this period, though the correctness of that idea may well be questioned. The Yueichi, a people believed to be of Tibetan race, and who became known in the west as Indoscythians, and at a later date as White Huns, had been driven from their seats, somewhere between China and Khotan, by the great Turkish race of Hiongnu. After some intermediate halts, they had arrived first in *Tawan*, or Farghana, and afterwards in *Tahìa*, or Bactriana, where they destroyed the Greek dynasty and settled themselves. The Chinese Emperor was desirous of opening communication with them in order to excite a diversion against the Hiongnu, the constant disturbers of the Chinese frontier, and about B.C. 135 he sent for this purpose a party under an officer called Chang-Kian. On their way they were caught by the Hiongnu and kept prisoners for ten years. Chang-kian then escaped with some of his comrades, but adhering to his mission succeeded in reaching Tawan, where he was well received by the people who were acquainted by fame with the powers and riches of China, though they had never had any direct communication with that country. Finding that the Yueichi had gone south to Bactriana he followed them thither,

of Asia except Samarkand and Memphis (Cairo). By the Massagetæ it was established with excellent laws in olden time." (*Ib.*) Somewhat later (p. 86) he puts *Chatagia* in India as mentioned above. Indeed geography for a Greek writer must have been in a state of very midnight at this time, when a historian who ventured to treat of Timur and Shah Rukh (Σαχρούχος) was fain to say of *Cheria* (Herat): "in what part of Asia it was situated, whether in the land of the Syrians or the land of the Medes, he could not ascertain. But some thought that anciently Cheriah was Ninus (Nineveh) as Pagdatine (Baghdad) was Babylon" (*Ib.*, p. 68).

but failed to induce them to quit their new seats upon the Oxus to return to their eastern deserts and battle with the Hiongnu. Thus unsuccessful, he tried to return to China by way of Tibet, but was again taken by the Hiongnu and detained for some time. At last this adventurous man got back to China about B.C. 122, after thirteen years' absence, with a single follower out of the hundred who had started with him. He was able to report, from personal knowledge, of the countries on the Jaxartes and Oxus, and, from the information he had collected, on other countries of the west.

About the same time the Chinese began to take vigorous measures against the Hiongnu, and to extend their frontier westward. By B.C. 59 their power reached all over what is now Chinese Turkestan; a general government was established for the tributary states; and about the time of our era, fifty-five states of western Tartary acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, whilst the Princes of Transoxiana and Bactriana are also said to have recognised its supremacy.

29. During the first century the power of China decayed, and the Hiongnu recovered their ascendancy. In A.D. 83, however, Panchao, one of the most illustrious commanders in the Chinese annals, appeared in the field, and in a few years recovered the Uigur country and all western Tartary to the empire. After reconquering Kashgar in the year 94, he crossed the snowy Tsungling, or Boiʊr, and attacked and killed the king of the Yueichi. In the following years he pushed his conquests to the Caspian, and perhaps even had a way open to the shores of the Indian Ocean. For we are told that in the year 102 he despatched one of his officers called Kanyng to make his way by sea to TATHSIN, or the Roman empire.[1]

30. Notices of this region are found in the geographical works of the time of the latter Han (A.D. 56-220) in the annals of the Tçin (265-419), and of the Thang (618-905). But references are also made by the Chinese editors to the same country as having been known in the days of the first Han dynasty (from B.C. 202)

[1] *Remusat* in *Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins.* (new), viii, 116-125; *Klap. Tab. Hist.*, p. 67, etc.; see also *Lassen*, ii, 352 *seqq.*

under the name of LIKAN or LIKIEN, a name which Pauthier with some probability refers to the empire of the Seleucidæ of Syria, whose conquests at one period extended to the regions of the Oxus.[1]

The name *Ta-thsin* (*Great China*), we are told, was applied to those western lands on account of the analogy of its people to those of the middle kingdom. Some even alleged that they had sprung originally from China. But this was probably a puerile perversion, and we may suppose that the name was given from some perception that those Greek and Roman countries bore to the west the same relation that China and its civilisation bore to Eastern Asia.

From this we gather, among other things, that the Chinese in the time of Panchao recognised the term *Thsin* as a name by which they were known, at least to foreigners. Indeed Fahian the Buddhist traveller (early in the fifth century) repeatedly speaks of his native land under this name,[2] though perhaps with a restricted reference to the ancient territory of the Thsin which was the province of his birth.

31. Tathsin, according to the earlier of these notices, is otherwise called the kingdom of the Western Sea. It is reached from the country of the *Tiaochi* (Tajiks, or Persians, according to Pauthier and others), by traversing the sea obliquely for a distance of 2000 miles, and is about 8000 miles distant from Changgan or Singanfu. The name of the capital is ANTU.[3] The *Ansi*, and people of India, drive a great and profitable trade with this empire by the way of the Great Salt Sea, and merchants sailing thither are obliged to provide themselves with necessaries for three years. Hence there are few who succeed in reaching so remote a region.[4] The extent of the empire is 2000 miles from east to west, and as much from north to south,[5] and it has 400

[1] *Pauthier de l'Authent.*, pp. 34, 55 *seqq.*; *Klap.*, o. c., p. 70.

[2] *E.g.*, pp. 7, 333.

[3] Antioch, probably, as Pauthier supposes; and, if so, it shows that the information came from a date earlier than the time of Panchao.

[4] So, conversely, the author of the *Periplus* says, "It is not easy to get to this Thin, and few and far between are those who come from it."

[5] The extract at p. 36 of Pauthier (*De l'Authent.*) has 1000 li (200

cities of the first class. The coinage is stated to be of gold and silver, ten pieces of silver making the value of one piece of gold.[1] There follows a variety of what read to us as vague or puerile notices of the constitution and productions of the country, including, however, a detailed and apparently correct enough account of the coral fisheries of the Mediterranean.[2]

32. In the annals of the Thang we are told that the country formerly called Tathsin has in later days been called FULIN (πόλιν, =Byzantium, see Note to Ibn Batuta, p. 402, *infra*). Many of the trivialities in the older accounts of Tathsin are repeated, with some circumstances that are new. And among the peculiarities ascribed by the Chinese to the Roman empire it is curious to recognise not a few that nearly or entirely coincide with things that have been described by ancient or mediæval writers as peculiarities of China, or the adjoining countries. Such are the eminently peaceful and upright character of the people; the great number of cities and contiguous succession of populated places; horse-posts; the provision made for the conveyance and maintenance of foreign ambassadors; the abundance of gold and gems, among which are some in the form of tablets that shine in the dark;[3] pearls generated from the saliva of golden pheasants (!), tortoise-shell, rare perfumed essences, asbestos stuffs that are cleaned by fire, cloths of gold brocade and damask silk; remarkable capons, rhinoceroses, lions, and vegetative lambs.[4] Jugglers and conjurors are also seen who perform amazing things.[5]

miles); but this is evidently a mistake for 10,000, as given in another extract at p. 43.

[1] In the Byzantine coinage, however, *twelve* of the ordinary silver coin (*miliaresion*) went to the piece of gold (*nomisma*).

[2] *Pauthier de l'Auth.*, 34-40; *Klap.*, p. 68.

[3] Benjamin of Tudela says that the lustre of the diamonds on the emperor's crown at Byzantium was such as to illumine the room in which they were kept (p. 75).

[4] The obscure extracts in Pauthier (*op. cit.*, pp. 39, 47), as to certain lambs found to the north of the kingdoms dependent on Fulin, which grow out of the ground, and are attached by the navel to the soil, appear to refer to the stories of the Lamb-Plant of the Wolga countries (see *Odoric*, p. 144), and not, as Pauthier supposes, to the fat-tailed sheep of Western Asia.

[5] See traces of this juggling skill in a passage of one Italian version of

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33. If such trivialities as most of these were all on which to build, the identification with the Roman empire would not be very satisfactory. But in addition to the name of *Fulin*, and the position ascribed to the kingdom as lying N.W. of Persia, others of the details, though the mention of some of them has a dash of the whimsicality of Chinese taste, appear to be genuine touches from the reports of those who had visited Constantinople. The account of the coral fishery and the horse-posts have already been alluded to, as well as the desire ascribed to the kings of Tathsin for a direct communication with the Middle Kingdom, which has its counterpart in the statements of Procopius and Menander about the silk trade. The compass of 100 *li* or 20 miles, ascribed to the capital of Fulin, nearly corresponds with that estimated by Benjamin of Tudela, and by popular opinion in the city itself.[1] It stands upon the shore of the sea; the houses are very lofty, and built of stone; the population extends to 100,000 fires (say 500,000 souls); the adjoining boroughs, villages, and houses are in such numbers as to form an almost unbroken succession.[2] The palaces and other great houses of the capital had colonaded porticoes, and parks with rare animals; there were twelve principal ministers, distinguished by titles of honour, who directed the administration of the empire.[3] One great gate of the city towards the

Odoric, at p. xliv of *Appendix*. In the Byzantine History of Nicephorus Gregorias, there is a curious account of some Blondins of those days, whose itinerancies extended from Egypt through Constantinople to Cadiz, and who, in their funambulistic exhibitions, shot arrows standing on the rope, and *carried boys on their shoulders* across it at a vast height from the ground, etc. (viii, 10).

[1] Benjamin says eighteen miles (p. 74). According to Gibbon, it was really between ten and eleven. "Ambitus urbis non attingit tredecim milliaria . . . si ejus situs collinus in planitiem explicaretur, in ampliorem dilataretur latitudinem, attamen nondum ad magnitudinem *quam vulgo Byzantini ei attribuunt, videlicet duo de vingti milliariorum.*" (*Pet. Gyllius de Topog. Constant* in *Banduri, Imp. Orientale*, Venet., 1729, i, 284; see also *Ducange, Const. Christiana.*)

[2] When King Sigurd sails into Constantinople, he steers near the shore, and sees that "over all the land there are burghs, castles, country towns, the one upon the other without interval." (*The Saga of Sigurd—Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 58.)

[3] The Empire, whilst entire, was divided into *thirteen* dioceses; but of

east is 20 *chang* (about 200 feet) high, and is covered with gold-leaf from top to bottom;[1] another of the gates has a golden steel-yard over it, and also a clock showing the twelve hours of the day by means of the golden figure of a man who drops a golden ball at every hour;[2] the houses have flat terraced roofs, over which, in hot weather, water is discharged from pipes; the costume of the sovereign, his jewelled collars and cap, his silken robe embroidered with flowers, and without any opening in front, are all in accordance with particulars to be observed in effigies of the Byzantine emperors.[3] But the most convincing proof that the Chinese authors had real information about the empire of Con-

the administrators there were *twelve* vice-prefects, a number likely to adhere in popular accounts. Gibbon also says: "The successive casualties of inheritance and forfeiture had rendered the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and suburbs, of which *twelve were appropriated to the ministers of state*" (ch. liii). Gibbon is, perhaps, here building on Benjamin of Tudela, whose words closely corroborate the popular view as exhibited in the Chinese notices: "Twelve princely officers govern the whole empire by (the emperor's) command; each of them inhabiting a palace at Constantinople, and possessing fortresses and cities of his own" (p. 74).

[1] *The Saga of Sigurd*, quoted above, says: "The Emperor Alexius had heard of King Sigurd's expedition, and ordered the City-Port of Constantinople to be opened, which is called the GOLD-TOWER, through which the emperor rides when he has been long absent from Constantinople, or has made a campaign in which he has been victorious" (p. 59). The Golden Gate stood towards the south end of the western wall of the city, not on the east as said in the Chinese reports. "The western side of the city is towards the land," says Masudi, "and there rises the Golden Gate with its doors of bronze" (*Prairies d'Or*, ii, 319). It was built by Theodosius, and bore the inscription, "*Hæc loca Theudosius decorat post fata tyranni; Aurea Sæcla gerit qui portam construit auro.*" (*Insc. Constant.*, in *Banduri*, i, p. 156.)

[2] Pauthier quotes passages from Codinus about a brazen *modius*, etc., over the arch of Amastrianus; but they do not seem to afford any real corroboration of this account. See *Banduri*, at pp. 18, 73-74; and *Ducange*, p. 170. The latter, indeed, speaks of a *golden horologe* in the Forum of Constantine; but this is a slip, for the original, which he cites, has χαλκοῦν (p. 134).

[3] The Chinese story ascribes wing-like appendages to the emperor's cap. Pauthier refers to medals as showing these; but I have not been able to verify this. The wings attached to the cap are rather an ancient Hindu feature, and are remarkably preserved in the state costume of the kings of Burma and the sultans of Java.

stantinople is found in a notice which they give of a somewhat obscure passage in the Byzantine History:—

34. "The *Tashi* (or Mahomedan Arabs), after having overrun and forcibly taken possession of kingdom after kingdom, at last sent their general-in-chief, MOI, to lay siege to the capital city of Fulin. YENYO, who was the negociator of the peace which followed, made it one of the conditions that the *Tashi* should every year pay a tribute, consisting of gold and silk-stuffs."[1]

In this passage is commemorated the remarkable fact that the Khalif Moawiyah, after having (A.D. 671-678) for seven successive summers renewed the endeavour to take Constantinople, at length felt himself under the necessity of sending envoys to sue for peace from the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus. The latter agreed, and sent the patrician *Ioannes* Petzigaudius (the *Yenyo* of the Chinese) to Damascus to conduct the negociation with the Arabs. The result was that the latter pledged themselves to a thirty years' peace, and to pay to the empire every year 3,000 pieces of gold, fifty slaves, and fifty horses.[2]

35. In a later work, called the *History of the Barbarous Nations*, some of the particulars ascribed to Tathsin appear to belong to Syria under the Ayubite sultans, but with these also are mixed up circumstances, both old and new, which really point to the Roman empire. Thus it is said, with that confusion of Christianity with Buddhism of which we have elsewhere quoted various

[1] *Pauth. de l'Auth.*, p. 49.

[2] See *Niceph. Patriarch. Breviarium. Historic.*, in the 1st volume of the *Corpus Byzant. Histor.*, p. 21-22; also, *Theophanis Chronographia*, in the same coll., p. 295, and *Gibbon*, ch. lii. Pauthier seems to think that the circumstances are passed over entirely by Gibbon and other modern historians; but this a mistake. Gibbon does not name the Greek envoy; but he mentions his going to Damascus, and the result. He also relates how the tribute was greatly augmented a few years afterwards, when the Khalifate was in difficulties; but finally repudiated by the Khalif Abdulmalik in the time of Justinian II. The circumstances, with the name of the Patrician, are also detailed in St. Martin's edition of Lebeau (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, xi, 428.) Silk-stuffs are not mentioned here as part of the tribute; but "gold and silk-stuffs" do frequently appear as the constituents of tribute exacted in the early Saracen wars. See *Gibbon*, ch. li, *passim*. I believe no *Mahomedan* writer records this transaction.

instances (p. 551 *infra*) :—"On the recurrence of every seventh day people assembled from all directions to offer their devotions in the chapels, and to adore Fo."

In all these notices we see much that is analogous between the fragmentary views of the great seats of western civilisation under the names of Tathsin and Fulin, taken in the far east, and those of the great eastern civilisation under the names of Sinæ and Seres taken in the west. In both we see the same uncertainty in degree as to exact position, the same application of facts belonging to the nearer skirts of the half-seen empire as descriptive of the whole; and in that isolated chance record in the Chinese books of a real occurrence in the history of Byzantium we have a singular parallel to the like fragment of Chinese history which had been picked up and entered in his narrative by Theophylactus. The form given in the Chinese fragment to the name of the Khalif is nearly the same as that (*Maui*) which we find in an Armenian writer,[1] and this little circumstance may possibly indicate the people who furnished the Chinese annalists with some of their scraps of knowledge.

36. After this short view of the Chinese ideas of the Roman empire we may return to Kanyng, the officer whom General Panchao commissioned in the beginning of the second century to open communication with those western regions, whether in view to trade or to conquest.[2] This officer proceeded to take ship, it would seem on the Persian Gulf. "But the ship's company said to him, 'When out at sea a multitude of things will occur to make you sigh for what you have left behind. He who occupies his business in the great waters is liable to regret and repentance for what he has undertaken. If the envoy of the Han has no father, no mother, no wife or children to pine after, then let him

[1] Michael the Syrian, translated by Dulaurier in *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. iv, tom. xiii, p. 326.

[2] Klaproth says that Panchao entertained a scheme for *invading* the Roman Empire, but that the general to whom this was confided was better advised, and retraced his steps. (*Tabl. Hist. de l'Asie*, p. 67.) The extract, however, given by Pauthier from the Annals of the Tçin, as cited in the Encyclopædia of the Emperor Khanghi, says Kanyng was despatched as *envoy*. (*Pauth.*, p. 38.) Probably he was sent to reconnoitre.

go to sea—not otherwise." They also represented that with a fair wind it would take two months at least to cross the sea to Tathsin, and if the wind were adverse it might take two years to make the return voyage, so that adventurers bound for Tathsin were accustomed to lay in stores for three years.[1] Such at least were the excuses made by the chicken-hearted Kan-yng, who was certainly not the man to conquer the Roman empire; he therefore thought better of it, and retraced his steps. Hence at this time no contact occurred between the representatives of the two great seats of civilisation.[2]

37. Sixty years later, however (A.D.166), in the reign of Hiwanti of the Han, an embassy came to the court of China from ANTUN, king of Tathsin (the Emperor M. Aurelius ANTONinus). This mission had no doubt made the voyage by sea, for it entered China by the frontier of Jinan or Tonking, bringing presents of rhinoceros horns, ivory, and tortoiseshell. This is not precisely the sort of present we should have looked for, and indeed the Chinese annals say that it was believed the ambassadors had purloined the rarer objects of their charge; just the accusation that was brought against Friar John of Montecorvino eleven hundred years later. It seems likely enough that they had lost their original presents by shipwreck or robbery, and had substituted in the east such trumpery as they were told the Chinese set a value upon. The historians also observe that the embassy came by this southern route, and not by the northern route, which, it is implied, they might have followed; a route which was doubtless debarred to them by Parthian hostility.[3]

About the same time, and perhaps by means of this embassy, the Chinese philosophers were made acquainted with a treatise on astronomy, which had been brought from Tathsin;

[1] This may have referred rather to the difficulty of obtaining provision suited to Oriental tastes. Governor Yeh, when bound a captive for Fort William, laid in seven years' provision of *eggs!*

[2] *Pauthier*, u. s.; *Remusat*, op. cit., p. 123.

[3] *Klap.* 68-9; *Pauthier de l'Auth.*, p. 32; *Id. Hist. des Relations*, etc., p. 20; *Deguignes* in *Mem. de l'Acad.*, xxxii, 358. Reinaud supposes that Pausanias may have got his information about the production of silk from the members of this embassy (*supra*, p. xlv).

we are told that they examined it, and compared it with their own.[1]

38. Some intercourse would seem to have been kept up after this of which no precise record has been preserved. For we are told that early in the third century the Sovereign of Tathsin sent to the Emperor Taitsu, of the Wei dynasty which reigned in Northern China, articles of glass of a variety of colours, and some years later a person who had the art of "changing flints into crystal by means of fire," a secret which he imparted to others, and by which the fame of the people of the west was greatly enhanced in China.[2]

A new embassy came from Tathsin in the year 284, bringing *tribute*, as the presents are termed on this occasion with the usual arrogant formula of the Chinese. This must have been despatched by the Emperor Carus (282-283), whose short reign was occupied with Persian war.

A long suspension of intercourse seems to have followed, enduring till the 7th century. In the time of the *Sui* the Emperor Yangti (605-617) greatly desired to open communication with Tathsin, now called Fulin, but he could not succeed in his object. In 643 however during the reign of TAITSUNG, the second emperor of the Thang dynasty, and one of the greatest monarchs in Chinese history, whose power was acknowledged south of Hindu Kush and westward to the Caspian, an embassy came from Fulin bringing a present consisting of rubies, emeralds, etc. This embassy is alleged to have been sent by the King of Fulin called POTOLI or PHEITOLI. The emperor deigned to address a gracious and conciliatory letter in reply to this mission.[4] Considering

[1] *Deguignes* in *Mem. de l'Acad.*, xlvi, 555.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Klaproth*, op. cit. Pauthier, probably by an alternative translation, calls the presents "glasses of a red colour, stuffs of azure silk figured with gold, and the like" (p. 49).

[4] It is difficult to guess who is meant by the *Wang Pheitoli*, who sent this embassy. Heraclius died in February 641; his son Constantine three months later. Heracleonas was then proclaimed; but speedily displaced by Constans, son of Constantine, at the age of eleven. Klaproth ascribes this embassy to *Theodorus*, the brother of Heraclius, whose name might be represented in Chinese as *Potoli*. But he appears to have

that the Musulmans had in the seven preceding years wrested Syria from the Roman Empire and Persia from the Sassanian kings; that Yezdegerd, the last of these latter, had sent (as we shall see hereafter) envoys to China to seek support, and that the suzerainty of Taitsung was acknowledged in Farghana, Bactria, and a part at least of Afghanistan and Khorassan, it seems not improbable that the object of the Byzantine mission also was to stir up a Chinese diversion against the terrible new enemy.

39. Another embassy from Fulin, mentioned without particulars under the year 711, must have been despatched under Justinian II, who was slain in that year. In 719 arrived another embassy from the ruler of Fulin, who is termed on this occasion, not king, but YENTHUHOLO, *of the rank of Premier-Functionary of the Empire*, bringing presents of lions and great sheep with spiral horns. The emperor at this time was Leo the Isaurian. Possibly the mission, whatever its object, may have been despatched before he was established on the throne (717).[1]

In 742 came, bringing presents, another mission from Fulin, but this time composed of *priests of great virtue*.[2] Leo (717-741) was still reigning when this party must have been despatched from Byzantium, if from Byzantium they came. But we shall find that the Christian inscription of Singanfu records the arrival in 744 of a priest of Tathsing, *Kiho* by name, who, "observing the stars and the sun, came to the court to present his respects to the august emperor." Kiho is immediately afterwards styled "*Of great virtue.*" Probably therefore the same event is alluded to, and it

been killed in 638. Pauthier adopts the name, but applies it to *Pope Theodorus*, who might have sent this embassy to China after his accession to the Pontifical throne in November 642; a desperately improbable hypothesis. May not *Wang Pheitoli* represent the *Prætorian* Prefect during the infancy of Constans? St. Martin thinks the name represents *Valentine* Cæsar, whose revolt put Constans on the throne. (On *Lebeau's Hist. du Bas Empire*, xi, 306.)

[1] Pauthier translates the appellation in the Chinese record, "*Patrice, ou chef superieur des fonctionnaires de l'empire*" (p. 50). Leo is termed, at the time of his election to the empire, *Leo the Patrician* (*Niceph. Constant.*, p. 34). I suppose the name Λέοντος τοῦ Ισαύρου might become in Chinese organs something like *Yenthuholo*.

[2] *Klap.*, p. 70; *Pauthier*, pp. 32, 50. The extract in the last reference appears to mix up the missions of 719 and 742.

may appertain rather to the missions of the Nestorian Church than to the political relations of the Eastern Empire with China.

40. Another long interval then occurs; the Mahomedan power now forming a wide and dense barrier between the Empires. But in 1081, during the reign of Shintsung of the Sung dynasty, whose capital seems to have been still at Singanfu, an embassy arrives from Fulin, despatched by the King MILI-I-LING (or MIKIALING) KAISA. This is supposed by Klaproth and Pauthier to indicate the Emperor *Michael* Ducas, who, indeed, was compelled to resign the purple some three years before (1078), but whose envoys, in the uncertainties of Asiatic travel, might have been detained long upon the way.[1]

Another mission is mentioned without particulars in the year 1091, which would fall in the reign of Alexius I. Comnenus. And the last distinct record of a communication from the Byzantine Empire is found in 1371 under Hongvu of the Ming dynasty, a few years after the expulsion of the House of Chinghiz, when there came to the court an envoy from Fulin called *Kúmín Nikúlún*. This person received presents, and an imperial letter in reply to the requests which he had submitted.[2] Other envoys from this country, it is vaguely added, came with tribute. I

[1] The name of the Byzantine Cæsar appears to be read by Pauthier himself, as it had been by Deguignes, *Mili-iling*. Klaproth makes it *Mikialing*, but probably with some forcing, as Pauthier, though adopting this reading in a later work, says "*Mikia-i-ling* comme Klaproth *a cru pouvoir lire*" (*Klap.*, p. 70; *Deguignes*, i, 67; *Pauthier de l'Auth.*, p. 33; *Do., Hist. des Relations*, etc., p. 22). If Michael be not accepted, I suppose the name of the competitor for the empire, *Bryennius Cæsar*, would be the only alternative; but why either should have sent a mission to China I cannot venture to suggest.

[2] *Pauth.*, 51. This is cited from the Supplement to the Literary Encyclopædia of Matwanlin. The Great Imperial Geography, also quoted by Pauthier (p. 54), gives a somewhat different account. "Towards the end of the dynasty of the Yuan (a parenthesis says in 1341, but the fall of the Yuan was in 1368) a man of Fulin named Nikúlún came for purposes of trade to the middle kingdom. In the fourth year of Hongvu of the Ming this merchant of Tathsin was invited to appear at court. The emperor ordered presents to be made to him, and an imperial letter was entrusted to him to be delivered to his king when he should return to his own country, and relate what he had witnessed. In consequence of this an embassy came to China with tribute."

cannot throw any light upon the identity of this Nicholas Comanus, or whatever his name was.

III. COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.

41. We have seen, in the early part of this Essay, that reason exists for believing in very early intercourse between India and China; but the Chinese annals appear to have lost all sight of this, for their first mention and knowledge of India is referred to B.C. 122, when Changkian, returning from his adventurous expedition to Bactriana, brought back intelligence about various regions in the West. When in that country he observed among the articles exposed for sale certain canes, which struck him as being like those grown in the mountains of Kiongshan, and cloths also which he recognised as the production of the country of *Shu*, i.e., Chingtufu in Szechuen. On inquiry he was told that these articles had been purchased by merchants in the country of SHINTU, otherwise called THIANCHU (Sind or India). This country lay some thousand *li* to the south-east of Tahia or Bactriana, and from all that he could gather could not be far distant from the province of Szechuen, which accounted for the importation of the articles which he had seen for sale. There were three roads by which Shintu might be reached from China; one, leading by the Kiang, very dangerous and difficult; a second by the north and through the lands of the Hiongnu, who would certainly obstruct attempts at communication; and a third, which would be the safest, by Szechuen. The emperor, pleased with the hope of adding to the list of his tributaries in those western countries, sent Changkian to attempt to enter India by the way of Kienwei (Siucheufu in Szechuen), and others by different roads. Indeed some ten attempts in all were made, but they were all as unsuccessful as Colonel Sarell's late attempt to follow in the steps of Changkian.[1]

[1] See *Demailla* (I can only refer to the Italian translation, vol. vii); *Julien* in *J. As.*, ser. iv, tom. x, 91-2; *Deguignes* in *Mem. de l'Acad.*, xxxii, 358. The Italian translation of Demailla is a curiosity. The editor, finding that the Chinese names were distasteful to the readers of his earlier volumes, changes them all into a more pleasing form. Thus Kublai figures as *Vobalio*, Wang Khan as *Govannio*, Ilchiktai as *Chitalio*.

42. In the succeeding century, however, relations must have been opened, for in A.D. 65 the Emperor Mingti, in consequence of a dream, sent ambassadors to Thianchu to obtain instruction in the doctrines of Buddha, and to bring back images of him, a step which brought upon that emperor's memory the execrations of the orthodox Confucian literati, and which led to very peculiar relations between the two countries for many centuries.

Under the Emperor Hoti (A.D. 89-105) Indian sovereigns several times sent tribute (presents) to the court of China, and again in 158-9 under Hiwanti, the same emperor that received the mission supposed to have come from Marcus Aurelius.

43. Throughout the greater part of the third and fourth centuries political intercourse between India and China seems to have been interrupted, though it may be gathered from the history of Fahian's travels that a sea-trade between China and India existed at the end of the latter century, as it probably had done for some time previously. Its commencement, however, perhaps does not ascend beyond the early years of the Eastern Tçin (residing at Nanking, 317-420) as the first intercourse between China and Ceylon is ascribed to their time. Ceylon was famed for its figures of Buddha, and these often were sent as presents to the Chinese court. The first embassy from Ceylon arrived in 405, having come apparently overland, as it was *ten years* upon the road. It brought a Jade image of Buddha, exquisite in material and workmanship. In the course of the same century came four more Singhalese embassies: one in 428, when the King *Chacha Mohonan* (Raja Mahanaama, reigned 410-432) sent an address to the emperor, together with a model of the shrine of the Sacred Tooth; one in 430, one in 435, and a fourth in 456, composed of five priests, of whom one was Nanté, a famous sculptor, and who brought a threefold image of Buddha. During the sixth century the kings of Ceylon acknowledged themselves vassals of China, and in 515 Kumara Dás, on succeeding to the throne, sent an envoy to China to announce the event, and who reported that the king had been desirous to go himself, but was afraid of the sea. Embassies are also recorded under the years 523, 527, 531.[1]

[1] *Tennent's Ceylon*, 2nd ed., i, 590-91; 596. Sir Emerson Tennent was

44. In 428 also the King of Kapila (the birth place of Buddha in the present district of Gorakhpúr) by name *Yuei-ai* or "Loved of the Moon," i.e. *Chandragupta*, sent an ambassador carrying a diamond ring, a gold bracelet, red and white parrots, etc., to the Emperor Wuti. In 466 came another mission from the same court, and again in 500-504 bringing a trained horse.

In 441, 455, 466, and 473 other Buddhist kingdoms in or adjoining India, sent tribute. In 502 *Kioto* (or Gupta), a king of India, sent one Chulota to present to the emperor a letter, a spittoon of lapis-lazuli, perfumes, cotton-stuffs, etc. This king's territory adjoined the great river *Sinthao* (Indus) with its five branches. Rock-salt like crystal, it is observed, is found there.[1]

In 605 Yangti of the Sui dynasty, the same whose desire had been to open relations with the Roman empire, having formed some ambitious projects, sent to try and induce the kingdoms of Tibet and India to render him homage, but those of India refused, which much enraged the emperor.

Two years later we find one Chang-tsuen, "Director of the Military Lands", sent on an embassy to Ceylon.[2]

45. In 641 the King of Magadha (Behar, etc.) sent an ambassador with a letter to the Chinese court. The emperor (the great Taitsung) in return directed one of his officers to go to the king with an imperial patent and to invite his submission. The King *Shiloyto* (Siladitya) was all astonishment. "Since time immemorial," he asked his officers, "did ever an ambassador come from MOHOCHINTAN?" "Never," they replied. The Chinese author remarks that in the tongue of the barbarians the Middle Kingdom is called Mohochintan (*Mahachinasthana*). This led to a further exchange of civilities extending to 646. But the usurping successor of Siladitya did not maintain equally amicable relations, and war ensued, in the course of which the Chinese, assisted by the Kings of Tibet and Nepal, invaded India. Other Indian kings lent aid and sent supplies; and after the capture of the usurper *Alanashun*, and the defeat of the army commanded

supplied with unpublished translations of extracts from Chinese authors for his work. The authorities are given by him.

[1] *Julien*, u. s., pp. 99-100.

[2] *Tennent*, i, 583.

by his queen on the banks of the *Khientowei* (Gandhara) 580 cities surrendered to the Chinese arms, and the king was carried prisoner to China. A magician, who accompanied the Chinese general from India was employed to treat the Emperor Taitsung, who was very ill, but with no success. Wang Hiwantsé, the envoy who had gone on the mission which resulted in this war, wrote a history of all the transactions in twelve books, but it is lost.[1]

In 667-8 it is asserted the Kings of the five Indies all sent to offer homage; and this homage was repeated in 672 and 692. These kings are named in the Chinese Annals—(1) the King of Eastern India, named *Molopama*; (2) the King of Western India, called *Shiloyito*; (3) the King of Southern India, called *Chilukhipalo*; (4) the King of Northern India, called *Nana*; (5) the King of Central India, called *Timosina*.[2]

In 670 King Datopiatissa of Ceylon sent a memorial to the Emperor with a present of native productions. Another Ceylonese embassy came in 711.[3]

46. In 713 an embassy came to the Emperor Hiwantsung from Chentolopiti (*Chandrapida*), King of Kashmir, acknowledging allegiance, and some years later a patent of investiture was granted to this prince. A successor and brother called *Mutopi* (*Muktopida*) also offered homage and requested the Emperor to send troops into Kashmir, offering to quarter them on the banks of the Lake Mahapadma in the centre of that valley. Tribute continued to be paid regularly by Kashmir for some time. The pressure of the rising power of Tibet probably induced this state to seek Chinese protection.[4]

[1] *Julien*, pp. 107-110. The Siladitya of this account is known from Hiwen Thsang to have been one of the great kings of Indian history. His empire extended from the sea-coast of Orissa at least as far northwest as Kanauj, which was his capital, and possibly to the frontiers of Kashmir (see *Lassen*, iii, 673 *seqq.*). Lassen, as far as I can discover, says nothing as to this Chinese invasion of India, or the usurper Alanashun. Nor is the chronology consistent with his (from Hiwen Thsang) which continues Siladitya's reign to 650; whilst the account followed in the text makes him already dead in 646. The Emperor Taitsong died in 650.

[2] *Chine Ancienne*, p. 301.

[3] *Tennent*, i, p. 597.

[4] *Remusat*, u. s., p. 106; *Chin. Anc.*, 311; *Reinaud* in *Mem. de l'Acad.*,

Between 713 and 731 repeated missions are reported from the different kingdoms of India, one of which begged aid against the Arabs and the Tibetans, and requested the Emperor to bestow an honorific title upon the Indian monarch's army. The Emperor perhaps found this the most convenient part of the petition to comply with, and decreed it the title of "the Army which cherishes virtue."[1]

In 742 foreign merchants who had arrived in China by the Sea of the South brought a number of precious articles from the kingdom of Lions (*Sinhala* or Ceylon) to be presented to the Emperor on behalf of *Shiloshukia* their king.[2] Other embassies came from the same island in 746, 750, 762. There is then an interval of many centuries before Ceylon is again heard of in the Chinese Annals.[3]

47. Towards 758-760, China, it is said, having lost the country

xvii, p. 190. There is a King Chandrapida in the Kashmir Annals, but he is killed in 691. The king reigning 695-732 was Laladitya, a great conqueror. He seems to have had a brother Muktopida (see *Lassen*, iii, 993, 997).

[1] See *Julien*, u.s., and compare *Chine Ancienne*, 309, 310. About this time there is frequent mention in the Chinese Annals of relations with two kingdoms called *Great and Little Poliu*, which lay between Kashgar and Kashmir. The king of Little Poliu dwelt in a city called *Nieito*, near a river called *Soï*. The Great Poliu was more to the east; his country was occupied by the Chinese forces in 747 (*Remusat*, in *Mem. de l'Acad.* as above, pp. 100-102). Remusat renders Poliu *Purut*; but there can be no doubt that the kingdoms in question are Ladakh and Balti, which continued to a late date to be known as *Great and Little Tibet*. These titles will be found in Tavernier I think, and in the letters of the Jesuit Desideri (1716), and indeed the term Little Tibet for Balti is scarcely yet obsolete. Ladakh is probably "the city of Tibet, built on an eminence over a river" of Edrisi (i, 492). In Meyendorff we find the cities of Great and Little Tibet still spoken of at Bokhara. The Georgian Danibeg went from Kashmir to the "city of Tibet" in twenty days. It was three months from Lhassa. And the Tajik route given by Meyendorff speaks of reaching by the Karakorum pass "Tibet, a city on the *croupe* of a mountain, with the governor's residence at the top," a description which applies perhaps equally well to Ladakh and Balti. The latter is perhaps the name concealed in the Poliu of the Chinese, and the Soï may be the *Shayok* (*Meyendorff*, pp. 122, 339).

[2] *Ch. Anc.*, 312. This is not mentioned by Tennent. The king reigning at Anurajapura at this time was Aggrabodhi III or Akbo.

[3] *Tennent*, ib., 597.

of *Holong*, the kings of India ceased to send homage.[1] I do not know what country is indicated, whether *Khulum* in the valley of the Oxus or some region on the Yunan frontier. The former is probable, as the narratives of the Buddhist pilgrims show that the long route by Kashgar and Badakshan was that generally followed between India and China.

The Tibetans at this time were becoming powerful and troublesome neighbours, insomuch that about 787 the Emperor Tetsung, by the advice of one of his ministers, applied to the Uigurs, the Princes of India, and the Khalif to join in a league against them.

After this, for a long time no political intercourse is heard of; but a few more missions from Indian kingdoms are recorded under the later years of the tenth century and beginning of the eleventh as visiting the Court of the Northern Sung. With the exception of one in 1015 from the country of *Chulien*, which is supposed by Deguignes to be the Chola Kingdom of Southern India, I suspect these embassies to belong rather to the Archipelago than to India Proper.[3]

48. Throughout this period, however, there are frequent notices either of the visits of Indian Buddhist devotees to the Court of China or of leave obtained from the Emperor by Chinese Buddhists to visit India for religious objects.[4] One of the parties from India is related to have been accompanied by the son of an Indian king, by name Manjusri, a very zealous Buddhist, who was treated with great favour by the Emperor. The monks were jealous of this, and as he did not understand Chinese they made him believe that the Emperor had ordered his departure. He went off in much indignation to the southern coast to embark in a merchant vessel for India.[5] These religious visitors to China became very frequent after 975, perhaps a sign that by that time

[1] *Julien*, p. 111. [2] *Ch. Anc.*, p. 321.

[3] *Deguignes*, i, pp. 66 *seqq*. *Tanmoeilieu*, one of the kingdoms named, is perhaps Tana-Malayu, the Malay country.

[4] The route of one of these parties is described as carrying them by Kancheu, Shacheu, Icheu (Kamul), Karashahr, Kuche, Khotan, Khulum, Peshawur, and Kashmir.

[5] *Julien*, 111-114. This Manjusri appears in the traditions of the Newars of Nepal as the Buddhist Apostle of their country (see *Lassen*, iii, 777 *seq*. quoting from *B. H. Hodgson*).

Buddhism was becoming oppressed in India. In 986, however, a monk of Icheu (Kamul) returning from India brought a letter from a king who is called *Mosinang*, written in terms of humblest reverence, which are preserved by the Chinese authority, and transmitting relics of Sakya.[1]

49. Indeed, for many centuries subsequent to the introduction of Buddhism in China, the intercourse between its devotees in the two countries was frequent, and the narratives of Chinese pilgrims who spent years in studying the Buddhist doctrines in their original country and in visiting the sacred sites and monastic establishments of India, form a curious and valuable part of Chinese literature. Of these works several have been translated into European languages, as the Travels of Fathian (399-414); of Hiwen Thsang (travelled 628-645); and of Hoei Sing, who set out in 518. One of the latest of these travellers was Khinie, who journeyed (964-976) at the head of a body of 300 monks whom the Emperor despatched to India to seek relics of Buddha and collect books of palm-leaves. Fragments of descriptions of the western countries are cited from a work of one of

[1] *Julien*, 115-116. This letter was translated by one Shihu, an Indian ecclesiastic, who also communicated some information about the kingdoms of India. Besides Central India (here Magadha) there were in the north the kingdoms of *Utiennang* (Udyana, according to Julien), west of that *Khientolo* (Gandhara), *Nanggolokialo* (Nagarahara), *Lanpo* (Lamghan, now generally called Laghman), then *Gojenang* (probably *Ghazni*), and then Persia. Three days' journey west of Magadha was *Alawei (Rewa?)*, then Karana Kiuje (i.e. *Kanya Kubja* or Kanauj), Malwa, Ujjayani, *Lolo* (Lara according to Julien), Surashtra, and the Western Sea. Southern India was four months' journey from Magadha, and ninety days west of it was Konkana.

Gandhara mentioned above, according to the indications of Hiwen Thsang, lay north of Peshawur and stretched across the Indus. It is the *Kandahár* of Albiruni and other early Arab writers, the capital of which was *Waihand*, which stood on the west of the Indus north of the Kabul River's confluence. This is supposed to be the *Utakhanda* of Hiwen Thsang, and has been identified with Ohind or Hund, about fifteen miles above Attok. Udhyana lay *west* of Gandhara, the country on the Upper Swat and eastern part of the modern Kafiristan. Nanggolokialo or *Nagarahara* appears have been near the present Jalalabad. See *Reinaud* in Mem. de l'Acad. xvii, 108, 157, etc.; *Lassen* iii, 137 *seq.*; *V. St. Martin* in *N. Ann. des Voyages* for 1853, ii, 166.

these pilgrims older even than Fahian, the monk Shi-tao-an who died in 385. It does not seem to be known if the work is extant.[1]

These pilgrimages must have become more unfrequent as the indigenous Buddhism of India gradually perished, but perhaps they had not altogether ceased even in the middle of the fourteenth century. For at that date we find the Emperor of China asking leave from Mahomed Tughlak to rebuild a temple near the base of the Himalya, which was much visited by his subjects.[2]

50. In the thirteenth century we find revived indications of communication with Ceylon. Singhalese writers mention imports from China at this time; and in 1266 Chinese soldiers are mentioned as taking service in the army of the Ceylonese king. We hear, also, during the Mongol reign in China of the occasional despatch by the Emperors of officers to Ceylon to collect gems and drugs; and, on three occasions, envoys were sent to negotiate the purchase of the sacred alms-dish of Buddha. Such missions are alluded to by Polo and Odoric.

51. As late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, under the Ming dynasty, the Chinese made a remarkable and last attempt to renew their former claims to honorary allegiance in the maritime countries of the west. In 1405 a mission from China, which had come to Ceylon bringing incense and offerings to the Shrine of the Tooth, was maltreated by the reigning King Wijayabahu VI, who was a native of *Solli* or the Peninsula, and an oppressor of Buddhism. The Emperor Chingtsu, indignant at the outrage, and anxious to do something for the re-establishment of the declining prestige of China, despatched Chingho, a soldier of distinction, with a fleet of sixty-two ships and a military force, and armed with credentials and presents, to visit the western kingdoms. He touched at Cochin China, Sumatra, Java,

[1] *Julien* op. cit., pp. 272-294, and Preface to *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*. The Chinese bibliographer quoted by Julien observes of Fa Hian that he applies the term *Chong Kué* or Middle Kingdom to *India* instead of China. This error he observes is a fashion of the Buddhist monks, and is not worth the trouble of refutation! I suppose the Buddhists used it as a trans[illegible]on of *Madhyadesa*, the classical name which the Burmese still apply to [illegible]ngetic India.

[2] See *Ibn Batuta*, *infra*, p. 410.

[3] *Tennent*, i, 497-8.

Cambodia, Siam, and other places, proclaiming at each the imperial edict and conferring imperial gifts. If any of the states refused to acknowledge the Emperor's supremacy they were subdued by force; and in 1407 the expedition returned to China accompanied by envoys from the different nations. Chingho being sent again next year on a like mission, the Singhalese King tried to entrap and capture him, but Chingho avoided the snare, caught the king, his whole family and officers of state, and carried them prisoners to China. In 1411 the Emperor set the prisoners free, but deposed the misdemeanant king, and appointed another of the party in his place, who was sent back to Ceylon accompanied by a Chinese commissioner to invest him as a royal vassal of the empire. This new king is named by the Chinese *Pulakoma Bazae Lacha*, which identifies him as Prakrama Bahu Raja VI, whose reign according to the Ceylonese annals extended from 1410 to 1462. Tribute was paid regularly by Ceylon for fifty years; apparently therefore throughout the long reign of this prince and no longer. During that time the king is asserted to have been on two occasions the bearer of it in person. Other circumstances mentioned appear to imply that a Chinese Resident was maintained on the island who superintended the administration. The last tribute was paid in 1459. Chinese influence was thus a matter of recent memory on the arrival of the Portuguese in the beginning of the following century, and they found many traces of it remaining.

These events are of course very differently represented in the Ceylonese annals. According to their account the King of Mahachina landed in the island with an army under the pretence of *bringing tribute;* the King of Ceylon was then treacherously taken and carried captive to China, etc.[1]

52. As regards warlike relations between India and China in the middle ages we may mention the Mongol invasion of Bengal "by way of Cathay and Tibet" during the reign of Alauddin Musaüd King of Dehli; the only invasion of Bengal from that quarter distinctly recorded in history. This took place about 1244, and was defeated by the local officers. Firishta in speaking

[1] *Tennent*, pp. 601-602.

of it says it is supposed that they entered by the same route which was followed by Mahomed Bakhtiyar Khilji when he invaded Cathay and Tibet from Bengal.[1] This refers to the expedition some forty years before, to which allusion is made at p. 516 of the present work. It is very possible that Bakhtiyar Khilji's ambition dreamt even of a raid upon China, but it is difficult to gather from the account extant how far he had really got when forced to retreat; perhaps not beyond the Assam valley.[2] In the still more disastrous enterprise of Malik Yuzbek in 1256-57 aims more distant than Kámrúp are not alluded to. The mad expedition of Mahomed Tughlak in 1337 was, according to Firishta's account, directed against China. Of the force, which both that historian and Ibn Batuta estimate at one hundred thousand horse besides infantry, scarcely any returned to tell the tale, except the few who had been left to garrison posts in rear of the army. It is difficult to guess by what point this host entered the Himalya, nor have I been able to identify the town of *Jidiáh* at the base of the mountains, mentioned by Ibn Batuta, which would ascertain the position.

53. We ought not to omit in the record of relations between China and India, the two embassies mentioned by the author last named, viz., that sent by the Mongol Emperor Shunti or Togantemur to the Court of the same Mahomed Tughlak in 1341-42, and the unlucky return embassy entrusted to the Moorish traveller himself, which has furnished this collection with one of its chief items.

An embassy from Bengal is mentioned in the time of Chingtsu of the Ming (1409), but from what sovereign, Hindu or Musalman, does not appear.[4] It was, perhaps, one of those complimentary missions which General Chingho went cruising to promote, as mentioned on the previous page.

And in 1656, though the date is beyond the field of our notices, we find that the Dutch envoy Nieuhoff was presented at Peking along with an ambassador from the Great Mogul, at that time Jahanghir.[5]

[1] *Briggs's Firishta*, i, 231.
[2] See *Stewart's History of Bengal*, pp. 45-50. [3] *Ibn Batuta*, iii, 325.
[4] *Chine Anc.*, p. 402. [5] *Pauth. Relations Polit., etc.*, p. 49.

54. Returning to earlier days, we find that in the time of the Mongol emperors an ample trade by sea existed between China and the ports of Malabar. To this Polo, Odoric, Marignolli, and Ibn Batuta bear witness. The rise of this trade, so far as we know about it, will be more conveniently related under the head of Chinese intercourse with the Arabs. Ibn Batuta alludes to the Chinese merchants residing at Kaulam,[1] and such residents are also alluded to in ancient Malabar documents.[2] I have already suggested that Marignolli's mention of "Tartars" in connexion with the tomb of St. Thomas at Mailapúr (p. 376 *infra*) may indicate that Chinese traded, perhaps were settled, also on the Coromandel Coast. But Ritter's idea that CHINAPATAM, one of the native names of the town of Madras, is a trace of ancient Chinese colonisation here, is not well founded. That name, properly Chennapatam or Chennapapatam, was bestowed on the site granted to the British in 1639 by the Naik of Chingleput, in honour of that chief's own father-in-law, *Chennapa* by name.[3] It is curious, however, in connexion with such a suggestion, that Gasparo Balbi in the sixteenth century, speaking of certain Pagodas seen in making Negapatam after rounding Ceylon (apparently the monolithic temples at Mahabalipuram, commonly known still as the Seven Pagodas) observes that they were called the *Sette Pagodi de' Chini*, and were attributed to ancient Chinese mariners.[4]

55. We hear from Marco Polo of some part of the intercourse which Kublai Khan endeavoured to establish with western countries of Asia, and his endeavours are also specially mentioned in the Chinese annals. Unfortunately he and his officers seem to have entertained the Chinese notion that all intercourse with his empire should take the form of homage, and his attempts that way in Java and Japan had no very satisfactory result. But he is said to have been more fortunate in 1286 with the kingdoms of MAPAEUL, SUMUNTALA, SUMENNA, SENGKILI, MA-

[1] iv, p. 103. [2] See *Madras Journal* for 1844, p. 121.

[3] *Ritter*, v, 518, 620; *Madras in the Olden Time*, by *J. T. Wheeler*, Madras 1861, i, p. 25.

[4] It is worth noting that the Catalan Map of 1375 has in this position a place called *Setemelti*; qu., an error for *Sette templi*?

LANTAN, LAILAI, NAVANG, and TINGHOEUL. Of these the first four are almost certainly Indian. Maabar,[1] (Dwara)=Samundra,[2] Sumnath,[3] are not difficult to recognize; the fourth, Sengkili, is probably the Shinkali of Abulfeda, the Singuyli of Jordanus, the Cynkali of Marignolli, i.e., Cranganor.[4] The rest of the names probably belong to the Archipelago.[5]

IV. INTERCOURSE WITH THE ARABS.

56. This likewise, in all probability, goes back to an earlier date than is to be learned from any existing history, as the forms in which the name of China reached the Greeks have already suggested to us.

The earliest date to which any positive statement of such intercourse appears to refer is the first half of the fifth cen-

[1] See *infra*, pp. 80, 218, etc.

[2] The kingdom of the Bilal Rajas immediately north of Ma'bar, and constantly coupled with it in the Mahomedan histories.

[3] See *Marco Polo*, pt. III, ch. 32.

[4] See *infra*, pp. 75, 373.

[5] Thus Malantan, Navang, Tinghoeul may be compared with the names of the actual Malay states or provinces of Kalantan, Pahang, and Sungora. Pauthier introduces the list (which he gives as Siumenna, Senghili, Nanwuli, Malantan, Tingkorh, Maparh, and Sumuntala) as that of "ten maritime kingdoms of the Indian Archipelago", but that is merely an opinion of his own. It is possible, certainly, that Sumuntala may represent Sumatra, as it appears to do in passages quoted from Chinese geographies by M. Pauthier. Some of these, indeed, appear to be derived from European sources; others do refer to the Chinese Annals as far back as the tenth century, and if these can be depended on as showing that the island or a kingdom on it was called Sumatra at so early a date the circumstance is remarkable. In the absence of more distinct evidence, I should doubt if the name is so old. The Malay traditions, quoted by Dulaurier, ascribe the foundation of the city called Sumatra to the father of the king reigning in Ibn Batuta's time.

The list of names in the text is from Gaubil (see, *G. Hist. de Gentchis Can*, p. 205; *Pauthier's Polo*, p. 572; also *Baldello Boni's Il Milione*, ii, 388).

I may observe, that in an old Chino-Japanese map described by Klaproth and Remusat, the kingdoms of *Sumenna, Kylantin, Mapœul*, and *Tinghœul*, are placed far to the west beyond the Arabs (*Not. et Ext.*, vol. xi, and *Klap. Mem.* ii). This, however, only shows that the author of the map did not know where to put them.

tury of our era. At this time, according to Hamza of Ispahan and Masudi, the Euphrates was navigable as high as Hira, a city lying south-west of ancient Babylon, near Kufa, (now at a long distance from the actual channel of the river), and the ships of India and China were constantly to be seen moored before the houses of the town.[1] Hira was then abounding in wealth, and the country round, now a howling wilderness, was full of that life and prosperity which water bestows in such a climate. A gradual recession took place in the position of the headquarters of Indian and Chinese trade. From Hira it descended to Obolla, the ancient Apologos, from Obolla it was transferred to the neighbouring city of Basra, built by the Khalif Omar on the first conquest of Irak (636), from Basra to Siraf on the northern shore of the gulf, and from Siraf successively to Kish and Hormuz.

57. Chinese Annals of the Thang dynasty of the seventh and eighth centuries, describe the course followed by their junks in voyaging to the Euphrates from Kwangcheu (Canton). After indicating the route and the times occupied as far as Ceylon,[2] we are told that they passed in front of MOLAI (Malé of Cosmas, Malabar), after which they coasted ten small kingdoms towards the north-west, and after two days' sail to the north-west across sea (Gulf of Cambay) they reached TIYU (probably Diu). Ten days further voyage carried them past five small kingdoms to

[1] *Reinaud, Relations*, etc., 1, xxxv; *Tennent's Ceylon*, i, 541; Masudi in "*Prairies d'Or*, i, 216 *seqq*. The passage in Masudi, as translated by Messrs. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courtille, is not so precise in its evidence as I should have gathered from Reinaud and Tennent. I have not access to Hamza.

"Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion, and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of Persia" (*Gibbon*, ch. li).

[2] All which, strange to say, is omitted by Deguignes, from whom this is quoted (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xxxii, 367). The passage does not seem to have been reproduced by later Chinese scholars. It also speaks, as may be gathered from Deguignes in another essay, of the different places in Asia whither the goods taken to the Gulf were carried for sale, and indicates places of commerce on the coast of Africa (*Mem.*, as above, xlvi, 547).

another TIYU, near the Great River MILAN or SINTEU.[1] In twenty days more they came to the frontiers of another country, where there was a great lighthouse in the sea;[2] one day more brought them to Siraf, and thence they reached the mouth of the Euphrates.

The ships of China, according to some authorities, used to visit Aden as well as the mouths of Indus and Euphrates.[3] I do not think that either Polo or any traveller of his age speaks of them as going further than Malabar, the ports of which appear to have become the entrepôts for commercial exchange between China and the west, nor does it appear what led to this change. Some time in the fifteenth century again they seem to have ceased to come to Malabar, nor can it be positively gathered from Abd-ul-Razzak or Conti whether Chinese vessels continued to frequent that coast in their time (circa 1430-1442).[4] We

[1] The *Milan* or *Sinteu* is the Sindu or Indus, called by the Arabs *Mehrán*. *Tiyu* is probably, as suggested by Deguignes, the port of Diul, Dewal, or DAIBUL, which lay to the west of the Indus mouths and cannot have been far from Karáchi. Edrisi speaks of it specifically as frequented by Chinese ships. Daibul was besieged and taken by the Mahomedans before the end of the seventh century. The district at the mouths of the Indus appears to have retained the name long after the decay of the port, for Barbosa calls this territory *Diul* (*Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 161; *Gildemeister*, p. 170, but the reading of Ibn Haukal here which places Daibul on the *east* of the Indus appears to be erroneous; *Barbosa* (Lisbon ed.), p. 266; *Reinaud* in *Mem. de l'Acad.*, xvii, p. 170).

[2] Probably at the Straits of Hormuz. I do not find any light there mentioned, but Masudi mentions that at the terminus of this voyage at the entrance of the roadstead near Obollah and Abadan (*i.e.*, off the mouth of Euphrates) there were three great platforms on which beacons were lighted every night to guide ships coming in (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 230).

[3] See *Ibn el Wardi*, in *Not. et Extraits*, ii, 43. Edrisi says that, from Aden ships sailed for Hind, Sind, and China (i, 51). He gives a list of the wares brought from China by these ships, but except iron, sword-blades (perhaps Japanese), shagreen, rich stuffs and velvets, and various vegetable tissues, the articles rather belong to the Archipelago.

Baroch is also mentioned as a port visited by ships of China (*Edrisi*, i, 179); and Suhár in Oman (the Soer of Polo), as a port from which Arab vessels traded to China (*Id.*, i, 152).

[4] Abdul Razzak, however, does mention merchants and maritime people of China among those who frequented Hormuz in his time (1442). He does not distinctly say that ships of that country came, and the passage is perhaps too general to build upon (*Ind. in XV Cent.*, p. 56).

read, however, that Chingtsu of the Ming dynasty (1402-1424) despatched vessels to the islands and countries of India, Bengal, Calicut, Ceylon, Surat, the Persian Gulf, Aden, and the Red Sea, expeditions to which reference has been made in a previous page, and which do not seem to have been in any degree commercial. This, however, is the last notice with which I am acquainted of Chinese vessels visiting Malabar and Western Asia.[1]

58. The Arabs at an early date of Islam, if not before, had established a factory at Canton, and their numbers at that port were so great by the middle of the eighth century that in 758 they were strong enough to attack and pillage the city, to which they set fire and then fled to their ships.[2] Nor were they confined to this port. The city now called Hangcheufu, the Quinsai and Khansa of the middle ages, but known in those days to the Arabs as KHANFU,[3] was probably already frequented by them; for, one hundred and twenty years later, the number of foreign settlers, Musulman, Jew, Christian, and Gueber, who perished on the capture of that city by a rebel army, is estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand, and even two hundred thousand![4] Of course we must make large deductions, but these contemporary statements still indicate a large foreign population.

59. In the eighth century also the Arabs began to know the Chinese not only as *Sinæ*, but as *Seres*, *i.e.* by the northern land route. The successes of Kutaiba, who in the time of Khalif Walid overran Bokhara, Samarkand, Farghana, and Khwarizm,

[1] *Deguignes*, i, 72.

[2] *Deguignes*, i, 59, ii, 503; also in *Mem. de l'Acad.*, xlvi, 545. In the latter essay, Deguignes attributes this out-break to the Arab auxiliaries mentioned further on.

[3] *Khanfu* was properly only the port of Hangcheu or Khansa, called by the Chinese KANP'HU (a name still preserved as that of a town half a league north of the old site), and by Marco Polo *Ganfu* (i, 74). The place is mentioned as a coasting port in Chinese Annals under A.D. 306; as the seat of a master attendant in 706; and as that of a marine court under the Mongols (*Klap. Mem. rel. à l'Asie*, ii, 200 *seqq.*). The name of the port seems to have been transferred by the early Arabs to Hangcheu; for there seems no reason to ascribe to Kanp'hu itself the importance here assigned to *Khanfu*. Indeed, Abulfeda says expressly, "*Khanfu*, which is known in our days as Khansa."

[4] *Reinaud, Relations*, etc., i, p. 64; Masudi *Prairies d'Or*, i, 304.

and even extended his conquests across the Bolor to Kashgar, brought the two powers into dangerous collision;[1] and the Emperor of China seems to have saved himself from an Arab invasion, only by the very favourable reception which he gave to an embassy from Kutaiba, composed of twelve Mahomedans, whom he sent back loaded with presents for the Arab general.[2]

This was no doubt the embassy to the Emperor Hiwen Thsung (circa 713), of which the Chinese annals relate that the envoys demanded exemption from the *Kotow*, and in consequence were put upon their trial and pronounced worthy of death. The emperor, however, graciously pardoned them![3]

The emperors seemed to have entertained a correcter apprehension of the character of the new enemy than their successors have exhibited in later days when coming in contact with European nations, and consequently they were very cautious in their answers to the many applications that were made to them for aid against the irresistible Arabs. Yet collisions were not entirely avoided. Indeed according to one Mahomedan historian[4] the end of the year 87 of Hejira (A.D. 709) had already witnessed the glorious defeat of two hundred thousand Tartars who had broken into the Mahomedan conquests under the command of *Taghabun*, the Chinese Emperor's nephew. And at a later date, about 751, we find the Chinese troops under their general Kaosienchi engaging those of the Khalif near Taraz or Talas and entirely routed.[5] A few years afterwards (757-8), when the Emperor Sutsung was hard pressed by a powerful rebel, he received an

[1] Hajáj, the Viceroy of Irak, sent messages to Kutaiba and to Mahomed Ibn Kassim in Sind, urging both to press forward to the conquest of China, and promising that the first to reach it should be invested with the government. This induced Kutaiba to advance to Kashgar, and Mahomed to press towards Kanauj. But the death of their patron and of the Khalif put an end to their schemes and brought destruction upon both (*Reinaud in Mem. de l'Acad.*, xvii, 186).

[2] *De Sacy* in *Not. et Extraits*, ii, 374-5.

[3] *Remusat, Melanges Asiat.*, i, 441-2. So in turn ten Chinese envoys are said to have been murdered at the Burmese court in 1286, because they insisted on appearing in the royal presence with their boots on (*Mission to Ava*, p. 79).

[4] *Tabari*, quoted in *Ch. Anc.*, p. 310.

[5] *Ib.*, 311; *Deguignes*, i, 58.

embassy from the Khalif Abu Jafar al Mansúr, accompanied by auxiliary troops. But even these ministers of timely aid are related in the Chinese annals to have been compelled to perform the kotow in spite of their strong remonstrances. Uigur and other western troops also joined the emperor's standard, and the rebel was completely defeated in the immediate neighbourhood of Singanfu. These auxiliaries seem to have been found very unmanageable; the eastern capital, Loyang, was pillaged by them, and, as we have seen, one account ascribes to them, on their way to embark for the west, the sack of Canton which occurred at this time.[1]

Mention has been made in a preceding page how about 787 the emperor applied to the khalif to join in a league against the Tibetans. Some years later (798) the celebrated Khalif Harun Al Rashid sent three ambassadors to the Court of China, and it is recorded of them that they performed, apparently without remonstrance, the ceremonies to which the former Arab envoys, like ours in modern times, had so strongly objected.[2]

An embassy from the khalif is said to have also reached the Chinese Court in 974, and another to have visited the Northern Sung in 1011.[3]

V. INTERCOURSE WITH ARMENIA AND PERSIA, ETC.

60. Besides that communication by land and sea with Arabia, and with the various states of India, of which illustrations have been given, there existed from an old date other and obscurer streams of intercourse between China and Western Asia, of which we have but fragmentary notices, but which seem to indicate a somewhat fuller mutual knowledge and freer communication than most persons probably have been prepared to recognise.

Thus, China appears to have been well known from an early period to the Armenians. Moses of Chorene, who wrote a little after A.D. 440, and who probably drew from earlier authors, speaks of JENASDAN (*i.e. Chinistàn* or China) as a great plain

[1] See *Mem. de l'Acad.* (old), xvi, p. 254, and *supra*, p. lxxx.
[2] *Remusat*, u.s.
[3] *Deguignes*, in *Acad.*, xlvi, 544; *H. des Huns*, i, 66, *seqq.*

country, east of Scythia, at the extremity of the known world, and occupied by a wealthy and civilised people of character so eminently pacific as to deserve to be called not merely *friends of peace* but *friends of life*. Their country furnished an abundance of silk, insomuch that silk dresses, so rare and costly in Armenia, were there common to all classes. It also produced musk, saffron, and cotton. Peacocks were found there. Twenty-nine nations were comprised within its bounds; and not all of equal civilisation, for one was addicted to cannibalism.[1] The king, whose title was *Jen-pagur*, had his residence in the city of *Siurhia* towards the Terra Incognita. The country of the Sinæ adjoined Jenasdan and embraced seven nations; it contained many rivers and mountains, and extended likewise to the Unknown Land.[2] According to the same historian, in the reign of Tigranes VI (A.D. 142-178) several bodies of foreign settlers, and amongst others Chinese, were placed in Gordyene or Kurdish Armenia, for the defence of the country.[3]

To more than one great Armenian family a Chinese descent was attributed. One of these families was that of the Orpelians, which in Georgia was known by the name of *Jenpakuriani* from their supposed ancestor the Jen-pakur or Emperor of China.[4] Another family was that of the Mamigonians, one which plays an important part in Armenian history. Their story is told by Moses of Chorene, who refers their establishment in Armenia to a date two hundred years before his own time, and therefore to

[1] Compare *Ptolemy*, vi, 16; and *Marco Polo*, i, 78.

[2] *St. Martin, Mem. sur l'Armenie*, ii, 22, 23, 377. The *Jenasdan* of Moses of Chorene is perhaps the Empire of the Wei dynasty which ruled in Northern China with varying power from the fourth to the sixth century, and whose authority in Tartary was very extensive. Their capitals were various; *Loyang* was one of them. I do not know if this could be identified with Siurhia; but it may be observed that in the Syriac of the Singanfu inscription Loyang is supposed to be meant by *Saragh*. The *Sinæ* would perhaps represent the Tçin reigning at Nanking.

[3] *St. Martin*, ii, 47.

[4] St. Martin says that *Pakur* is the Faghfur of the Mahomedan writers, the generic name applied to the Emperors of China. See note under § 85, *infra*.

I notice, however, that *Pakor* forms a part of the name or title of many of the Georgian kings in Deguignes's list.

the first half of the third century. He relates that, in the latter days of Ardeshir, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty (who died in 240), a certain Arpog was King of China, one of whose sons, Mamkon by name, fled from home on account of a charge brought against him, and took refuge in Persia. The Chinese threatening war on account of the shelter afforded him, he was obliged to retire to Armenia, where he was received by the King Tiridates, who eventually bestowed the province of Daron upon him and his Chinese followers. From this Mamkon came the family of the Mamigonians, whose Chinese descent is spoken of by all the Armenian historians.[1]

About the same time we find it stated that the Emperor of China offered to mediate between Ardeshir, King of Persia, and Khosru I of Armenia; whilst Suren, a brother of St. Gregory of Armenia, is represented as taking refuge in China. All these circumstances imply some familiarity of relation. The authority quoted for them is Zenob, a Syrian, who wrote in Armenian in the beginning of the fourth century. And he says that they were derived from a history of China written in Greek by one Parta or Barta of Edessa.[2]

61. The offer at mediation between Persia and Armenia just referred to is apparently unknown to the Chinese Annals. Their first notice of Persia is the record of an embassy to the court of the Wei in 461; succeeded by a second in 466.[3] In the year 518-19 an ambassador came from *Kiuhoto* (Kobád), king of that country, with presents and a letter to the emperor. The Chinese annalists profess to give the literal terms of the letter, which uses a tone of improbable humility.[4]

[1] There appears to be some chronological hitch in this account; for Tiridates, who was carried off as an infant to the Romans, was not established on the throne till the beginning of Dioclesian's reign (284), forty-four years after the death of Ardashir (*Smith's Dict. of Greek and Rom. Biog.*).

[2] *St. Martin*, 29. [3] *Deguignes*, i, 184.

[4] "To the Son of Heaven, the Sovereign of the Great Realm, whom Heaven hath caused to exist and hath placed at the sun-rising to reign eternally over the empire of the *Han*; the King of Persia, Kobád, presents his respectful homage a thousand and ten thousand times

In the reign of Naoshirwan, the celebrated son of Kobád, an embassy came to the Persian court from the Emperor of China, bringing splendid presents. Among these are mentioned a panther formed of pearls with eyes of rubies; a silk robe of ultramarine blue of extraordinary splendour on which was represented in gold the Persian monarch with his courtiers round him; and a golden box to contain this robe on which was figured the head of a woman veiled with long hair, through which her beauty shone like a ray of light through the darkness.[1]

In the same reign (567) is mentioned that the King of Persia sent an embassy to Wuti, Emperor of the Chou dynasty, perhaps to engage his aid against the Turks who were then become formidable upon the Bactrian frontiers, as we see in the extracts from Menander, in note viii.[2]

In 638 Yezdijerd III, the last of the Sassanid kings, when hard pressed in the uttermost corners of his dominions by the Saracens, sent an envoy to seek help from the Emperor of China, now the great and powerful Taitsung. The Persian prince, obliged to retire into Turkestan, met in Sogdiana his messenger returning with Taitsung's refusal of assistance. This embassy is mentioned both by Chinese and Arabian historians; by the former the unfortunate king is styled *Yissésse*.[3] The son of this king, called by the Chinese Piloussé; *i.e.*, Perozes or Firúz, established himself in Tokharistan, apparently under some subordination to the Chinese Government. In 661 he reported to China that the Arabs were again pressing him hard, and some years later

and prays his Imperial Majesty to accept it" (*Pauthier, de l'Auth.*, p. 60).

[1] *Malcolm's History of Persia* (Fr. Trans.), i, 211; Masudi, *Prairies d'Or*, ii, 201. In the latter's version the long-haired beauty is not a picture, but a living damsel who carried the casket.

[2] *Deguignes*, ii, 385.

[3] *Remusat, l'Acad.*, viii, p. 103; *St. Martin*, ii, 19; *Klap., Tab. Hist.*, p. 208; *Pauth., de l'Auth.*, pp. 17, 61. The reply of the Chinese Emperor is thus represented by the Arab historian, Tabari:—"It is just that kings should help one another; but I have gathered from your own ambassadors what manner of men are these Arabs, what their habits, their religion, and the character of their leaders. People who have such a faith and such leaders will carry all before them. Try, then, to make the best of things by gaining their good graces" (*Not. et Extraits*, ii, 365).

(670-673) he took refuge at the Chinese court, where he received a high nominal command, and died soon after.[1] After his death, his son, called by the Chinese *Ninissé* or *Ninieissé* (Narses?), took the oath of allegiance to the emperor. In 679 a Chinese general, with a body of troops, was ordered to escort this prince to his paternal dominions; but the general seems to have descried serious obstacles to the completion of this duty; for he turned back from the frontier near Taraz "because of the length of the way and the fatigue of the journey", as the Chinese annalist quaintly puts it. The prince betook himself to Tokharistan where he was hospitably received; but, whatever efforts he may have made to recover his throne, he found them fruitless at last; for, in 707 we find him again presenting himself at the Chinese court, where, like his father, he was consoled with a sounding military title, and did not long survive. But here we must look back a little.

62. In the days of Yangti of the Sui dynasty (605-617) China had begun to regain that influence over the states of Central Asia which it had enjoyed in the great days of the Han, preceding and following the Christian era, and under Taitsung of the Thang (627-650) that influence was fully re-established and the frontiers of the empire were again carried to the Bolor and even beyond it to the borders of Persia. In these remoter provinces the actual administration remained in the hands of the native princes who acknowledged themselves the vassals of the emperor. But from him they accepted investiture, Chinese seals of office, and decorations as lieges of the empire. Their states were divided after the Chinese manner into departments, districts, and cantons (*fu*, *cheu*, and *hian*), each of which received a Chinese name by which it was entered in the imperial registers; whilst Chinese camps were scattered over the whole territory. The tributary states west of the Bolor formed sixteen *fu* and seventy-two *cheu*, over which were distributed a hundred and twenty-six Chinese military posts. The list of the sixteen districts of the first class has been published by Remusat, and, though doubts

[1] *Firuz*, as the name of a son of Yezdejird, the last Sassanid king, is mentioned by Masudi, *Prairies d'Or*, ii, 241.

attach to the localities of some, enough has been made out to show that this Chinese organisation extended, at least in theory, over Farghana and the country round Tashkand, over the eastern part at least of Mawaralnahr, the country on the Oxus from Balkh upwards, Bamian and other districts adjoining the Hindu Kush, with perhaps Sejistan and part of Khorasan.[1]

The states of Turkestan and Khorasan were probably desirous to place themselves under Chinese protection in the vain hope of finding it a bulwark against the Saracen flood, and may themselves have originated this action of the Chinese Government. Besides the states which were thus organised on a Chinese model, others occupying a wider circle sent occasional embassies of compliment which the Chinese represent as bearing tribute, and among these are found the Khans of Khwarizm and the Khazars. The kings of Samarkand for several generations are alleged to have received investiture from China, but it does not appear that their territory was organised in the Chinese fashion.

The orders for that organisation were issued in 661, and it must remain very doubtful how far they were ever carried out, considering that in that very year, as we have seen, the Sassanian Prince Firuz was beginning to find Tokharestan too hot to hold him. The highest point of this tide of the Chinese power must have been then reached, but several of the states west of the Bolor are represented as continuing to send tribute to China with

[1] *Remusat*, u.s., pp. 81 *sqqq*. This author considers Kandahar and Kabul to be included in the Chinese distribution of provinces; but see *Reinaud, Mem. sur l'Inde* in *Mem. Acad.*, xvii, 167-8.

One of the Chinese *Fús* is termed *Pussé; i.e.*, "Persia", which should be at least on the borders of that country. The chief city of this department was called *Tsiling*. Now, it seems not improbable that this department of *Persia* was really part of SEJISTAN, the chief city of which in early Mahomedan times was called ZARANJ (compare the *Drangiane* and *Zarangiane* of the Greeks), a name which might be well represented by the Chinese *Tsiling*. This is the more probable, as near Zaranj stood the ancient city of *Fars* (Farrah ?), the traditional capital of Rustum, which might suggest the Persia or Pussé of the Chinese (see *Edrisi*, i, 445). M. Pauthier suggests *Shiraz* as the identification of Tsiling. But it would have been a bold step surely in 661 to name Shiraz as the seat of a Chinese Government (see *De l'Auth.*, p. 61).

wonderful persistence for years after the conquests of Kutaiba, and well into the middle of the eighth century.[1]

The Chinese annals represent indeed that some small districts of Persia maintained their independence against the Arabs for a considerable time, and between 713 and 755 sent ten separate embassies to the court of China. A prince of Tabaristan is especially mentioned as sending one of these missions; his country is correctly described as surrounded on three sides by mountains and on the north by the Little Sea (the Caspian). The capital was called SARI.[2] In the time of the Kings of Persia this had been the seat of an officer called the Great General of the East. This officer had refused to submit to the Arabs, and in 746 he (or rather a successor) sent envoys to the Emperor of China and received a title of honour. Eight years later he sent his son to China, and the Emperor conferred high military rank upon him. The father perished at the hands of the Arabs.

One more embassy is reported from Persia in 923. The greater part of Persia seems at that time to have been under the Samanid dynasty at Bokhara, with whom intercourse was carried on and a marriage alliance took place some twenty years later, if we can depend on the Arabian traveller Ibn Muhalhal (see § 84).

63. In this part of our subject we may also mention as worthy of note, though without being able to throw any light upon it, the tradition of the Druzes of Syria that China is the land of their forefathers, and the happy country to which good Druzes revert beyond the grave.[3]

VI. NESTORIAN CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.

64. The traditions of the eastern churches take back the preaching of the Gospel in China to a very old date indeed. Not

[1] See *Remusat*, to p. 102. He says the Chinese power really extended to the Caspian in the latter half of the seventh and first half of the eighth centuries. But how can this be reconciled with the Mahomedan conquests?

[2] An old city of Mazandaran, which is celebrated in the legends of Afrasiab. There are, or were in the last century, still to be seen at Sari four ancient circular temples, each thirty feet in diameter and one hundred and twenty feet high (*Malcolm*, u.s., p. 42).

[3] *Mr. Cyril Graham* in *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 262-3.

St. Thomas only is asserted to have carried so far his indefatigable missionary journeys,[1] for the apostle Bartholomew is related by a Syro-Arabian writer to have gone preaching to India and further China.[2] Apart from these legends, a Christian author of the third century speaks of the Seres with the Persians and Medes as among the nations who had been reached by the power of the Word.[3] On this we cannot build as evidence that Christianity had then extended to China; but that it was in the following century already widely diffused over Mesopotamia and Persia is shown by the number of Bishops and Presbyters who are named as martyrs or otherwise in connexion with the persecutions of Sapor;[4] whilst the existence of an episcopal see at

[1] The Chaldæan breviary of the Malabar Church, in its office of St. Thomas contains this passage:—

"By St. Thomas were the errors of idolatry banished from among the Indians;

"By St. Thomas were the CHINESE and the Ethiopians converted to the truth;

"By St. Thomas did they receive the Sacrament of Baptism and the adoption of children;

"By St. Thomas were they brought to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;

"By St. Thomas when they had gotten the Faith they did maintain it;

"By St. Thomas hath the brightness of the doctrine unto life arisen over all the Indies;

"By St. Thomas hath the Kingdom of Heaven taken unto itself wings and passed even unto CHINA."

And again in an anthem:

"The Hindus and the CHINESE and the Persians, and all the people of the Isles of the Sea, and they who dwell in Syria and Armenia, in Javan and Romania call Thomas to remembrance and adore Thy Name, O Thou our Redeemer." (*Assemanni*, pp. 32, 516.)

[2] Ditto, p. 576.

[3] That new power which has arisen from the works wrought by the Lord and his Apostles "has subdued the flame of human passions, and brought into the hearty acceptance of one faith a vast variety of races, and nations the most different in their manners. For we can count up in our reckoning things achieved in India, among the SERES, Persians, and Medes; in Arabia, Egypt, Asia, and Syria; among the Galatians, the Parthians, and the Phrygians; in Achaia, Macedonia, and Epirus; in all the islands and provinces which the rising or the setting sun looks down upon." *Arnobius, Adversus Gentes*, in ii, 448, *Max. Biblioth. Patrum*, 1677.

[4] *As.*, p. 52-3, 415.

Marw and Tús in 334, raised to metropolitan dignity in 420, shows how early the church had established itself also in Khorasan.[1]

65. After the condemnation and banishment of Nestorius, his opinions nevertheless spread extensively in Persia and throughout the eastern churches. The separation from Byzantine orthodoxy and influence (formally accomplished about 498) rather recommended the Separatists to the Kings of Persia, though their treatment by those princes constantly fluctuated between favour and persecution. And much the same may be said of their condition under the Arabian khalifs. At first they seem to have been treated by the Mahomedans with some amount of good will.[2] They found employment with the khalifs, especially as secretaries and physicians, and in the latter capacity many of them acquired a wide eastern fame. Still they were always liable to be treated with capricious outbursts of severity, and too often the heavy hand of Islam was brought down upon them through their own internal rivalries and factions.

66. Whatever may have been the faults of the churches, there seems to have been a strong missionary spirit among them in the seventh and eighth centuries, as shown both by positive historical statements,[3] and by the extension eastward of the metropolitan sees. Such were constituted at Herat, Samarkand, and in CHINA in the first quarter of the eighth century, and no doubt these must have existed as ordinary bishoprics for some time before.[4]

[1] Ditto, 477, 479.

[2] The Patriarch Jesujabus (650-660) in a letter given by Assemanni, deplores a falling away of thousands of Christian people in the province of Marw before the Mahommedan invasion, not from any reason that they had to fear fire or sword, but only to avoid the loss of part of their goods. He testifies in the same letter that the conduct of the *Tayi*, as he calls the Mahomedans (whence, as M. Pauthier has somewhere pointed out, the *Tashi* of the Chinese, v. *supra* p. lx) was in general kindly towards the Christians. *Assem.* iii, Pt. i, pp. 130-131.

[3] *E.g.*, see in *Assemanni*, p. 478.

[4] Indeed some of the Syrian authors ascribe all three metropolitan sees to much earlier dates. A writer quoted by Assemanni says :—"*Heriæ et* Samarkandæ et Sinæ Metropolitanos creavit Salibazacha Catholicos [714-728]. Aiunt vero quidam Achæum [411-415] et Silam [503-520] illos constituisse" (p. 522). The fact may be that Herat was constituted a

Under the patriarchate of Timothy again (778-820) we find the record of the appointment of one David to be metropolitan of China. In the middle of the ninth century we find the metropolitan of China mentioned along with those of India, Persia, Marw, Syria, Arabia, Herat, and Samarkand, as excused on account of the remoteness of their sees from attending the quadrennial synods of the church, but enjoined to send every six years a report of the state of their affairs, and not to neglect the collections for the support of the patriarchate.[1] There is thus good evidence from the ecclesiastical annals of Western Asia of the existence of the church in China during the eighth and ninth centuries; and the narrative of the Arab Abu Said, in consistence with this, speaks of Christians as forming one part of a very large foreign population at Khanfu in the year 878.

The institution of a *metropolitan* for China about the year 720 involves a presumption that Christianity had penetrated to that country some time before. Deguignes thought it had got thither *very much* earlier, but he seems to have been misled by a theory that some at least of the earlier notices of Buddhism in China alluded to Christianity.[2]

67. For these extreme ideas there seems to be no evidence, unless we accept the loose statement of Arnobius about the Seres. Cosmas, in the sixth century, was not aware of the existence of any Christians further east than Taprobane, nor in Inner Asia does he speak of any beyond the Huns and the Bactrians, on the banks of the Indus and the Oxus. But that christianity in China was nearly a century older than the date of its first metropolitan bishop is established by more than one Chinese record.

The first of these, which would be obscure without the light reflected on it by the second and more important, is an edict issued in 745 by the Emperor Hiwentsung of the Thang, wherein it is

bishopric in 411-415, and Samarkand in 503-520. We shall see that the existence of any bishopric in China before 635 is highly improbable.

[1] *Assem.*, p. 439.

[2] He refers, without the condemnation which it may be supposed to merit, to a medal representing the Virgin and Child united to a Chinese copper coin of A.D. 556, of which he says a cut is given in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, xvi. See *Deguignes*, i, 50.

declared that the religion of the sacred books known as *Persian* had originally come from Tathsin (the Roman Empire); propagated by preaching and tradition it had made its way to the Middle Kingdom, and had been for a long time practised therein. Temples of this worship had been erected from the first, and had got to be known popularly as Persian temples. But as this title was inaccurate it was by this edict enacted that throughout the empire the name of Persian temples should be thenceforward changed to TATHSIN TEMPLES.[1]

68. The second record is that celebrated monument of Singanfu which has been the subject of so much discussion.

This monument was dug up in the year 1625 during a chance excavation in a suburb of Singanfu, preserving in its name of Changgan that of the city which was for so many ages the capital of successive dynasties. It was a stone slab of some six feet and a quarter in height and about three feet in width, with a cross carved at the top, and below that a continuous Chinese inscription of great length, besides lines of writing in an alphabetic character, which was soon after the discovery ascertained to be Syriac.[2]

The contents of this inscription, attesting the ancient propagation of Christianity in China, speedily became known to the Jesuit missionaries; and a Chinese edition of it was published in the country eighteen years later by two of that body. Long before the latter date, however, copies or facsimiles had been sent to Europe, and the first attempt at a translation was published by Athanasius Kircher in 1636.

The inscription has since been several times translated, and has given rise to a large amount of controversy, sometimes of very acrimonious character. Many scholars have entirely refused to believe in its genuineness. Voltaire, as a matter of course, sneered at it. In our own day Renan (though apparently with some doubts) and Julien have denied its authenticity; so has the German Neumann with singular rashness, roundly accusing the

[1] *Pauth. de l'Auth.*, pp. 79-80.

[2] Extracts regarding the discovery of the monument will be found in Suppl. Note x.

Jesuit Semedo of having forged it.[1] On the other hand, Abel Remusat and Klaproth fully accepted and stoutly maintained its authenticity, which M. Pauthier seems, as far as I can judge, to have *demonstrated*. It is not easy to see why a Jesuit should have expended enormous labour in forging a testimonial to the ancient successes of a heretical sect; though perhaps one could not build entirely on this, as the mysteries of the hoaxing propensity in the human mind are great. But the utter *impossibility* of the forgery of such a monument at the time and place of its discovery is a more invulnerable argument, and to appreciate this the remarks of Remusat and Pauthier must be read.

69. The monument exhibits, in addition to the Chinese text which forms its substance, a series of short inscriptions in Syriac, containing the date of erection, the names of the reigning patriarch of the Nestorian Church, of the Bishop of China (*Tzinisthán*, the form used by Cosmas) and of the chief clerical staff of the capital, which is here styled, as in the early Greek and Arabic sources already quoted, *Kúmdán*. To this are added in Syriac characters the names of sixty-seven persons, apparently Western Asiatics, the great majority of whom are characterised as priests (*Kashíshá*), with those of sixty-one persons of the country in Chinese, all of whom are styled priests except two.[2]

[1] See *Pauthier de l'Auth.*, pp. 6 *seqq.*; 14 *seqq.*; 83 *seqq.*; and especially 91.

[2] The essential parts of the Syriac matter on the monument run as follows:

"*In the days of the Father of Fathers* MAR HANAN ISHU'A *the Catholic Patriarch*:

[And] "ADAM *Priest and Bishop and Pope of* TZINISTHAN:

"*In the year one thousand and ninety-two of the Greeks* [A.D. 781] MAR IDBUZID, *Priest and Chorepiscopus of* KUMDAN, *the royal city, son of Milis of blessed memory, Priest of* BALKH, *a city of* THOKARESTHAN, *has erected this table of stone, on which are inscribed the Redemption by our Saviour, and the preachings of our Fathers to the King of* TZINIA:

"ADAM *the Deacon, son of Idbuzid, Chorepiscopus:*

"MAR SARGIS [Sergius], *Priest and Chorepiscopus:*

"SABAR ISHU'A, *Priest:*

"GABRIEL, *Priest, and Archdeacon and Church Ruler of the cities of* KUMDAN *and* SARAGH."

Anan Jesus II, according to Assemanni (III, i, 155-7) was patriarch of the Nestorian Church from 774 to 778. It is justly pointed out by the same author that the fact of this patriarch's being represented as still

The chief contents of the long inscription in Chinese, which contains 1789 characters, may be thus summarised:—1st. An abstract of Christian doctrine, of a very vague and figurative kind. This vagueness is perhaps partly due to the character of the Chinese language, but that will scarcely account for the absence of all intelligible enunciation of the Crucifixion, or even of the death, of our Lord Jesus Christ, though his Ascension is declared. 2nd. An account of the arrival of the missionary, OLOPAN,[1] from the empire of Tathsin in the year 635, bringing sacred books and images; of the translation of the said books (a notable circumstance); of the approval of his doctrine by the imperial authority, and the permission given to teach it publicly. There follows a decree of the emperor (Taitsung) issued in 638 in favour of the new doctrine, and commanding the construction of a church in one of the public places of the capital. The emperor's portrait was to be placed in the church. After this comes a short description of Tathsin (here, says Pauthier, specially meaning Syria) from Chinese geographical works; and then there are

reigning in 781 is a perfectly natural result of the long distance from the Patriarchal see. The anachronism is in fact, *quantum valeat*, evidence of the genuineness of the monument. *Saragh*, according to Pauthier, is Loyang in Honan, one of the capitals of the Thang, and occupied as such by the Imperial Government for a time, between the introduction of Christianity and the date of the monument.

[1] This name according to Pauthier is Syriac; *Alo-pano* signifying the *Return of God*. If this, however, be an admissible Syriac name, it is singular that the original should have been missed by one so competent as Assemanni, who can only suggest that the name was the common Syriac name *Jaballaha*, from which the Chinese had dropt the first syllable, adding a Chinese termination.

Might not *Olopan* be merely a Chinese form of the Syriac *Rabban*, by which the Apostle had come to be generally known?

It is fair, however, to observe that the name in the older versions used by Assemanni is written *Olopuen*, which might have disguised from him the etymology proposed by Pauthier. The name of this personage does not appear in the Syriac part of the inscription.

Saragh, it may be added, is referred by Pauthier to the *Saraga* of Ptolemy, a city placed by the geographer among the Sinæ, and according to his theory of course far to the south of the real position of Loyang. But we have seen reason to believe that Ptolemy's view of the Sinæ and Seres is that of a person using his right and left eye separately. Binocular vision reduces the two objects to one, and corrects their displacement.

particulars given of the continued patronage of Olopan and his doctrine under the Emperor Kaotsung (650-683),[1] and of the spread of Christianity in the empire. In the end of the century Buddhism establishes a preponderance, and succeeds for a time in depressing the new doctrines. Under Hiwan-tsung (713-755) the church recovers its prestige, and a new missionary called *Kiho* appears. Sutsung (756-762), Taitsung (763-777), and Tetsung (780-783), continue to favour the Christians. Under this last reign the monument was erected, and this part of the inscription terminates with an elaborate eulogy of Issé, a sage and statesman, who, though apparently by profession a Buddhist, conferred many benefits upon the churches. 3rd. A recapitulation in octosyllabic stanzas of the purport of the inscription, but chiefly as regards the praises of the emperors who had favoured the progress of the church.

The record concludes with the date of erection (the second year *Kienchung* of the Great Thang, which Pauthier has shown perfectly to synchronise with the Greek date of the Syriac part of the inscription,=A.D. 781); the name of the chief of the law, the Priest NINGCHU, charged with the instruction of the Christian population of the eastern countries (and, I presume, the same with the *Adam*, who appears as Metropolitan in the Syriac sentences); the name of a civil officer who wrote and engraved the Chinese inscription; and the official approval of the whole.

70. It is reasonably supposed that this remarkable monument, the idea of which was probably taken from a Buddhist custom,[2] may have been buried about the year 845, when the Emperor

[1] Kaotsung was also the devout patron of the Buddhist traveller Hiwen Thsang. Kublai and Akbar are examples of like wavering among great kings.

[2] Stone monuments and inscriptions highly analogous in character are very common in the precincts of pagodas and monasteries in Burma. Some account of a remarkable one on a marble slab, standing eight and a half feet high by six feet wide and eleven inches in thickness, is given at pp. 66, 351 of the *Mission to Ava in* 1855. This contains on each side eighty-six lines of inscription beautifully executed. It is not older than the seventeenth century, but imitates others of far greater antiquity. See the like in the old Cambodian temples described by Bastian (*J. R. G. S.* xxxv, p. 85).

Wutsung published an edict, still extant, denouncing the increase of Buddhist monks, nuns, and convents, and ordering the destruction of 4600 great monasteries, the 260,000 inmates of which were to return to civil life. 40,000 minor monasteries scattered about the country were also to be demolished, the lands attaching to them to be resumed by the state, and 150,000 slaves belonging to the bonzes to be admitted to civil privilege and duties. The edict also directs that foreign bonzes who had come to China to make known the law prevailing in their countries, whether that of TATHSIN or of MUHUPA, amounting to some 3000, should also return to secular life, and cease to corrupt the institutions of the Central Flowery Kingdom.[1]

71. A century later, Christianity in China seems to have fallen to a very low ebb, though probably not quite to zero as the next information on the subject would imply. This is derived from a circumstance noted by an Arabian author, Mahomed, the son of Isaac, surnamed Abulfaraj, who says:—"In the year 377 (A.D. 987), behind the church in the Christian quarter (of Baghdad), I fell in with a certain monk of Najran, who seven years before had been sent to China by the Catholicos, with five other ecclesiastics, to bring the affairs of Christianity in that country into order. He was a man still young, and of a pleasant countenance, but of few words, opening his mouth only to answer questions. I asked him about his travels, and he told me that Christianity had become quite extinct in China. The Christians had perished in various ways; their Church had been destroyed; and but one Christian remained in the land. The monk, finding nobody whom he could aid with his ministry, had come back faster than he went."[2]

[1] Pauthier (*de l'Auth.*, pp. 69-71) takes *Muhupa* for the Ma'bar of Southern India, and thinks that offshoots of the St. Thomas Christians are meant. But it may be questioned whether the name *Ma'bar* as applied to a country of Southern India occurs so early by some centuries. The opinion of Gaubil, quoted by Pauthier, that the *Mubids* or Guebers of Persia were meant, seems more probable. It will be recollected that Abu Zaid mentions among the foreigners slaughtered at Khanfu in 878 *Magians* as well as Mahomedans, Christians, and Jews (*supra*, p. lxxx).

[2] *Reinaud's Abulfeda*, i, ccccii; also *N. Annales des Voyages* for 1846, iv, 90; and *Pauth. Auth.*, p. 95; also *Mosheim*, p. 13. The passage had pre-

The capital of China at this time, according to the monk, was a city called *Taiúna* or *Thajúye*, in which Pauthier discovers a corruption of the name *Châo* or *Chiao-fu*, by which Singanfu was called under the Sung dynasty. In any case it was probably the same as that intended by the *Tájah* which Edrisi and Abulfeda speak of as the capital of China. The form is more suggestive of *Thaiyuan-fu* in the province of Shensi, the Taianfu of M. Polo, which had been for a time the capital of the Thang in the eighth century.[1]

72. To the early tide of Christianity in China which here reached its ebb, probably belong those curious relics of the ancient ecclesiastical connexion which Layard found in the valley of Jelu in the mountains of Kurdistan. Here, in visiting a very old Nestorian church, he saw among many other motley curiosities, a number of China bowls, black with the dust of ages, suspended from the roof. These, he was assured, had been brought from the distant empire of Cathay by those early missionaries of the Chaldean church, who bore the tidings of the Gospel to the shores of the Yellow Sea.[2]

73. No more is known, so far as I am aware, of christianity in China till the influx of European travellers in the days of Mongol supremacy. We then again find a considerable number of Nestorian Christians in the country. It is probable that a new wave of conversion had entered during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consequent on the christianisation of large numbers among the Turkish and Mongolian tribes, of which we have many indications, and on the influence exercised by those tribes upon Northern China, both in the time of Chinghiz and his successors, and in the revolutions which preceded the rise of that dynasty. Already in the time of the patriarch Timothy (778-820) we hear of active and successful missions in the countries adjoining the

viously been referred to by Golius, but it was not known whence he had derived it, till it was rediscovered by M. Reinaud in a work in the Bibl. Impériale.

[1] See *Pauthier's Polo*, p. 353. It must have been difficult to say what was the capital of China in the tenth century, when it was divided into five monarchies. That of the Sung, who acquired a predominance in 960, was first at Changgan or Singanfu, and afterwards at Kaifongfu.

[2] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 433.

Caspian, and of the consequent conversion of a Khakan of the Turks and of several minor princes.[1] The progress of Christianity among those nations then remains obscure till the conversion of the Kerait Tartars at the beginning of the eleventh century,[2] followed by those rumours of Christian potentates under the name of Prester John which continued to reach Europe during the following age. Rubruquis, in the narrative of his journey to the court of Karakorum (1253-54) makes frequent mention of the Nestorians and their ecclesiastics, and speaks specifically of the Nestorians of Cathay as having a bishop in SEGIN or Singanfu (p. 292). He gives an unfavourable account of the literature and morals of their clergy, which deserves more weight than such statements regarding those looked on as schismatics generally do; for the narrative of Rubruquis gives one the impression of being written by a thoroughly honest and intelligent person. In the time of Marco Polo we find Nestorian Christians numerous not only at Samarkand but at Yarkand, whilst there are such also in Chichintalas (identified by Pauthier with the modern Urumtsi, north of the Thian Shan),[3] in Sucheu and Kancheu, and over all the kingdom of Tangut, in Tenduc[4] and the cities east of it, as

[1] There is a still older indication of the existence of Christians, however ignorant, among the Turks, in a curious story related by Theophylactus Simocatta and Theophanes. In the expedition sent by the Emperor Maurice to assist Chosroes II against Bahram near the end of the sixth century, the General Narses sent to Constantinople some Turks who had been taken prisoners. "And these bore marked on their foreheads the sign of the Lord (that which is called the *cross* by the followers of the Christian religion). The emperor therefore inquired what the meaning might be of this token being borne by the Barbarians. And they said their mothers had put it on them. For, once when a virulent pestilence prevailed among the Scythians in the east, certain of the Christians persuaded them to prick the foreheads of their children with this symbol. The Barbarians by no means despised this counsel, and the result was their preservation" (*Theophyl.*, bk. v, ch. 10; see also *Theophanis Chronog.*, A.M. 6081. The latter says, "Some among them who were Christians.")

[2] See *infra*, p. 179.

[3] It occurs to me as possible that the *Cyollos Kagan* (Kagan cyollos) of Marignolli (*infra*, p. 339) may be the same name as the *Chichintalas* of Polo. The position of the two corresponds in a general way, and both may be represented by the *Chagan Talas* ("White Plains") of some modern maps (see *K. Johnstone's Royal Atlas*, Asia).

[4] See p. 146 *infra*.

well as in Manchuria and the countries bordering on Corea. Polo's contemporary Hayton also testifies to the number of great and noble Tartars in the Uigur country who held firm to the faith of Christ.[1] As regards the spread of Nestorian Christianity in China Proper at this period we do not find in Polo so many definite statements, though various general allusions which he makes to Christians in the country testify to their existence. He also speaks of them specifically in the remote province of Yunan, and at Chinkiangfu, where they had two churches, built in the traveller's own day by Mar Sergius, a Christian officer who was governor there. Their number and influence in China at the end of the thirteenth century may also be gathered from the letter of John of Monte Corvino (p. 198 *seqq.*) in this volume; and in the first part of the following century from the report of the Archbishop of Soltania, who describes them as more than thirty thousand in number, and passing rich people. Probably there was a considerable increase in their numbers about this time, for Odoric, about 1324, found three Nestorian churches in the city of Yangcheu, where Marco would probably have mentioned them had they existed in his time. That Christians continued to rise in influence during the short remainder of the Mongol reign appears probable from the position which we find the Christian Alans to occupy in the empire at the time of the visit of John Marignolli.

74. That the Nestorians continued to exist in China or on its frontiers during the fifteenth century we shall see hereafter from the brief records of a mission which they appear to have sent to Rome in the time of Pope Eugenius IV. Even till near the end of that century a metropolitan of China continued to be constituted, though we know not if he resided in the country. In the case of John, who was nominated Metropolitan of *Masin* (Mahachin) in 1490, the charge seems to have been united with that of India, and therefore as regards China we may conjecture that the title had ceased to have more of practical meaning than the *Sodor* of the English bishop of Sodor and Man.[2]

[1] V. 2nd chapter of Hayton's Hist. "*De Regno Tarsiæ.*"

[2] See *Assem.*, pp. 439, 523.

75. When China was re-occupied by the Jesuit Missions in the end of the sixteenth century the impression of the missionaries at first was that no Christianity had ever existed in China before their own day. Ricci must in any case have modified that opinion when he arrived at the conclusion that China was the Cathay of Marco Polo; but he also met before his death with unexpected evidence of its having survived, in however degenerate a form, almost to his own time. Its professors he was informed had been numerous in the northern provinces, and had gained distinction both in arms and literature. But some sixty years before (*i.e.* about 1540) a persecution against them had arisen which had driven all, or nearly all, to abandon or conceal their profession. At a later date a member of the Jesuit company visited the cities in which the descendants of these people were said to exist, furnished with the names of the families. But none of them would admit any knowledge of the subject on which he spoke.[1]

Some years afterwards also the Jesuit Semedo chanced on faint traces of former Christianity in the neighbourhood of the chief city of Kiangsi.[2]

Some material relics also bearing like evidence came in the course of the seventeenth century into the hands of the Jesuit missionaries, such as a bell with a cross and Greek inscription, and at Changcheu in Fokien sculptures of the Virgin, marble crosses, and the like. More than one mediæval MS. of the Scriptures was also met with, but as these were Latin they must have been relics of the Franciscan missions of John Montecorvino and his brethren rather than of the Nestorians.[3]

[1] *Trigautius, De Exped. Christianâ apud Sinas*, bk. i, ch. 11.

[2] *Semedo, Rel. della Cina*, 1643, p. 195. It does not seem necessary to do more than allude to the story told by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto of his coming on a Christian village on the canal between Nanking and Peking; the inhabitants of which were descended from converts made one hundred and forty-two years before (i.e., about 1400) by one Matthew Escandel of Buda in Hungary, a hermit of Mount Sinai; all the history of which was shown to Ferdinand in a printed book (language not specified) by the people of the village! (ch. xcvi).

[3] *Trigautius*, u.s.; *Martini's Atlas Sinensis*; *Baldello Boni*, Introd. to *Il Milione*. One of these relics, a Latin Bible of the eleventh century,

76. It is a melancholy history. For ages after the rise of Mahomedanism, Christianity, in however defective a form, had a wide and even growing influence over extensive regions of the earth, across which now for centuries past a Christian has scarcely dared to steal. Leaving out China, where possibly the Church of Rome may number as many disciples now as the Syrian Church did in its most prosperous days, how many Christians are there in what were up to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries the metropolitan sees of Tangut, Kashgar, Samarkand, Balkh, Herat, Sejistan, and Marw? Whilst at the other end of Asia, Socotra, once also the seat of a Christian Archbishop, and we may hope of some Christian culture, is sunk into the very depths of savagery.[r]

VII. LITERARY INFORMATION REGARDING CHINA PREVIOUS TO THE MONGOL ERA.

77. Before speaking of that great opening of the Farther East to European travel, which took place under the reign of the Mongol dynasty in Asia, it will be well to take such a view as is practicable to me of the information regarding China which is to be found in literary works of the middle ages antecedent to that era. These are all, with one slight exception, Arabic.

The earliest of them (at least as regards one half of it) is an Arab compilation of the middle of the ninth century and be-

which was obtained by the Jesuit Philip Couplet from a Chinese in the province of Nanking, is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. I tried to see it but could not. "How not to do it" is, or was till lately, the principle of administration in that institution, if I may judge from my own experience on two occasions, on the second with an introduction; in this a singular contrast to those other public libraries of Florence which are *not* under clerical management.

[1] There are one or two indications of the existence of Christians in the Indo-Chinese countries and islands which have perhaps been hitherto overlooked. One is found in Marignolli who speaks of there being a few Christians in *Saba*, which we shall see reason to believe to be Java (*infr.*, p. 346), and another in the Travels of Hier. Santo Stephano, who, when his comrade Hieronimo Adorno died in the city of Pegu in 1496, buried him "in a certain ruined church, frequented by none" (*India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 6). If the *Sornau* of Varthema's Christian fellow-travellers be Siam, this affords a third indication of the same kind.

ginning of the tenth, which was first made known to Europe by the Abbé Eusebius Renaudot in 1718 under the title of *Anciennes Relations de l'Inde et de la Chine de deux Voyageurs Mahometans qui y allèrent dans le IX^ieme^ siecle de notre ère.*[1] The original from which Renaudot had translated was lost sight of, and some of his critics both in France and England went so far as to set his work down as a forgery. But the MS. was discovered some fifty years later by Deguignes in the Bibliothèque Royale;[2] and in 1845 a new translation and commentary by M. Reinaud appeared, in company with an impression of the Arabic text which had been lying for more than thirty years in the stores of the Government printing office at Paris.

78. The title given by Renaudot is acknowledged to be an incorrect description of the work. It is in two parts indeed, written at different times, and by different authors, but the author of the second part, Abu Zaid Hassan of Siraf on the Persian Gulf, certainly does not profess to have himself travelled in the east. He affords us the date of his predecessor's work as A.H. 237 (A.D. 851), and his own is fixed by M. Reinaud from an apparent mention of him by Masudi[3] to about 916. M. Reinaud says that the narrative which forms the basis of the first part of the work is derived from Suleiman a merchant, who had made voyages to India and China, but I have not been able to discover on what grounds this opinion is founded. The introductory passages of the work are missing, so that we are without explanation by the author as to his own identity or the sources of his information. The name of Suleiman is only once mentioned; nor is there any narrative, properly speaking, to be traced throughout the composition, though the first pages, amounting to about one third of the whole, contain a tolerably coherent account of the seas and islands between Oman and China, in the course of which

[1] An English version of Renaudot's translation appeared in 1733 (see Major's Introd. to *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. xxiii), and has been reprinted or abstracted in Pinkerton and other Collections since.

[2] *Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xxxii, 366; *Not. et Extraits*, i, 136 *seqq.* Deguignes himself had fancied the work to be a compilation of Renaudot's own.

[3] See *Prairies d'Or*, i, 322.

twice, as well as once or twice again in subsequent pages of the book, passages occur in the first person. It may be observed, however, that none of these passages, if my examination may be trusted, refer to China. They relate to India, Ceylon, and the seas between those countries and Arabia. My conclusion would rather be that the book is a compilation of notes made by the author from his own experiences in a voyage to India, and from what he had collected from others who had visited China, Suleiman among them. The remainder of this first part of the book is in fact a medley of notes about India and China, including a detail of some of the chief kingdoms of the Indies of which the author had heard. It is clear from the vagueness of these accounts that the author's knowledge of India was slight and inaccurate, and that he had no distinct conception of its magnitude. An abstract of them will be found in the notes to this essay, with some remarks that it seems desirable to offer regarding this part of the subject, over which I venture to think that M. Reinaud with all his great learning has spread confusion rather than shed light.[1]

79. The names of seas and places described by this writer as encountered on the voyage to China have given rise to curious controversy. The views taken by M. Reinaud about many of them are very untenable, and the most consistent and probable interpretatien yet published appears to be that of M. Alfred Maury.[2]

According to this view, with trifling modifications, the seas and places passed are as follows:—The SEA OF PERSIA; the SEA OF LAR (that which washes Gujarat and Malabar);[3] the SEA OF HARKAND (the Indian Ocean from the DÍBAJAT or Maldives, and SERENDIB or Ceylon[4] to AL RAMNI or Sumatra);[5] the LANJABALUS or

[1] See Note XI.

[2] *Des Anciens Rapports de l'Asie Occidentale, etc.*, published in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 1846, and republished some three years ago in a collection of essays by M. Maury.

[3] These first two are missing with the opening pages of the work, and are derived by Reinaud from a parallel passage in Masudi.

[4] Compare the *ab usque Divis et Serendivis* of Ammianus Marcellinus.

[5] See Odoric *infra* p. 84, *note* 2.

LANKHABALUS (the Nicobar Islands);[1] and the two (Andaman) Islands in the SEA OF ANDAMAN; KALAH-BAR, a dependence of Zábaj (some port on the Malacca coast, perhaps Kadáh, commonly spelt Quedda; Zábaj[2] representing some great monarchy then existing on the Malay Islands, probably in Java, the king of which was known to the Arabs by the Hindu title of Maharaj); BATÚMA or TANÚMAH (perhaps errors for Natúma, the Natuna Islands); KADRANJ, (Siam or some other region on the Gulf of Siam); SANF (Champa, but here used in a sense much more extensive than the modern Champa, and including Cambodia); SANDAR FULAT (the Sondur and Condur group of Marco Polo, the chief island of which is now called Pulo Condore).[3]

[1] Probably we have in the second part of this name the Malay *Pulo* meaning *island*. I may observe that there is a considerable island belonging to Queddah, and surrounded by many smaller ones, at the northern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, which is called *Pulo Langkawi*.

[2] The Syrian bishops Thomas, Jaballaha, Jacob, and Denha, sent on a mission to India in 1503 by the Patriarch Elias, were ordained to go "to the land of the Indians and the islands of the Seas which are between *Dabag* and Sin and Masin." (*Assemanni* iii, Pt. i, 592.) This Dabag is probably a relic of the form *Zábaj* of the early narratives, used also by Al-Biruni. Ibn Khurdadbah and Edrisi use *Jaba* for Zábaj. Walckenær quoted by Mr. Major (op. cit. p. xxvii) says, "The puranas and Hindu books show that the title of Maharaja or Great King was originally applied to the sovereign of a vast monarchy which in the second century comprised a great part of India, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and the neighbouring islands. This dynasty continued till 628," etc. It is a pity that Baron Walckenær did not quote more definitely "the Puranas and Hindu books" which give this precise and interesting information, and in the absence of such quotation there must be some hesitation in accepting it. The truth appears to be that whilst the antiquities, literature, and traditions of Java and other islands show that communication with continental India in remote times must have been large and intimate, nothing distinct has yet been produced to show that any record of such communication or knowledge of those islands has been preserved on the Continent. Friedrich and Lassen certainly seem to have no knowledge of such records as Walckenær alludes to.

[3] This is not in accordance with Maury, who places Sander Fulat arbitrarily on the coast of Cochin China, perhaps from confining Sanf or Champa to the tract now retaining that name (for the names are identical, the Arabs, having no *ch* and no *p*, necessarily writing *Champa* as *Sanfa*). But Crawfurd states that the name Champa with the Malays really ap-

80. The port of China frequented by the Arab merchants was Khanfu, of which we have already spoken. Here there was a Musulman Kazi and public worship. The houses were for the most part built of wood and bamboo matting, which led to frequent fires. When a foreign ship arrived, the officials took charge of the cargo and locked it up. When all the ships of the season had entered, a duty of 30 per cent. was exacted before placing the goods at the disposal of the owners. If the king wanted anything for himself, the highest price was paid for it in ready money.

Many particulars mentioned by this author regarding China are silly enough, but much also that is stated is perfectly correct. He notices the ancient Chinese customs of issuing food from public granaries in times of dearth, as well as of dispensing medicines to the poor; the support of schools by the government; the generally methodical and just character of the administration; the elaborate classification of official titles; the custom of doing all business by written documents, and the strict censure exercised on the style and tone of papers submitted to public departments;[1] the use of a copper currency instead of gold and silver; the custom of delaying the burial of the dead for years sometimes; the systematic protection afforded to travellers; the

plies to the whole of Cambodia embracing the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam (*Dict. Ind. Islands*, p. 80), whilst actual tradition in those regions ascribes to ancient Champa sovereignty over all the neighbouring kingdoms to the frontiers of Pegu and China (*Mouhot's Travels*, i, 223). Hence Pulo Condore would properly come between a port on this coast and China, as Sandar Fúlát does in the Arab narrative. I do not know what is the proper Malay name of Pulo Condore, but it is probably connected with the Sanskrit *Sundara* beautiful. And the *Fulát* is probably only an Arabic plural from the Malay *Pulo* or *Pulau* an island. All that is said of the place in the *Relations* is that Sandarfulat is an island, ten days from Sanf and a month's voyage from China, where the ships find fresh water. According to Alex. Hamilton the Pulo Condore group consists of four or five islands; "producing nothing but wood, water, and fish for catching." There are two harbours or anchorages, but neither of them good. Mr. Allan Ketchpole established a factory for the East India Company on Pulo Condore in 1702, which speedily came to a disastrous end (*N. Acc. of the East Indies*, ed. 1744, ii, 205).

[1] See p. 265 *infra* and note.

manufacture of porcelain; the use of rice-wine and of tea (*súkh* or *sáhh* for *chá*).[1] There is scarcely anything of Chinese Geography in this first part beyond the mention of Tibet and the Taghazghaz as the western neighbours of China, and of the Isles of SILA in the east, which appear to be Japan.[2]

One custom he mentions with great apparent admiration. It is, that the governor of every city slept with a bell at his head communicating with a handle at the gate, which anyone claiming justice was at liberty to ring. And we learn from Abu Zaid that even the king had such a bell; only he who dared to use it must have a case justifying so strong an appeal from the ordinary course of justice, or he suffered for it.[3]

The anonymous author was aware that the principles of the Chinese religion (here meaning Buddhism) came from India. Both countries, he says, accept the doctrine of metempsychosis, but with certain differences.

81. ABU ZAID, the author of the second part of the *Relations*, begins by remarking the great change that had taken place in

[1] See *Reinaud, Relations*, i, pp. 39, 46, 47, 43-44, 37, 33, 36, 42, 34, 40. None of the mediæval European travellers in China mention tea. The first notice of it so far as I know is in Ramusio's notes of Hajji Mahomed's information (see Note XVIII at the end of the essay).

[2] Edrisi also speaks of the Isles of Silah, of which the chief city was ANKUAH, and where gold was so abundant that the people made dog chains of it. The low value of gold in Japan up to the opening of the trade the other day is a familiar fact. M. Polo says of it: "*et je vous dy qu'il ont tant d'or que c'est sans fin; car ils le treuvent en leurs isles (Pauth. Polo,* 538). Possibly Ankúah may really represent *Miyako*.

[3] Edrisi also speaks of this. It is a kind of story having a strong attraction for eastern people. Ibn Batuta heard that the same custom was adopted by Shamsuddin Altamsh Sultan of Dehli (1211-1236). See *Ibn Bat.*, iii, 158, The custom was a genuine Chinese one, but the summons seems to have been by a drum rather than by a bell. Thus in the Romance of "The Fortunate Union," the hero Teichungyu exclaims, "My lord, you are mistaken! The emperor himself suspends the drum at his palace gate, and admits all to state their hardships without reserve" (*Davis's Chinese Miscellanies*, p. 109). This institution of the drum was adopted by a late king of Siam, according to Pallegoix, but the pages who had to answer it succeeded in extinguishing the practice. A curious Chinese drawing engraved in *Chine Ancienne* (*L'Univers Pittoresque*), pl. 3, represents this institution of the drum.

the interval (some sixty years) since the first part of the book was composed. Events had happened which had entirely stopt the Arab trade with China, had thrown that country into anarchy, and had destroyed its power. He then proceeds to relate this revolution, which was due to a rebel whom he calls *Banshoa*, who, after sacking many cities of the empire, including Khanfu, which he took in A.H. 264 (A.D. 878), at length marched against the capital. The emperor fled to the frontiers of Tibet; but, after obtaining the aid of the King of the Taghazghaz (a great Turkish tribe), was enabled to renew the struggle and to regain his throne. His capital, however, was in ruins; his power and treasure had vanished; his generals had perished, and the best of his soldiers. The provinces had been seized by rapacious adventurers who scarcely made a pretence of allegiance. Foreign merchants and shipmasters were bullied, insulted, and plundered; the staple industries of the country were destroyed; trade could not go on; and thus the misfortunes and anarchy of China carried ruin to many families in distant Siraf and Oman.

Klaproth[1] has pointed out the correspondence of this statement with the account in the Chinese Annals of the rebellion of *Hwang-chao*, here called *Banshoa*, at the time mentioned by Abu Zaid; one of those tremendous insurrections which seem to recur in China almost periodically. The chief cities of the empire, including (880) Loyang and Changgan, the two imperial capitals, really fell into the hands of this chief, who declared himself emperor, but was eventually beaten from them by the aid of Turki auxiliaries. The Chinese account of the insubordination continuing to prevail in the provinces after the emperor's restoration, also corresponds almost in so many words with that of the Arab writer.[2]

82. Abu Zaid adds to the notes of his predecessor many interesting particulars regarding India and the Islands, as well as regarding China. In reference to the latter country he gives a curious account of a visit which an acquaintance of his own, Ibn Wahab of Basra, paid to KHUMDAN, the capital of China (see

[1] *Tab. Historiques*, p. 223-230.

[2] *Reinaud*, i, p. 66-67; *Chine Ancienne*, p. 330.

ante, pp. li, xciii), and of the interview which he had there with the emperor, who must have been Hitsung of the Thang, very shortly before the great rebellion broke out. The story of the interview is too long to extract; but there does not seem to be any sufficient reason to doubt its correctness, and we may gather from it further proof that the knowledge of the Chinese in the days of the Thang was by no means confined to that circle of oblique-eyed humanity which we are accustomed to regard as the limit of Chinese ideas. Ibn Wahab describes Khumdan or Changgan, which was two months' journey from Khanfu, as divided in two by a long and wide street. The city eastward of this was entirely devoted to the residences of the emperor and officers of Government. On the west side were the shops, places of business, and the miscellaneous population. The streets were traversed with channels of running water and bordered with trees.

Abu Zaid, like his predecessor, dwells upon the orderly and upright administration of China whilst in its normal state. This indeed seems to have made a strong impression at all times on the other nations of Asia, and we trace this impression in almost every account that has reached us from Theophylactus downwards,[1] whilst it is also probably the kernel of those praises of the justice of the Seres which extend back some centuries further into antiquity.

He is acquainted with the general character of the overland communication between Sogdiana and China Proper. The frontier of the latter was a two months' journey distant, over a country which was almost a waterless desert, though the frontier of the *empire* was not far from Khorasan. The difficulty of passing this desert had alone prevented the Musulman warriors of Khorasan from attempting the invasion of China. A friend of the author told him, however, that he had seen at Khanfu a man with a bagful of musk on his back whom he found to have come on foot all the way from Samarkand.[2]

[1] The Jesuit historian Jarric thinks that "if Plato were to rise from Hades he would declare that his imagined Republic was realised in China" (ii, 676).

[2] i, p. 114.

He mentions that three of the chief officers of state were called the Master of the Right, the Master of the Left, and the Master of the Centre. I do not know if traces of these appellations still exist in the Chinese administration; but we find that under Kublai Khan the two chief ministers of state bore the titles of "Minister of the Right, and Minister of the Left".[1]

83. We have some account of China from an Arab geographer who was contemporary with the earlier of the two compilers of the *Relations*, and wrote perhaps a few years later than the date assigned by Abu Zaid to the work of his predecessor. This was Abul Kasim 'Ubaid Allah called Ibn Khurdádbah, born about 820-830, and who served under the Khalif Mutammid (869-885) as director of the posts in Jibal or the ancient Media. This work, "The Book of Routes and Provinces," in great part consists only of lists of stages and distances, but there are occasionally some descriptive details introduced. The following lines contain nearly all that he says of China:[2]

"From SANF (Champa) to AL-WAKÍN,[3] which is the first port of China, is one hundred farsangs either by sea or by land. Here you find excellent Chinese iron, porcelain, and rice. You can go from Al Wakin, which is a great port, to KHANFU in four days by sea, or in twenty days by land. Khanfu produces all sorts of fruits and vegetables, wheat, barley, rice, and sugar-cane. From Khanfu you arrive in eight days at JANFU, which has the same

[1] See *Pauthier's Polo*, p. 329. In the case of Lord Amherst's Embassy the three members of the Legation were distinguished by the Chinese as *the Middle* or Principal, the *Left Hand* (which is the more honourable side), and the *Right Hand* Envoys (*Davis's Chinese*, Supp. vol., p. 40). In our Mission to Ava in 1855 the Envoy's secretary was termed by the Burmese "the Right Hand Officer."

[2] From a translation by M. Barbier de Meynard in the *Journal Asiatique*, ser. vi, tom. v (see pp. 292-294).

[3] The *Lúkin* of Edrisi (v. §85) who has derived several passages from Ibn Khurdadbah. One would suppose it to be Canton, had not Ibn Batuta identified Canton with Sin-ul-Sin, which Edrisi describes quite distinctly from Lukin. Edrisi, however, had no distinct ideas about Eastern Asia, and this is not conclusive. This Lukin cannot of course be the *Lukinfu* of Rashid (p. 268 *infra*), but it may have something to do with the alternative name (apparently corrupt) of *Lumkali* applied in the same page to Canton.

productions. Thence to KANTU, six days, also having the same productions.[1] In all the ports of China you find a great navigable river affected by the tide. In that of Kantu there are geese, ducks, and other wild fowl. The greatest length of coast from AL MAÏD to the other extremity of China is two months' voyage. China includes three hundred prosperous and famous cities. It is bounded by the sea, by Tibet, and by the country of the Turk. Strangers from India are established in the eastern provinces.

"What is beyond China is unknown. But in front of Kantu rise high mountains. These are in the country of SILA, which abounds in gold. Musulmans who visit this country are often induced to settle for good because of the advantages of the place. The products exported are *ghorraib* (a kind of plant), gum kino, aloes, camphor, sails, saddles, porcelain, satin, cinnamon, and galanga."

83*. Masudi is our next writer; who in the *Meadows of Gold*[2] treats of all things in Nature and History, and of all at once rather than all in succession; of China among the rest. He travelled far and wide, and from a very early age, visiting Sind in 912 when quite a youth, and afterwards, according to his own account, Zanzibar and the Island of Kanbalu,[3] Champa, China, and the country of Zabaj (*supra*, p. civ), besides travelling a long way into Turkestan. If he really visited China it must have been in a very cursory manner. I can find nothing of any interest

[1] Janfu is probably the Janku of others, and to be identified with Yangcheu (*infra*, p. 123). *Kantu*, from the mountains of Sila or Japan opposite to it, as mentioned below, should be either Shanghai or about the mouth of the Yellow River, if there was ever a port there.

[2] *Les Prairies d'Or*—translated by *MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille*, Paris, 1861-66. Four volumes are published and more to follow.

[3] The French translators take this for Madagascar. Masudi describes it as an island in the sea of Zanj, well cultivated and inhabited by Musulmans speaking the Zanj language. The Mahomedans got possession of it about the beginning of the Abasside dynasty, capturing the whole Zanj population (this never could be true of Madagascar). Sailors reckoned it roughly about five hundred farsangs to Oman. I should think it must be the Island of Zanzibar, or perhaps the Great *Comoro*, which has some resemblance in name, and is occupied by people of Arab descent.

respecting it that does not also appear in the *Relations*, chiefly in that part of it of which Abu Zaid is the professed author. M. Reinaud has treated of these coincidences, but has not I think quite satisfactorily accounted for them.[1]

84. In the course of the tenth century we have another Arab traveller who professes to have visited China. This is Abu Dulif Misar Ibn Mohalhal who being, according to his own account, at the Court of Nasri Bin Ahmed Bin Ismail of the Samanidæ at Bokhara when ambassadors arrived from "the King of China Kalatin-bin-ul-Shakhir,"[2] to negotiate a marriage between his own daughter and Noah the son of Nasri (who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Bokhara), took advantage of the opportunity of accompanying the ambassadors on their return, about the year 941. The whole narrative of this traveller is not extant, but much of it has been preserved in citations by Yakuti (A.H. 617, A.D. 1220), and Kazwini (A.H. 667, A.D. 1268-69), and a German editor has collected these passages into a tolerably continuous narrative, and translated them into Latin.[3]

It is very difficult to say whether the narrative is genuine or not, or to guess how much it may have suffered from the manner in which it has been thus coopered out of loose fragments. If the author really accompanied Chinese ambassadors from Bokhara back to their native country, it is not easy to understand why they should have made a grand tour of all the Turk and Tartar nations from the shores of the Black Sea to the banks of the Amur. The name which he attributes to the capital of China is SINDABIL, which is more like an Indian than a Chinese name, or rather like the Arabic perversion of an Indian name (compare *Kandábil, Sandábúr*). The nearest Chinese name is that of CHINGTUFU, or as Marco Polo calls it SINDIFU, the chief city of the province of Szechuen, and which was during parts of the tenth century the capital of the kingdom of SHU.[4] Neither would it

[1] *Discours Preliminaire* to *Relations*, etc., pp. viii and xviii *seqq.*

[2] Or *Kalín bin-Shakhbar.*

[3] *Abu Dolif Misaris Bin Mohalhal de Itinere Asiatico—Studio Kurd de Schloezer*, Berolini, 1845.

[4] The first Shu dynasty at Chingtufu lasted only from 891 to 925; the second from 925 to 965. The names of the kings as given in Deguignes

be easy to discover in a list of Chinese sovereigns any name resembling Kalatin son of Shakhbar or Shakhir. In one of the notes appended to this paper will be given an abstract of the chief points of this journey, real or pretended.[1]

85. The account of China in the Geography of Edrisi, written under the patronage of King Roger II of Sicily, and completed in 1153-54, is, like the whole of his account of South-eastern Asia, including India, very meagre and confused. Professing to give the distances between places, he generally under-estimates these enormously, insomuch that in a map compiled from his distances Asia would, I apprehend, assume very contracted dimensions. Owing to his manner of dealing with the world in successive climates or zones of latitude the passages in his work treating of China are scattered over nearly all parts of the book; but the general result is something like the following:

China is a great and populous empire whose supreme king is called the *Baghbugh*.[2] This sovereign is just, powerful, sage, and provident, easy and gentle in his administration, generous in his gifts, attentive to what goes on in foreign countries, but much occupied with the interests of his own subjects, who are admitted to his presence readily, and without having to apply for the intervention of subordinates. In religion he follows an idolatrous faith differing but little from that of India; but he follows it devoutly, and is liberal to the poor.

The people are dark like those of Hind and Sind. They live upon rice, coco-nut milk, sugar, and *mokl* (said to be the fruit of

have no possibility of assimilation to those in the text (*Deg.* i, 124-129).

[1] See Note XII.

[2] This word in various forms, *Baghbúgh*, *Baghbúr*, *Faghfúr*, is applied as a generic title to the emperors of China by old Arabian and Persian writers, and appears in Marco Polo as applied to the dethroned Sung emperor in the form *Facfur* (part i, c. 62, 63). It is, according to Neumann, a translation of the Chinese title *Tientsé* or "Son of Heaven" into old Persian, in which *Bak* is Divinity (Sansk. *Bhaga*, Hindi *Bhagwán*), and *Fur* is "Son" (Sansk. *putra*). The elements of the name are still to be found in the modern Persian dictionaries: "*Bagh*, The name of an Idol," and "*Púr*, A Son." So *Shahpúr*, the Sapor of the Romans, is "King's Son" (see *Bürck's Polo*, p. 629; *Pauthier's Polo*, 453; *F. Johnson's Dict.*).

the dúm-palm of Upper Egypt). No arts are more valued among them than those of design and pottery.

Under the Baghbugh there are some three hundred flourishing cities and many fine sea-ports. The latter generally stand upon river estuaries, up which ships ascend some distance from the sea. They are full of life and business, and the security of property in them is perfect. The greatest of the ports is KHANFU,[1] which is the terminus of the western trade. It stands on (or near) the *Khumdan*, the great river of China, one of the greatest and most famous of all rivers; the Ganges itself is said to be an affluent of it.[2] Its banks are crowded with population, and many great cities stand upon them. Such are SUSAH,[3] a very famous city whether for its buildings or its trade, or for the wealth of its citizens. Its commercial credit extends over the world. Here are made an unequalled kind of porcelain, the *Ghazár* of China,' and silk-stuffs famous for their solidity and elegance. JANKU is also on the Khumdan about three days from Khanfu. This also is a city where there are manufactures of glass and silk stuffs. Two months' journey up the river is BAJAH,[4] the capital of the Baghbugh, where is his palace with his guards, treasures, harem, and slaves. He is bound to keep always one hundred dowered wives and one thousand elephants. Another city is SÍNIA-UL-SÍN which Ibn Batuta enables us to identify with Canton (see *infra*, p. 417). And the first port of China coming from Sanfi or Champa is LUKIN, where also are made rich silks, and among others a kind called *Ghazar-Sini*,[5] which are exported far and near.

Many places besides these are named which it seems impossible to identify. Such are, on the borders of Indo-China TARI-

[1] Jaubert has *Khanku*, but no doubt the right reading is Khanfu. It involves but the difference of a dot.

[2] So thought Fra Mauro, as his map shows.

[3] Qu. *Sucheu* in Kiangnan, the celebrated rival of Hangcheu?

[4] The copies used by Jaubert read *Bájah* or *Nájah*. But probably the right reading is *Tájah*. Compare with Abulfeda quoted hereafter, and with the Taiuna or Thajuye at p. xcvii *supra*.

[5] I do not find this word in the Arabic dictionaries. May it be the origin of our word *Gauze*, which has been referred to *Gaza* in Palestine?

GHURGHAN and KATIGHORA, the last a name which seems simply borrowed from the Cattigara of Ptolemy; KHAIGHUN, ASFIRIA,[1] BURA, KARNABUL, ASKHRA, SHARKHU or SADCHU, BASHIAR, TAUGHA (recalling the Taugas of Theophylactus), etc. KASHGARA, apparently Kashgar, is put only four days distant from Katighora upon the China Sea.

Exterior China, apparently corresponding in a general way to the Tangut of later days, is also mentioned by Edrisi. It is bounded by the Taghazghaz on the west, by Tibet on the south, and by the country of the Khizilji Turks on the north.

86. To a date only a few years later than Edrisi belongs Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled between 1159 and 1173, and of whom some account has been given by Mr. Major, in his Introduction to *India in the Fifteenth Century*, which need not be repeated. After speaking of the Island KHANDY, supposed to be Ceylon, this traveller says:—

"From hence the passage to CHINA is effected in forty days. This country lies eastward, and some say that the star Orion predominates in the sea which bounds it, and which is called the Sea of Nikpha. Sometimes the sea is so stormy, that no mariner can conduct his vessel; and, whenever a storm throws a ship into this sea, it is impossible to govern it; the crew and the passengers consume their provisions and then die miserably, but people have learned how to save themselves from this fate by the following contrivance"; and so he proceeds to tell how the sailors sew themselves in bulls' hides, and being found floating in the sea are carried ashore by great eagles, and so forth. This stuff (literally a cock and a bull story) is all that Benjamin relates in connexion with China.[2]

It is remarked by the English editor of Benjamin that this author is the first European who mentions China by that name. But Edrisi at least precedes him, and a Sicilian Arab writing of *Sin* in Arabic at Palermo, has at least as good a title to be considered a European author writing of China, as a Spanish Jew

[1] It is very possible that this *Asfiria* also represents the Ptolemæan *Aspithra*, and perhaps some of the other names have a like origin, though too much corrupted to identify with the Greek.

[2] Bohn's ed. (in *Early Travellers in Palestine*), p. 116-117.

writing of *Tsin* in Hebrew at Tudela. Benjamin appears to have heard these tales of the voyage to China at the island of Kísh, which would seem to have been the limit of his travels;[1] what he relates of India likewise being to all appearance mere hearsay. Indeed the eleventh and twelfth centuries are more bare of notices of communication between China and western nations than almost any others since the beginning of our era.

87. ABULFEDA (1273-1331) belongs to a date subsequent to the rise of the Mongol power, which we have fixed as a dividing mark in the treatment of this subject; but it will be more convenient to dispose of his notices of China now, in connexion with those of the other Arab writers who have been already cited. Notwithstanding the facilities which his age afforded for obtaining correct information about China, he does not seem to have been in the way of profiting greatly by them. His knowledge of those regions is, as he himself complains, very much restricted, and his accounts are chiefly derived from books long antecedent to his own time and to that of the Mongol sovereigns, though they are not altogether devoid of recent information. Some extracts of the essential part of his information on China will be found in the supplementary notes, and will show this curious mixture of the obsolete statements of the geographers of the tenth or eleventh centuries with items of modern knowledge;[2] affording an analogy to the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which in remoter Asia sometimes present a strange jumble of Ptolemy, Marco Polo, and recent discoveries.

VIII. CHINA UNDER THE MONGOL DYNASTY, KNOWN AS CATHAY.

88. We now arrive at the epoch of the Mongols, during whose predominance the communication of China with the western

[1] I have fallen into an error in the notes on Odoric (p. 52), and again at p. 400, in confounding the large island of *Kishm*, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf, with the much smaller *Kais* or *Kísh*, about a hundred miles further up, which last was the real terminus of Indian trade for several ages, and the seat of a principality, *Quisci* of Polo. At least two modern editors of Polo seem to have made the same mistake. Yet Marco, I see, shows the true approximate position of Quisci as two hundred miles further up the Gulf than Hormuz. Kish, in the map before me (*Steiler's Hand Atlas*), is termed *Guase* or *Kena*.

[2] See note XIII.

nations was less impeded by artificial obstacles than it has been at any other period of history. For even now, though our war-steamers have ascended the Kiang to Hankow, and a post runs from Peking to Petersburg, every land frontier excepting that towards Russia remains as impervious as in the darkest age of the past.

It was in the days of the Mongols also that China *first became* really known to Europe, and that by a name which, though especially applied to the northern provinces, also came to bear a more general application, CATHAY.[1]

89. This name, KHITAI, is that by which China is styled to this day by all, or nearly all, the nations which know it from an inland point of view, including the Russians, the Persians, and the nations of Turkestan; and yet it originally belonged to a people who were not Chinese at all. The KHITANS were a people of Manchu race who inhabited for centuries a country to the north-east of China, lying east of the Khingan mountains and north of the river Sira, and whose allegiance was rendered alternately to the Khakans of the Turks and the Emperors of China. In the beginning of the tenth century the chief of one of their tribes made himself supreme, first over his own entire race, and then successively over the adjoining nations of Asia from the sea of Corea to the Altai. The son of this conqueror having assisted to place on the throne Kaotsu of the brief dynasty of the later Tçin, this prince in return not only transferred to the Tartar a large tract of Northern China, but agreed to pay him yearly tribute, and to acknowledge his supremacy. The next Chinese sovereign kicking against these degradations, the Khitan over-ran all the provinces north of the Yellow River, and established his own empire within them, under the name of *Leao* or the Iron Dynasty. This Khitan empire subsisted for two centuries, in Northern China and the adjoining regions of Tartary. The

[1] Several names strongly resembling *Cathay* appear in ancient geographers; but, of course, none of them have any connexion with the name as applied to China. The Χαῖται Scythians of Ptolemy probably represent *Khotan* (vi, 15). The Καθέα of Strabo is in the Punjab, apparently from what he says, including the Salt Range (Bk. xv). The *Kataia* of Arrian is the island of Kísh in the Persian Gulf.

same curious process then took place which seems always to have followed the intrusion of Tartar conquerors into China, and singularly analogous to that which followed the establishment of the Roman emperors in Byzantium. The intruders themselves adopted Chinese manners, ceremonies, literature, and civilisation, and gradually lost their energy and warlike character. It must have been during this period, ending with the overthrow of the dynasty in 1123, and whilst this northern monarchy was the face which the Celestial Empire turned to Inner Asia, that the name of Khitan, Khitat, or Khitaï, became indissolubly associated with China.

90. In the year just named the last prince of the dynasty was captured by the leader of the revolted *Churchés*, who had proclaimed himself emperor, and founder of a dynasty under the name of the *Golden*, the *Kin* of the Chinese.

This dynasty, like its predecessor, adopted the Chinese civilisation, and for a brief period prospered. Their empire, the chief capital of which was established at the city which they called Chungtu, the modern Peking, embraced in China itself the provinces of Pecheli, Shansi, Shantung, Honan, and the south of Shensi, whilst beyond the wall all Tartary acknowledged their influence. Their power, however, soon passed its climax, and their influence over Mongolia had already declined before the middle of the twelfth century.

91. Temuchin, afterwards known as Chinghiz, was born of a Mongol tribe on the banks of the Onon in 1162. It is not needful to follow the details of his rise and of his successes against the nations of Tartary which led to his being saluted in 1206 by the diet of his nation as Chinghiz Khan.[1]

[1] Chinghiz, according to Quatremère, did not use the higher appellation of *Káan* (or rather Qáan), which was adopted by his son Okkodai and his successors as their distinctive title, identical with *Kháqán*, the Χαγάνος of the Byzantine historians. Properly a distinction should therefore be preserved between *Khan*, the ordinary title of Tartar chiefs, and which has since spread to Persian gentlemen and to be a common affix to the name of Hindustanis of all classes, and *Qáan*, as the peculiar title of the Supreme Chief of the Mongols. The Mongol princes of the subordinate empires of Chagatai, Persia, and Kipchak, were entitled only to the former affix, though the other is sometimes applied to them in adulation,

The conquest of China was commenced by Chinghiz, although it was not completed for several generations. Already in 1205 he had invaded TANGUT, a kingdom occupying the extreme north-west of China, and extending beyond Chinese limits in the same direction, held by a dynasty of Tibetan race, which was or had been vassal to the Kin. This invasion was repeated in succeeding years; and in 1211 his attacks extended to the empire of the Kin itself. In 1214 he ravaged their provinces to the Yellow River, and in the following year took Chungtu or Peking. In 1219 he turned his arms against Western Asia, and conquered all the countries between the Bolor and the Caspian and southward to the Indus, whilst his generals penetrated to Russia, Armenia, and Georgia; but a lieutenant whom he had left behind him in the East continued to prosecute the subjection of Northern China. Chinghiz himself on his return from his western conquests renewed his attack on Tangut, and died on that enterprise 18th August, 1227.

92. Okkodai, the son and successor of Chinghiz, followed up the subjugation of China, extinguished the Kin finally in 1234 and consolidated with his empire all the provinces north of the Great Kiang. The southern provinces remained for the present subject to the Chinese dynasty of the Sung, reigning now at Kingssé or Hangcheu. This kingdom was known to the Tartars as NANGKIASS, and also by the quasi-Chinese title of MANGI or MANZI, made so famous by Marco Polo and the travellers of the following age, a title which the Western Mahomedans not unnaturally confounded and identified with MACHÍN, a term of another origin and properly of a larger application.[1]

whilst the successors of Chinghiz, viz., Okkodai, Kuyuk, Mangu, Kublai, and those who followed him on the throne of Khanbalik, the *Magni Canes* of our ecclesiastical travellers, should properly be designated as *Qáan*. But I have not ventured on such a refinement. (See *Quatremère* on Rashid, pp. 10 *et seqq.*)

[1] *Máchín* is merely a contraction of Mahachina, "Great China", the name by which the Hindus anciently styled the Great Empire (see *supra*, p. lxviii), and in this application I have heard it still vernacularly used by them. In this sense, also, it would appear to have been understood in old times by the more intelligent Mahomedans, as when Al Biruni, speaking of the Himalyas, says that beyond those mountains is *Mahachin*.

93. After establishing his power over so much of China as we have said, Okkodai raised a vast army and set it in motion to-

That geographer's contemporary, Firdusi, also uses the name (see *Journ. As.*, ser. iv, tom. iv, 259; *Klaproth, Mem.*, iii, 257, *seqq.*) But the majority, not knowing the meaning of the expression, seem to have used it pleonastically coupled with *Chín* to denote the same thing, "*Chin* and *Machin*"; a phrase having some analogy to the way *Sind* and *Hind* was used to express all India, but a stronger one to *Gog* and *Magog*, as applied to the northern nations of Asia; for Sind and Hind are capable of divorce. And eventually Chin was discovered to be the eldest son of Japhet, and Machin his grandson; which is much the same as saying that Britain was the eldest son of Brut the Trojan, and Great Britain his grandson. In the Mongol days, when Chinese affairs were for a time more distinctly known in Western Asia, and the name of *Mánzí* as the southern portion of the empire was current in men's mouths, it would appear that this name was confounded with *Máchín*, and the latter word thus acquired a specific application, though an erroneous one. For though accident thus gave a specific meaning to *Machin*, I cannot find that *Chin* ever had a similar specific meaning given to it. One author of the sixteenth century, indeed, quoted by Klaproth, distinguishes North and South China as the Chìn and Machin of the Hindus (*Journ. As.*, ser. ii, tom. i, 115). But there is no proof that the Hindus ever made this distinction, nor has anyone that I know of quoted an instance of *Chin* being applied peculiarly to Northern China. Ibn Batuta, on the contrary, sometimes distinguishes *Sín* as South China from *Khitai* as North China.

In times after the Mongol *règime*, when intercourse with China had ceased, the double name seems to have recovered its old vagueness as a rotund way of saying *China*. Thus Barbaro speaks of *Cini* and *Macini*, Nikitin of *Chin* and *Machin*, the commission of Syrian bishops to India (*supra*, p. civ) of *Sin* and *Masin*, all apparently with no more plurality of sense than there is in Thurm and Taxis. And yet, at the same time, there are indications of a new application of *Máchin* to the Indo-Chinese countries. Thus Conti applies it to Ava or Siam, in which Fra Mauro follows him, and the Ayin Akbari, if I remember rightly, applies it to Pegu.

The use of a double assonant name, sometimes to express a dual idea but often a single one, is a favourite Oriental practice. As far back as Herodotus we have Crophi and Mophi, Thyni and Bithyni; the Arabs have converted Cain and Abel into Kabil and Hábil, Saul and Goliah into Talut and Jalut, Pharaoh's magicians into Risam and Rejam, of whom the Jewish traditions had made Jannes and Jambres; whilst Christian legends gave the names of Dismas and Jesmas to the penitent and impenitent thieves in the Gospel. Jarga and Nargah was the name given to the great circle of beaters in the Mongol hunting matches. In geography we have numerous instances of the same thing, *e.g.*, Zabulistan and Kabulistan, Koli Akoli, Longa Solanga, Ibir Sibir, Kessair and Owair, Kuria Muria, Ghuz and Maghuz, Mastra and Castra (*Edrisi*), Artag and

wards the west. One portion was directed against Armenia, Georgia, and Asia Minor, whilst another great host under Batu, the nephew of the Great Khan, conquered the countries north of Caucasus, overran Russia making it tributary, and still continued to carry fire and slaughter westward. One great detachment under a lieutenant of Batu's entered Poland, burned Cracow, found Breslaw in ashes and abandoned by its people, and defeated with great slaughter at Wahlstadt near Lignitz (April 12th, 1241) the troops of Poland, Moravia, and Silesia, who had gathered under Duke Henry of the latter province to make head against this astounding flood of heathen. Batu himself with the main body of his army was ravaging Hungary. The king had been very slack in his preparations, and when eventually he made a stand against the enemy his army was defeated with great loss, and he escaped with difficulty. Pesth was now taken and burnt, and all its people put to the sword.

The rumours of the Tartars and their frightful devastations had scattered fear through Europe, which the defeat at Lignitz raised to a climax. Indeed weak and disunited Christendom seemed to lie at the foot of the barbarians. The Pope to be sure proclaimed crusade, and wrote circular letters, but the enmity between him and the Emperor Frederic II was allowed to prevent any co-operation, and neither of them responded by anything better than words to the earnest calls for help which came from the King of Hungary. No human aid merited thanks when Europe was relieved by hearing that the Tartar host had suddenly retreated eastward. The Great Khan Okkodai was dead in the depths of Asia, and a courier had come to recal the army from Europe.

Kartag (*Abulghazi*), Khanzi and Manzi (*Rashid*), Iran and Turan, Crit and Mecrit (*Rubruquis*), Sondor and Condor (*Marco Polo*), etc. (See *Quatremère's Rashid*, pp. 243-246; *D'Avezac*, p. 534; *Prairies d'Or*, i, p. 399).

The name of *Achín* in Sumatra appears to have been twisted in this spirit by the Mahomedan mariners as a rhyme to *Machin*; the real name is *Atcheh*.

In India, such rhyming doublets are not confined to proper names; to a certain extent they may be made colloquially at will upon a variety of substantives. Thus *chauki-auki* means "chairs" simply (*chauki*), or, at most, "chairs and tables"; *lakri-akri*, "sticks and stakes". In some

94. In 1255 a new wave of conquest rolled westward from Mongolia, this time directed against the Ismaelians or "Assassins" on the south of the Caspian, and then successively against the Khalif of Baghdad and Syria. The conclusion of this expedition under Hulagu may be considered to mark the climax of the Mongol power. Mangu Khan, the emperor then reigning, and who died on a campaign in China in 1259, was the last who exercised a sovereignty so nearly universal. His successor Kublai extended indeed largely the frontiers of the Mongol power in China, which he brought entirely under the yoke, besides gaining conquests rather nominal than real on its southern and south eastern borders, but he ruled effectively only in the eastern regions of the great empire, which had now broken up into four. (1) The immediate Empire of the Great Khan, seated eventually at Khanbalik or Peking, embraced China, Corea, Mongolia, and Manchuria, Tibet, and claims at least over Tunking and countries on the Ava frontier; (2), the Chagatai Khanate, or Middle Empire of the Tartars, with its capital at Almalik, included the modern Dsungaria, part of Chinese Turkestan, Transoxiana, and Afghanistan; (3), the Empire of Kipchak, or the Northern Tartars, founded on the conquests of Batu, and with its chief seat at Sarai on the Wolga, covered a large part of Russia, the country north of Caucasus, Khwarizm, and a part of the modern Siberia; (4), Persia, with its capital eventually at Tabriz, embraced Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and part of Asia Minor, all Persia, Arabian Irak, and Khorasan.

95. Though the Tartar host had retired spontaneously when Europe seemed to lie at its mercy, the fears of renewed invasion hung over the west for years. Pope Innocent, who had succeeded Gregory, summoned a council at Lyons in 1245, the chief alleged object of which was to devise measures for the protection of Christendom against this enemy. But even before the meeting of the Council the Pope had taken one of the steps which was to stand instead of a hearty union to resist the common foe, by sending missions to the Tartar chiefs which should call upon them to shed

such sense probably grew up the use of *Chin Machin*, China and all its appurtenances.

no more Christian blood, but to adopt the Christian faith. There seems indeed, even when the early panic caused by the vast scale of the Tartar atrocities had scarcely passed away, (and the feeling for many years grew rather than diminished), an undercurrent of anticipation to have run through Europe that these barbarians were in some way ripe for conversion; and this sentiment is traceable, more or less, in most of the missions that from this time forth were sent to them by Christian Pontiffs and Princes. At its maximum, as we have seen, the power of the Grand Khan extended from the Gulf of Tunking almost to the Baltic. None, or next to none, of the Mongol princes were at this time Mahomedans, and the power of Islam over the length of Asia was for a time prostrated. The heavy blows thus dealt at the Mahomedan enemy; then the old stories of Prester John with whom early rumour had confounded Chinghiz; the vagueness of religious profession in the Khans and their captains, facilitating the ascription to them of that Christianity which was no doubt really professed by some of the tribal chiefs under them; the tolerance and patronage in some cases extended to Christians in the conquered countries; all these circumstances perhaps contributed to create or to augment in Europe the impression of which we have spoken.

And the accomplishment of the missions to which allusion has been made was facilitated by the very extent of the Tartar flood which had thus washed down all artificial barriers from the Yellow River to the Danube. Nor only to those missionaries and ambassadors, or to the crowned kings who bore their own homage to the footstool of the Great Khan, was the way thus thrown open; the circulation of the tide extended far lower, and the accidents of war, commerce, and opportunity carried a great variety of persons in various classes of European life to remote regions of Asia.

96. "'Tis worthy of the grateful remembrance of all Christian people," says Ricold of Montecroce, "that just at the time when God sent forth into the eastern parts of the world the Tartars to slay and to be slain, He also sent forth in the west his faithful and blessed servants Dominic and Francis, to enlighten, instruct,

and build up in the Faith." Whatever we may think on the whole of the world's obligations to Dominic, it is to the friars, but more especially indeed to the Franciscans, that we owe much interesting information about the Tartars and Cathay. Thus, besides the many wanderers dumb to posterity who found their way to the Great Khan's camp in the depths of Mongolia, there went also John of Plano Carpini, and William Ruysbrœk or Rubruquis, both Franciscan monks of superior intelligence, who have left behind them narratives of what they saw and learned. And these were the first, so far as I know, to bring to Western Europe the revived knowledge of a great and civilised nation lying in the extreme east upon the shores of the ocean. To this kingdom they give the name, now first heard in Europe, of CATHAY.

JOHN OF PLANO CARPINI, deriving his name from a place in the territory of Perugia, and an immediate disciple of the founder of his order, was the head of one of the missions dispatched by Pope Innocent to call the chief and people of the Tartars to a better mind. He set out from Lyons in April 1245, accompanied by Friar Stephen, a Bohemian, who speedily broke down and had to be left behind, was joined at Breslaw by Friar Benedict the Pole, who was intended to act as interpreter, and in February 1246 reached the head-quarters of Batu on the Wolga. After some stay here, they were sent on to the camp of the Great Khan near Karakorum, (a fatiguing journey of three months and a half, which must have sorely tried an elderly and corpulent man like Friar John), arriving on the 22nd July. We shall not go into any further details on the mission or narrative of Plano Carpini which has been so ably reviewed and edited by M. D'Avezac,[1] but be content to say that he obtained his dismissal from Kuyuk Khan on the 13th November, with a brief and haughty reply to the Pope's address, and returned safely, reporting his mission to the Pope apparently some time in the autumn of 1247.[2]

[1] See that able and admirable essay "Notice sur les Anciens Voyageurs en Tartarie en général, et sur celui de Jean du Plan du Carpin en particulier", *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, iv, 399.

[2] The last date is that of his arrival at Kiev a fortnight before St. John Baptist's day (*i.e.*, 9th June).

97. After mentioning the wars of Chinghiz against the Cathayans *(Kitai)*, he goes on to speak of that people as follows:

"But one part of the country of the Cathayans which lies upon the sea-shore has not been conquered by the Tartars to this day. Now these Cathayans of whom we have been speaking are heathen men, and have a written character of their own. Moreover 'tis said they have an Old and New Testament, and Lives of the Fathers, and religious recluses, and buildings which are used for churches as it were, in which they pray at their own times: and they say that they have also some saints of their own. They worship the one God, honour the Lord Jesus Christ, and believe in eternal life, but are entirely without baptism. They pay honour and reverence to our Scriptures, are well disposed towards Christians, and do many alms deeds. They seem indeed to be kindly and polished folks enough. They have no beard, and in character of countenance have a considerable resemblance to the Mongols, but are not so broad in the face. They have a language of their own. Their betters as craftsmen in every art practised by man are not to be found in the whole world. Their country is very rich in corn, in wine, gold, silver, silk, and in every kind of produce that tends to the support of mankind."

98. RUBRUQUIS, a Fleming, was sent by St. Lewis on a mission to the Tartar chiefs, the object of which is not to be very clearly gathered. It was suggested, however, by the report that Sartach the son of Batu, who was in command near the Don, was a Christian, and probably partook of the character of a religious as well as a political reconnoissance. The friar, though carrying letters from the king, was evidently under orders to deny all pretension to the character of an envoy, and to put forward his duty as a preacher of the Gospel as the motive of his journey. His narrative is a remarkably interesting one, showing that the author had a great deal of sagacity and observation; and his remarks, in reference to language in particular, show much acumen. There are difficulties in connexion with the indications of his route across Tartary, which it would be interesting to discuss, but scarcely appropriate here.[1] Suffice it, therefore, to say,

[1] Some remarks on the subject will, however, be found at the end of Supp. Note XVII.

that he entered the Black Sea on the 7th May, 1253, and after visiting successively Sartach, Batu, and the court of the Great Khan Mangu near Kara Korum, got back to Antioch about the end of June 1255.

99. After describing several of the nations of Further Asia, he says: "Further on is Great Cathay which I take to be the country which was anciently called the Land of the Seres. For the best silk stuffs are still got from them, and the people themselves call such stuffs *Seric*;[1] the nation getting the name of Seres from a certain town of theirs. I was really given to understand that there is a town in that country which has silver walls and golden battlements.[2] The land in question is divided into many provinces, several of which have not yet been subdued by the Mongols, and the sea lies between it and India. Those Cathayans are little fellows, speaking much through the nose, and as is general with all those eastern people their eyes are very narrow. They are first-rate artists in every kind of craft, and their physicians have a thorough knowledge of the virtues of herbs, and an admirable skill in diagnosis by the pulse.[3] But they don't examine the urine or know anything on that subject; this I know from my own observation. There are a great many of these people at Karakorum; and it has always been their custom that all the sons must follow their father's craft whatever it be. Hence it is that they are obliged to pay so heavy a tribute; for they pay the Mongols daily 1,500 *iascot* or *cosmi*;[4] the *iascot* is a piece of

[1] This is probably a reference to the Mongol word *Sirkek* (*supra*, p. xliv), and Rubruquis thus anticipated Klaproth in tracing an eastern etymology of the term SERICA. I do not know what town he can allude to, but see the *Siurhia* of Moses the Armenian, and the *Saragh* of the Singanfu inscription (*supra*, pp. lxxxiii, xciii).

[2] Martini alludes to a popular Chinese saying about the golden walls of Singanfu (*Atlas Sinensis*). And these passages are remarkable with reference to the remark of Ptolemy about the metropolis *Thinæ*, that there was no truth in the stories of its brazen walls.

[3] Martini speaks of the great skill of the physicians in diagnosis by the pulse, and Duhalde is very prolix on that matter.

[4] I do not know what the word *iascot* is; but *cosmi* is possibly intended for the same word as the *sommi* of Pegolotti (*infra*, p. 288), though the value here assigned would be about ten times that of the *sommo*, taking the mark as $\frac{2}{3}$ of a pound.

silver weighing ten marks, so that the daily sum amounts to 15,000 marks without counting the silk stuffs and food in kind which is taken from them, and the other services which they are obliged to render.[1] . . . And in answer to my inquiries of the priests who came from Cathay I was told that from the place where I found Mangu-Chan to Cathay was twenty days' journey going south-east. . . . One day there sat with me a certain priest from Cathay clothed in a crimson stuff of a splendid colour, so I asked him whence that colour was got. In reply he told me that in the eastern parts of Cathay there are lofty rocks inhabited by certain creatures which have the human form in every respect except that they can't bend their knees, but get along by some kind of a jumping motion. They are only a cubit high, and are hairy all over, and dwell in inaccessible holes in the rock. So the huntsmen bring beer with them, which they know how to brew very strong, and make holes in the rocks like cups which they fill with beer. (For they have no wine in Cathay, but make their drink of rice, though now they are beginning to plant vines.) So the huntsmen hide themselves, and then the creatures come out of their holes and taste the drink that has been set for them and call out "Chin chin!" and from this call they get their name: for they are called *Chinchin*. Then they gather in great numbers and drink up the beer and get tipsy and fall asleep. So the huntsmen come and catch them sleeping and bind them hand and foot, and open a vein in the neck of the creatures, and after taking three or four drops of blood let them go. And 'tis that blood, he told me, that gives this most precious purple dye.[1] And they also used to tell as a fact, though I don't believe a word of it, that there is a certain province on the other side of Cathay, and whatever a man's age be when he enters that province he never gets any older. Cathay lies on the Ocean. . . . The common money of Cathay consists of pieces of cotton paper about a palm in length and breadth, upon which certain lines are printed resembling the seal of Mangu Chan. They do their writing with a

[1] P. 291-2.

[2] This is a genuine Chinese story, which I have met with in some of the translations, but I have lost the reference.

pencil such as painters paint with, and a single character of theirs comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word.[1]

100. Another traveller, of whose journey some account has come down to us, visited the Court of Mangu Khan immediately after Rubruquis. This was Hethum or HAYTON I, King of Little Armenia, who at an early date saw the irresistible power of the Tartars and made terms with them; *i.e.*, acknowledged himself the Khan's vassal. On the accession of Kuyuk Khan (1246) the king sent his brother Sempad or Sinibald, Constable of Armenia, to secure the continuance of good understanding. This prince was four years absent, and we possess a letter from him written on the journey in which some allusions are made to Tangut and Cathay, with reference to the general delusion as to the Christianity of those countries.[2]

[1] Pp. 327-329. Neither Marco Polo, nor, I believe, any other traveller previous to the sixteenth century, had the acumen to discern the great characteristic of the Chinese writing as Rubruquis has done here.

[2] The letter is addressed to the King and Queen of Cyprus and others at their court, and was written apparently from Samarkand (printed *Saurequant*, probably for *Samrequant*). Here is an extract: "We understand it to be the fact that it is five years past since the death of the present Chan's father [Okkodai]; but the Tartar barons and soldiers had been so scattered over the face of the earth that it was scarcely possible in the five years to get them together in one place to enthrone the Chan aforesaid. For some of them were in India, and others in the land of CHATA, and others in the land of CASCHAR and of TANCHAT. This last is the land from which came the Three Kings to Bethlem to worship the Lord Jesus which was born. And know that the power of Christ has been, and is, so great, that the people of that land are Christians; and the whole land of Chata believes in those Three Kings. I have myself been in their churches and have seen pictures of Jesus Christ and the Three Kings, one offering gold, the second frankincense, and the third myrrh. And it is through those Three Kings that they believe in Christ, and that the Chan and his people have now become Christians. And they have their churches before his gates where they ring their bells and beat upon pieces of timber.....And I tell you that we have found many Christians scattered all over the East, and many fine churches, lofty, ancient, and of good architecture, which have been spoiled by the Turks. Hence the Christians of the land came before the present Khan's grandfather; and he received them most honourably, and granted them liberty of worship, and issued orders to forbid their having any just cause of complaint by word or deed. And so the Saracens who used to treat them with contumely have now like treatment in double measure.....And let me tell

Hayton himself went to the court of Mangu Khán soon after the latter's accession, to assure his position with that potentate, and to obtain certain advantages for himself and his states. He set out apparently in the beginning of 1254, first visiting Bachu Noian, the general of the Tartar army at Kars, and then passing through Armenia Proper and by the Pass of Darband to the Wolga, where he saw Batu and his son Sartach, whom this narrative alleges to have been a Christian, in opposition to Rubruquis, who says such stories were all nonsense.[1] The chiefs received Hayton well, and sent him on to Kara Korum by a route far to the north of that followed by Plano Carpini and Rubruquis. Leaving the court of Batu on the 13th May, the party arrived at the royal camp before the 13th September, on which day they saw the Great Khan in state and offered their gifts. King Hayton was treated with honour and hospitality, and on the 1st November set out on his homeward journey, passing by Bishbalig and through the modern Dsungaria to Otrar, Samarkand, and Bokhara; thence through Khorasan and Mazanderan to Tabriz, and so to his own territories.

King Hayton related many wonderful things that he had seen

you that those who set up for preachers (among these Christians), in my opinion, deserve to be well chastised. Let me tell you, moreover, that in the land of India, which St. Thomas the Apostle converted, there is a certain Christian king who stood in sore tribulation among the other kings who were Saracens. They used to harass him on every side, until the Tartars reached that country, and he became their liegeman. Then, with his own army and that of the Tartars, he attacked the Saracens; and he made such booty in India that the whole East is full of Indian slaves; I have seen more than 50,000 whom this king took and sent for sale" (*Mosheim*, App., p. 49).

The motive in the letter is perhaps the justification of his brother Hayton for having, like this questionable Indian king, become the Tartar's liegeman. The writer fell in battle against the Turks in 1272.

[1] See *infra*, p. 177. When Friar William was leaving the camp of Sartach, one of the Tartar officers said to him, "Don't you be saying that our master is a Christian; he is no Christian, but a Mongol!" (p. 259). Just as Sir Walter Scott tells somewhere of a belated southron traveller in the old days, who seeking vainly for shelter in some town on the border, exclaimed in despair, "Would no good Christian take him in?" To which an old woman who heard him, made answer, "Christian? Na, na! we're a' Jardines and Johnstones here."

and heard of the nations of barbarians, and among others of the *Ghotaians* or Cathayans. In their country there were many idolaters who worshipped a clay image called *Shakemonia*. This personage had been Deity for the last 3040 years, and had still to rule the World for 35 tumans or 350,000 years, when he was to be deprived of his divinity. They had also another god (who should then reign?) called *Madri*, of whom they had made a clay image of incredible size. In these statements we have a rough indication of Buddhism with its last Buddha or deified sage, SAKYA-MUNI, and its coming Buddha, Maitreya or MAIDARI awaiting his time in the development of the ages. The king heard, too, of a people beyond Cathay whose women had the use of reason *like men*, whilst the males were great hairy dogs, a story which Plano Carpini had also heard, and which Klaproth has found in the Chinese books of the period.[1] The information regarding Cathay and other countries of the far East, contained in the history written half a century later by the king's namesake and relative, Hayton the Younger, was also probably derived in part from the former and his companions.

101. We do not mean here to enter into any details regarding that illustrious Venetian family whose travels occupy a large space in the interval between the journeys of Rubruquis and King Hayton and the end of the thirteenth century, those travels which more than all other narratives together familiarised Europe with the name and wonders of Cathay. Indeed, all other travellers to that region are but stars of a low magnitude beside the full orb of MARCO POLO. There was a time when he fell into discredit;[2] but that is long past, and his veracity and justness of observation still shine brighter under every recovery of lost or

[1] See *Pl. Carpini*, p. 656. The narrative of King Hetum's journey is translated by Klaproth in the *Journ. Asiat.*, s. ii, tom. xii, pp. 273 *seqq.* King Hayton, in his latter years, abdicated and became a monk; as did at a later date his son Hayton II, and again, their kinsman, Hayton the historian.

[2] The editors of the *Histoire Générale des Voyages* (I am afraid this is a translation from the English), express doubts whether Polo ever was really in China or Tartary, because he says nothing of the Great Wall, of tea, of the compressed feet of the ladies, etc. (*Baldello Boni, Il Milione*, p. lxxv).

forgotten knowledge. Nearly fifty years ago a Quarterly Reviewer received with disparaging anticipations the announcement of a new Italian edition of Polo,[1] as if deeming that little could be added in illustration of the Traveller to what Marsden had effected. Much as Marsden really did in his splendid edition, it would be no exaggeration to say that the light thrown on Marco's narrative has since that day been more than doubled from the stores of Chinese, Mongol, and Persian history which have been rendered accessible to European readers, or brought directly to bear on the elucidation of the Traveller, by Klaproth, Remusat, Quatremère, and many other scholars, chiefly Frenchmen. And within the last year Paris has sent out an edition of the Traveller, by M. Pauthier, which leaves far behind everything previously attempted, concentrating in the notes not only many of the best suggestions of previous commentators, but a vast mass of entirely new matter from the editor's own Chinese studies.

102. During a period including the last thirty years of the thirteenth century and the first few years of the fourteenth many diplomatic communications took place between the Mongol Khans of Persia and the sovereigns of Christendom; and in these we find a tone on the part of the Tartar princes very different from the curt insolence of the previous age. They no longer held the same domineering supremacy, and their great object now was to obtain Christian alliances against their bitter rivals, the Sultans of Egypt. These communications do not, however, bear upon our subject, except in one curious incidental aspect. The Khans of Persia, as liegemen of the Great Khan, still received from him their seals of state, and two of their letters preserved in the French archives exhibit the impressions of these seals bearing inscriptions in ancient Chinese characters, in the case of the earlier letter perhaps the first specimens of such characters that reached Europe.[2]

This peculiar relation, which the Mongol conquests produced

[1] Baldello Boni's: see that work i, p. civ. Perhaps, however, the terms quoted may refer only to the improbability of fresh light from Italian archives.

[2] See Remusat's Memoir in *Mem. de l'Acad. Inscript.*, vii, 367, 391, etc. The earlier letter is from Argun Khan, and came in 1289. It is written in Uigur characters in the Mongol language on a roll of cotton paper

between China and Western Asia, not only introduced strangers from the remote West to China and its borders, but also carried Chinese to vast distances from the Middle Kingdom. Not only were corps of Alans and Kipchaks seen fighting in Tunking, but Chinese engineers were employed on the banks of the Tigris, and Chinese astronomers, physicians, and theologians could be consulted at Tabriz.[1] The missions of Kublai himself extended to Madagascar.

103. There must have been other Frank travellers to Cathay contemporary with the Polos, such as the German engineer, whom Marco mentions as employed under his father, his uncle, and himself, in the construction of mechanical artillery to aid Kublai Khan in his attack on the city of Saianfu or Siangyangfu in Hukong, but no other narrative from the time of their sojourn in China has come down to us.

An interesting chapter on Cathay is found in the geographical part of the work of Hayton, Prince of Gorigos, already alluded to. This prince, after long experience of eastern war and politics, having become in Cyprus a Monk of the Order of Præmonstrants, and afterwards visiting Avignon, Pope Clement V gave him an abbey in the city of Poitiers. Here in 1307 he dictated his history in French to Nicholas Faulcon. It contains in sixty chapters a geography of Asia, the history of the Mongol Khans, and notices of the Holy Land and the Eastern Christians.

The first fifteen chapters contain short successive accounts of the chief kingdoms of Asia, and form altogether probably the best geographical summary of that continent which had yet been

six feet and a half long by ten inches wide. The seal is thrice impressed on the face of the letter in red. It is five inches and a half square, containing six characters; "Seal of the Minister of State, Pacificator of Nations." The second letter is from Khodabandah, otherwise called Oljaitu, and written in 1305. The seal in this case contains the words, "By a supreme decree the Seal of the Descendant of the Emperor charged to reduce to obedience the 10,000 barbarous nations". A duplicate of this perhaps went to Edward II, as his reply, dated Northampton 16th October 1307, is in Rymer's Fœdera (*Remusat*, u.s.)

[1] See *Polo*, iii, 35; *D'Ohsson*, ii, 611; iii, 265; *Quatremère's Rashid*, pp. 195, 417, and Rashid's own grandiloquence, p. 39. Marco Polo's will bequeaths liberty and a legacy to a Tartar servant, thirty years after his return home.

compiled. In the Supplementary Notes to this Essay will be found the chapter on Cathay.[1]

104. Just as the three Poli were reaching their native city, the forerunner of a new band of travellers was entering Southern China. This was JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO, a Franciscan monk, who, already nearly fifty years of age, was plunging alone into that great ocean of Paganism, and of what he deemed little better, Nestorianism, to preach the Gospel. After years of uphill work and solitary labour others joined him; the Papal See woke up to what was going on; it made him Archbishop in Khanbalig or Pekin, with patriarchal authority, and sent him spasmodically batches of suffragan bishops and friars of his order; the Roman Church spread; churches and Minorite Houses were established at Khanbalig; at Zayton or Chincheu, at Yangcheu and elsewhere; and the missions flourished under the immediate patronage of the Great Khan himself. Among the friars whose duty carried them to Cathay during the interval between the beginning of the century and the year 1328, when Archbishop John was followed to the grave by mourning multitudes, Pagan as well as Christian, several have left letters or more extended accounts of their experiences in Cathay. Among these may be mentioned ANDREW OF PERUGIA, Bishop of Zayton; JOHN DE CORA, Archbishop of Sultania (though it is not quite certain that his account was derived from personal knowledge), and above all FRIAR ODORIC OF PORDENONE. A short though interesting notice of China belonging to this period, but derived from the information of others, is also contained in the Mirabilia of FRIAR JORDANUS.[2]

The only ecclesiastical narrative subsequent to the time of Archbishop John is that contained in the reminiscences of JOHN MARIGNOLLI, who spent four years at the court of Peking (1342-46) as Legate from the Pope.

105. But the Exchange had its emissaries at this time as well

[1] See Note XIV.

[2] The journey of Ricold of Montecroce, one of the most learned of the monk travellers of the age (d. 1309) did not apparently extend beyond Baghdad. He mentions Cathay only once in noticing the conquests of Chinghiz (*Perig. Quat.*, 120).

as the Church. The record is a very fragmentary and imperfect one, but many circumstances and incidental notices show how frequently the far East was reached by European traders in the first half of the fourteenth century; a state of things which it is very difficult to realise, when we see how all those regions, when reopened only two centuries later, seemed almost as absolutely new discoveries as the empires which about the same time Cortes and Pizarro were annexing in the West.

This frequency of commercial intercourse, at least with China, probably did not commence till some years after the beginning of the fourteenth century. For Montecorvino, writing in 1305, says it was then twelve years since he had heard any news of the Court of Rome or European politics, the only western stranger who had arrived in that time being a certain Lombard chirurgeon who had spread awful blasphemies about the Pope. Yet, even on his first entrance into Cathay, Friar John had been accompanied by one Master Peter of Lucolongo, whom he describes as a faithful Christian man and a great merchant. The letter of Andrew Bishop of Zayton, lately referred to, quotes the opinion of the Genoese merchants of his acquaintance at that great seaport touching a question of exchanges. Marino Sanuti, the Venetian, writing about 1306 to propound a great scheme for the subversion of the Mahomedan power, alludes to the many merchants who had already gone to India to make their purchases and come back safely. About 1322 Friar Jordanus, the Dominican, when in sore trouble at Tana near Bombay, where four of his brethren had been murdered by the Mahomedans, falls in with a young Genoese who gives him aid; and in one of his letters from Gujarat, he speaks of information received from "Latin merchants". In the stories connected with the same martyred friars, we find mention of a merchant of Pisa owning a ship in the Indian seas. Mandeville, too, speaks of the merchants of Venice and Genoa coming habitually to Hormuz to buy goods. Odoric, dictating his travels in 1330, refers for confirmation of the wonders related of the great city of Cansay or Hangcheu, to the many persons whom he had met at Venice since his return who had themselves been witnesses of all that he asserted. A

few years later (1339) we find William of Modena, a merchant, dying for the Faith with certain friars at Almalik on the banks of the Ili. John Marignolli mentions that when he was in Malabar about 1347-8, his interpreter was a youth who had been rescued from pirates in the Indian seas by a merchant of Genoa. And from the same authority we find that there was a *fondaco* or factory, and warehouse for the use of the Christian merchants, attached to one of the Franciscan convents at Zayton.

106. But the most distinct and notable evidence of the importance and frequency of the European trade from Cathay, of which silk and silk goods were the staple, is to be found in the work of F. Balducci Pegolotti, of which an account and extracts are given in the present collection. That the ventures on this trade were not insignificant is plain from the example taken by the author to illustrate the question of expenses on the journey to Cathay, which is that of a merchant carrying goods to the amount of some £12,000.

107. To the same period of the Mongol domination and active commerce with the west, belongs the voyage, about 1347, of the Moor, Ibn Batuta, to China, which forms a part of this work.

But, as regards Christian intercourse, missions and merchants alike disappear from the field soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, as the Mongol dynasty totters and comes down. We hear, indeed, once and again of friars and bishops despatched from Avignon; but they go forth into the darkness and are heard of no more. For the new rulers of China revert to the old indigenous policy and hold foreigners at arm's length; whilst Islam has recovered its ground and extended its grasp over Middle Asia, and the Nestorian Christianity which once prevailed there is rapidly vanishing and leaving its traces only in some strange parodies of church ritual which are found twined into the worship of the Tibetan Lamas, like the cabin gildings and mirrors of a wrecked vessel adorning the hut of a Polynesian chief. A dark mist has descended upon the farther east, covering Mangi and Cathay with those cities of which the old travellers told such wonders, Cambalec and Cansay and Zayton and Chinkalan. And when the veil rises before the Portuguese and

Spanish explorers a century and a half later, those names are heard of no more. In their stead we have CHINA and PEKING, HANGCHEU and CHINCHEU and CANTON. Not only are the old names forgotten, but the fact that those places had been known before, is utterly forgotten also. Gradually Jesuit missionaries went forth again from Rome. New converts were made and new vicariats constituted; but the old Franciscan churches and the Nestorianism with which they had battled had been alike swallowed up in the ocean of Paganism. In time, as we have seen, slight traces of the former existence of Christian churches came to the surface, and when Marco Polo was recalled to mind, one and another began to suspect that China and Cathay were one.

IX. CATHAY PASSING INTO CHINA.—CONCLUSION.

108. But we have been going too fast over the ground, and we must return to that dark interval of which we have spoken, between the fall of the Yuen dynasty and the first appearance of the Portuguese in the Bocca Tigris. The *name* of Cathay was not forgotten; the poets and romancers kept it in memory,[1] and the geographers gave it a prominent place on their maps. But this was not all; some flickering gleams of light came now and then from behind the veil that now hung over Eastern Asia. Such are the cursory notices of Cathay which reached Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo on his embassy to the court of Timur at Samarkand (A.D. 1403-5),[2] and John Schiltberger the Bavarian who

[1] E.g., the story of Mitridanes and Nathan in Boccaccio is laid in Cathay. And in the Orlando Innamorato the father of Angelica is King Galafron:

"Il qual nell' India estrema signoreggia
Una gran terra ch' ha nome il CATTAJO," x, 18.

[2] Clavijo speaks of an ambassador whom the Lord of Cathay had sent to Timur Beg, to demand the yearly tribute which was formerly paid. When Timur saw the Spaniards seated below this Cathayan ambassador, he sent orders that they should sit above him; those who came from the King of Spain, his son and friend, were not to sit below the envoy of a thief and scoundrel who was Timur's enemy. Timur was at this time meditating the expedition against China, in entering on which he died at Otrar (17th Feb. 1405).

The Emperor of Cathay, Clavijo tells us, was called *Chuyscan*, which means "Nine Empires." But the Zagatays (Timur's people) called him

served for many years in the armies of Bajazet and Timur, and returned to his native land in 1427.[1]

109. More detail is found in the narrative of Nicolo Conti, as taken down in Latin by Poggio Bracciolini about 1440, of which a version has been given in "*India in the Fifteenth Century*". The narrative does not distinctly assert that Nicolo himself had been in Cathay; but I think there is internal evidence that he must have been. He briefly notices Cambalec (CAMBALESCHIA) and another city of great size which had been established by the emperor, to which he gives the name of NEMPTAI, and which was the most populous of all.[2] He speaks of the great wealth of the

Tangus, which means *Pig Emperor* (*supra*, p. liii). The best of all merchandise coming to Samarkand was from China (it is not quite clear whether Clavijo understands Cathay and China to be the same); especially silk, satins, musk, rubies, diamonds, pearls, and rhubarb. The Chinese were said to be the most skilful workmen in the world. They said themselves that they had two eyes, the Franks one, and the Moors (Mahomedans) none, (an expression which we find repeatedly quoted by different authors). Cambalu, the chief city of Cathay, was six months from Samarkand, two of which were over steppes. In the year of the embassy 800 laden camels came from Cambalu to Samarkand. The people with them related that the city was near the sea and twenty times as big as Tabriz. Now Tabriz is a good league in length, so Cambalu must be twenty leagues in length (bad geometry Don Ruy!). The emperor used to be a Pagan but was converted to Christianity (*Markham's Trans.*, pp. 133 *seq.*, 171, 173 *seq.*).

[1] Schiltberger seems to have been at Samarkand at the same time with Clavijo. All that he says of China is with reference to the embassy spoken of by the latter, and Timur's scheme of invasion: "Now at this time had the Great Chan, the King of CHETEY, sent an envoy to Thämerlin with four hundred horses, and demanded tribute of him, seeing that he had neglected to pay it and kept it back for five years past. So Thämerlin took the envoy with him to his capital aforesaid. Then sent he the envoy away and bid him tell his master he would be no tributary nor vassal of his, nay he trusted to make the emperor *his* tributary and vassal. And he would come to him in person. And then he sent off despatches throughout his dominions to make ready, for he would march against Cetey. And so when he had gathered 1,800,000 men he marched for a whole month," etc. (*Reisen des Johannes Schiltberger*, etc., München, 1859, p. 81).

[2] I suppose this to be Nanking. The "ab imperatore condita" appears to imply recent construction or reconstruction, which would justly apply to Nanking, established as the capital of the Ming dynasty at the time the Mongols were expelled (1367-8). Indeed Ramusio's Italian version of

country and of the politeness and civilisation of the people, as quite on a par with those of Italy. Their merchants were immensely wealthy, and had great ships much larger than those of Europe, with triple sides and divided into water-tight compartments for security. "Us," he says, "they call Franks, and say that whilst other nations are blind, we see with one eye, whilst they are the only people who see with both." Alone of all eastern nations they use tables at dinner, and silver dishes. The women paint their faces. Their tombs are caves dug in the side of a hill, arched over, and revetted on the exterior with a handsome wall. All these particulars are perfectly accurate, and can scarcely have been acquired except from personal knowledge.[1]

Conti has "*la quale da poco tempo in qua è stata fatta di novo di questo rè.*" Thirty miles, the circuit ascribed by Conti to Nemptai, though above the truth, is less than more recent travellers have named (see p. 120 *infra*). I am not able to explain the name, though I have little doubt that it was a Mongol appellation of Nanking, perhaps connected with *Ingtien*, a name given to that city by the Ming when they made it their capital (*Martini*), and that it is the same which occurs in Sharifuddin's life of Timur, where it is mentioned that from *Tetcaul* (qu. Karaúl of Shah Rukh's ambassadors? *infra*), the fortified gate of the Great Wall on the Shensi frontier, it was fifty-one days' journey to KENJANFU (i.e., Singanfu, *vide infra*, p. 148), and from that city forty days alike to Canbalec and NEMNAI. The reading should probably be *Nemtai* as in Conti. One dot missing makes the difference (*Petis de la Croix*, iii, 218).

[1] See *India in the XVth cent.*, pp. 14, 21, 23, 27. The passage about the tombs is, indeed, in the printed edition given as of *Anterior India*; but I have no doubt that this is a mistake for *Interior India*, a term which Conti uses for China, as where he quotes the proverb about the one eye of the Franks, etc., as used by the *Interiores Indi*. This is inexactly translated by Mr. Winter Jones as "The natives of *Central* India"; but the word is used for *remoter*, as by Cosmas, when he says that Ceylon receives silk "from the parts further in (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδοτέρων*), I speak of Chinista and the other marts in that quarter", and again of China, "*ἧς ἐνδοτέρω* ('further *ben*', as they say in Scotland), there is no other country." Ptolemy uses a like expression for *remoter* (see ext., at p. cl). The description of the tombs applies accurately to those of the Chinese and of no other people.

Poggio has evidently not followed Conti's Geography with any insight, and thus has mixed up features belonging to very different eastern nations. Thus the passage which is given as applicable to all the nations of India of writing *vertically* was probably meant only to apply to the Chinese.

110. The information brought home by Nicolo was eagerly caught at by the cosmographers of the period, and much of it is embodied both in the *Cosmographia* in the Palatine Library at Florence,[1] and in the more important map of FRA MAURO, now in the Ducal Palace at Venice. The latter map indeed embraces so much more than is noticed in Poggio's narrative, especially in the valleys of the Ganges and the Irawadi, that there can be little doubt that Conti, when at Venice, was subjected to a more effectual cross-examination by the cosmographic friar.[2]

111. Poggio helps us to another very ill-focussed glimpse of Cathay in the notices which he adds at the end of Conti's narrative. Here he states that whilst he was preparing that story for publication a person had arrived "from Upper India towards the north", who had been deputed to visit the Pope and to collect

[1] This map is described by Zurla (*Dissert.*, ii, 397) as of 1417, and, if I am not mistaken, it is so entered in the Palatine Catalogue. But the coincidences with Conti, *e.g.*, his Java Major and Minor, his islands of Sandai and Bandan, his lake in Ceylon, etc., are too many and too minute to admit question of their origin. The third figure of the date is half obliterated, and can just as well be read 4 as 1. The date is certainly 1447 at the earliest.

I had noted these remarks from examination of the original before I became aware, from a passage in Professor Kunstmann's *Die Kenntniss Indiens im 15ten Jahrhunderte* (p. 33), that *Neigebauer*, an author whom I do not know, had already made the correction.

[2] Thus in Burmah we have not only, as in the narrative by Poggio, AVA and PAIGU (Pegu, transmuted by Poggio into *Pauconia*, and printed *Panconia*), but also CHESMI (Cosmin, the port representing the modern Bassein till the beginning of last century, but the exact site of which seems lost), MARTABAN; and up the river PERHÉ (Prome, in the true Burmese form *Prè*), POCHANG (Pagán, the ancient capital), CAPELANG (the Ruby country north of Ava, a name preserved to a much later date, but not now traceable), MOQUAN (Mogoung). And near the head of the Irawadi; *i.e.*, at Bhamó, is the rubric, "Here goods are transferred from river to river, and so go on into Cathay." In Bengal, again, we have ORIÇA, BENGALLA (see p. 465 *infra*), SONARGAUAM (*ibid.*), SATGAUAM (Satganw, or perhaps Chittagong), and in the interior SCIERNO (*Cernoue* in Poggio; *i.e.*, Gaur under the name of *Shahr-i-nau*, see *ibid.*), ZUANAPUR (Jaunpur), CHANDAR (Chunar?). But there are enormous fundamental confusions in Fra Mauro's ideas of the rivers of India. Thus, the Indus takes in a great measure the place of the Ganges, whilst the Ganges is confounded with the Kiang. And some of the towns of Bengal named are placed on the Indus and some are transported eastward.

information about Western Christians, by the Patriarch of his own country, which was a Nestorian kingdom, twenty days' journey from Cathay. The imperfections of interpretation made it difficult to acquire information of interest from this personage. He spoke, however, of the Great Khan, and of his having dominion over nine potent kings.[1] This seems to be the same envoy who is spoken of by the Italian philosopher and mathematician, Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli, in a letter addressed in 1474 to his friend Fernando Martinez, canon of Lisbon, of which the writer afterwards sent a copy to Columbus, when replying to a communication from the latter on the great object of his life. The statement of Poggio that the envoy came from a Christian ecclesiastic seems much more probable than that he came, as Toscanelli thought, from the Great Khan himself. But it remains a difficult problem to say whence he did really come. It would seem as if some tribe of the Kerait or the Uigurs had maintained their Christianity till near the middle of the fifteenth century.[2]

112. To this period also belong the notices of Cathay which were collected by JOSAFAT BARBARO, and are recounted in the history of his Embassy to Persia. Whilst he was on this mission, the Lord Assambei (*i.e.*, Uzun Hassan, a Turcoman chief, who,

[1] See the extract from Clavijo above. This notion may be taken from some traditional title bearing reference to the oldest division of China under Yu (B.C. 2286) into *Nine* Provinces (*Chine Moderne*, p. 37); also in the division of the empire under the Mongols into 12 sings (*infra*, p. 270): three of these, Solangka, Corea, and Yunan, were considered exterior, the other *nine to constitute China Proper* (D'OHSSON, ii, 478). *Nine Provinces* was anciently a name applied to China Proper (*Chine Moderne*, 211; and *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 298).

[2] See the letter in Note XV. The curious statements in Varthema about Christians of *Sarnau*, a country towards Cathay, with whom he travelled in the Archipelago, are here brought to mind. I think Mr. Badger has referred to this passage of Poggio; but I cannot turn to his edition now. The letter of Toscanelli is extracted from "*Del Vecchio e Nuovo Gnomone Fiorentino, etc., di Lionardo Ximenes della Comp. di Gesù, Geografo di sua Maestà Imp.* Firenze, 1757", pp. lxxxi-xcviii.

Another traveller, who returned from the Indies in 1424 after wandering there for twenty-four years, by name Bartolomeo Fiorentino, related what he had seen to Pope Eugenius at Venice; but, unfortunately, nothing of this narrative seems to have been preserved (see *Humboldt, Examen Critique*, etc., i, 260).

in the civil strifes that accompanied the decay of Timur's dynasty, acquired the whole of Western Persia), being one day greatly pleased with the acumen shown by Barbaro in judging of a Balass ruby, called out "O, Cathayers, Cathayers! (said you not well that) three eyes have been allowed mankind, and you have got two of them, and the Franks the third!" Barbaro understood what he meant, for he had already heard the proverb (as we have now three times before[1]) from a certain ambassador in the service of the Khan of the Tartars of the Wolga, who had come from Cathay in 1436, and whom Barbaro had entertained in his house at Tana (or Azov) "hoping to get some jewel out of him." From this ambassador he gathered a good deal of detail about Cathay, which he gives in a later part of his work.[2]

113. Somewhat earlier in the century occurred the mission sent by Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, to the court of Chingtsu, the third Emperor of the Ming dynasty. Of this embassy a narrative written by Khwája Ghaiassuddin, surnamed Nakkásh or the Painter, a member of the mission, has been preserved in Abdurrazzak's History of Shah Rukh, and has been translated by M. Quatremère.[3] The embassy took place in A.H. 823-5 (A.D. 1420-22), and was one out of several such interchanged between the courts, of which mention is made in the same history.[4] It is amusing to find the Emperor of China, in a letter carried by one of his embassies, speaking of the steadfastness with which his correspondent's father, Timur, had maintained his loyalty to the Court of China.[5] An abstract of the narrative, with notes, will be found in the sequel.[6]

[1] From Hayton (in Note XIV), Clavijo, and Conti.

[2] *Ramusio*, ii, ff. 106 *v.* and 107. See the extracts in Note XVI.

[3] *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, pt. i, pp. 387 *seqq.* There is a slightly abridged translation in *Astley's Voyages*. Quatremère is mistaken in supposing that the narrative of the Embassy is translated in *Chambers's Asiatic Miscellany*. There is only an extract containing some account of the preceding intercourse between the courts.

[4] See *op. cit.*, pp. 213 *seqq.*, 216 *seqq.*, 304-6. There seems to be some variation as to the correct date. It is not worth going into here, but a comparison of the passage where Abdurrazzak speaks of the embassy in the ordinary course of his history (p. 306) with that where he introduces the special narrative (p. 387) will show the inconsistency.

[5] P. 214.

[6] See Note XVII.

114. Except the brief and fabulous stories of Chin and Machin, which Athanasius Nikitin picked up in the ports of Western India (1468-1474) I am not aware of any other European notices of China previous to the voyages of Columbus and De Gama. The former, it is scarcely needful to say, in his great enterprise was seeking no new continent but a shorter route to the Cathay and Cipangu of Marco Polo, and died believing that the countries which he had discovered were the eastern skirts of Asia, a belief which was not extinct for some twenty years and more after his death.[1]

115. The Portuguese first visited a port of China in 1514, and the adventurers on this occasion sold their goods to great profit though they were not allowed to land. In 1517 took place the trading expedition to Canton under Andrada, carrying the unfortunate ambassador Perez, who died in fetters in China.[2]

116. With this event, perhaps, our sketch ought to conclude. But it was a good many years longer before China was familiarly known from the seaward access, and with the revived interest in

[1] In a letter, *De Orbis Situ ac Descriptione*, from a certain Franciscan Friar Francis, addressed to the Archbishop of Palermo, which is attached to some copies of the *Peregrinatio Joannis Hesei* (Antwerp., 1565), the city of "Themistetan" or Mexico is identified with the Quinsai of Marco Polo, Hispaniola with Cipangu, and so forth.

[2] This last is generally stated as the first Portuguese expedition to China. But the former one is noticed by Andrew Corsalis in his letter to Duke Lorenzo de' Medici, dated 6th January, 1515 (*Ramusio*, i, ff., 180, 181): "The merchants of the land of China also make voyages to Malacca across the Great Gulf to get cargoes of spices, and bring from their own country musk, rhubarb, pearls, tin, porcelain, and silk and wrought stuffs of all kinds, such as damasks, satins, and brocades of extraordinary richness. For they are people of great skill, and on a par with ourselves (*di nostra qualità*), but of uglier aspect, with little bits of eyes. They dress very much after our fashion, and wear shoes and stockings (*? scarpe e calciamenti*) like ourselves. I believe them to be pagans, though many allege that they hold our faith or some part of it. During this last year some of our Portuguese made a voyage to China. They were not permitted to land; for they say 'tis against their custom to let foreigners enter their dwellings. But they sold their goods at a great gain, and they say there is as great profit in taking spices to China as in taking them to Portugal; for 'tis a cold country and they make great use of them. It will be five hundred leagues from Malacca to China, sailing north."

discovery and in the perusal of the old travellers, attention became again directed to CATHAY, as a region distinct from these new found Indies, so that it might be considered yet to hold an independent place in geographical history. Cathay had been the aim of the first voyage to the north-west of the Cabots in 1496, and it continued to be the object of many adventurous English voyages to the north-west and the north-east till far on in the succeeding century, though in the later of these expeditions China no doubt had assumed its place. At least one memorable land journey too was made by Englishmen, of which the investigation of the trade with Cathay was a chief object; I mean of course that in which Anthony Jenkinson and the two Johnsons reached Bokhara from Russia in 1558-9. The country regarding which they gathered information at that city is still known to them only as Cathay, and its great capital is still as in the days of Polo Cambalu and not Peking.[1]

117. Other narratives of Asiatic journeys to Cathay are preserved by RAMUSIO, and by AUGER GISLEN DE BUSBECK. The first was taken down by the Venetian geographer from the lips of HAJJI MAHOMED, an intelligent Persian merchant whom he fell in with at Venice;[2] the second was noted by Busbeck, when ambassador from the Emperor Charles V to the Porte (1555-62), from the narrative of a wandering Turkish dervish.[3] Large extracts from these last words about Cathay will be found in the notes to this essay.[4]

118. We arrive now at the term of our subject in the journey of Benedict Goës, undertaken in 1603 with the specific object of determining whether the Cathay of old European travellers and modern Mahomedans was or was not a distinct region from that China of which parallel marvels had now for years been recited. Benedict, "seeking Cathay found Heaven," as one of his brethren

[1] Such is the case also in the narrative of the Russian Embassy of Jacowitz Boicof in 1653 (*Voyages au Nord*, iv, 150).

[2] Preface to the 2nd vol. of the *Navigationi*.

[3] *Busbequii Epistolæ*, Amsterd., 1660, pp. 326-330. The letter containing this narrative was written at Frankfort, 16th December, 1562, after the ambassador's return.

[4] See Notes XVIII and XIX.

has pronounced his epitaph; but not before he had ascertained that China and Cathay were one. His journey we have chosen as a fitting close to our collection. After the publication of that narrative inexcusable ignorance alone could continue to distinguish between Cathay and China, and though such ignorance lingered for many years longer, here we may fairly consider our task at an end.[1]

[1] Ricci and his companions, as we have seen, were before the journey of Goës satisfied of the identity of Cathay and China. So appears to have been, at an earlier date, the Italian geographer Magini. Purchas perceived the same, and the Jesuit Martini, in his *Atlas Sinensis*, expounded the identity in detail. Yet the Geographical Lexicon of Baudrand, in a revised edition of 1677, distinguishes between them, remarking that "some confound Cathay with China." I have not had access to Müller's *Disquisitio de Chataja*, which probably contains interesting matter on the subject.

A faint attempt to repeat the journey of Goës, but apparently in ignorance of that enterprise, was made a good many years later by the Jesuit Aimé Chesaud starting from Ispahan. He does not seem to have got further than Balkh, if so far. He still speaks of "getting to Chatao and *thence* to China." There is no date given. (See his letter in *Kircher's China Illustrata*, 1667, p. 86.)

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES TO PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

NOTE I.

EXTRACT FROM THE PERIPLUS OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA.

(Circa A.D. 80-89.)[1]

"BEHIND this country[2] the sea comes to a termination somewhere in THIN; and in the interior of that country, quite to the north, there is a very great city called THINÆ, from which raw silk and silk thread and silk stuffs are brought overland through Bactria to Barygaza, as they are on the other hand by the Ganges River to Limyrice.[3] It is not easy, however, to get to this Thin, and few and far between are those who come from it. The place lies quite under the Little Bear; and it is said that its territories adjoin the remoter frontiers of Pontus and the Caspian Sea, beside which you find the Lagoon Mæotis which has a communication with the ocean.

"Every year there come to the frontier of Thin certain people of dwarfish stature and very broad in the face, scarcely superior to wild creatures, but harmless, who are said to be called SESADÆ.[4] They come accompanied by their wives and children, and bring with them great

[1] This is Müller's view; see his *Prolegomena* to *Geog. Græci Minores*, i, xcvi-vii.

[2] *Viz. Chryse*, "The Golden Land," apparently Pegu and thereabouts, the *Suvarna Bhumi* or Golden Land of the old Indian Buddhists. *Sonaparanto*, a term of like meaning, is still the sacred or classical term for the central territories of Ava.

[3] The meaning is probably the same as that of Ptolemy's statement, extracted in the next note, that there was not only one road from the Sinæ or Seres to Bactriana by the Stone Tower, but also another direct to Palibothra on the Ganges.

[4] In the work styled *Palladius on the Brahmans*, embodied in the Pseudo-Callisthenes published by Müller (*Script. de Alex. Magno*, pp. 103-4) there is an account apparently of the same people under the name of *Bisades*, the gatherers of pepper. They are described as "a dwarfish and imbecile race who dwell in rocky caves, and from the nature of their country are expert at climbing cliffs, and thus able to gather the pepper from the thickets....These Bisades are pygmies, with big heads and long straight unclipt hair." Sir J. E. Tennent applies this to the Veddahs of Ceylon. But there is nothing, I think, in the passage to fix it to Ceylon. It is given on the authority of a certain Scholasticus of Thebes, who finding an Indian vessel in a port of the Axum country took the opportunity it offered of visiting distant parts. The story is probably not genuine. For as Müller points out, the *Besidæ* are mentioned by Ptolemy (vii, 1) as a people, otherwise called Tiladæ, who live north of Mæandrus (a moun-

loads in creels[1] that look as if they were made of green vines. These people halt at some place on the frontier between their own country and Thin, and hold a feast for several days, during which they strew [the materials of] their baskets about on the ground, and then they depart to their own homes in the interior. When the other people are aware of their departure they come to the spot and gather those withes[2] that had been strewn about. To these they give the name of *Petri*.[3] Getting rid of the [stalks and] fibrous parts they take the leaves and double them up into little balls which they stitch through with the fibres of the withes. And these they divide into three classes, forming from the largest leaves what is called *Big-ball* Malabathrum, from the next size *Middle-ball*, and from the smallest leaves *Little-ball*. And thus originate the three qualities of Malabathrum, which the people who have prepared them carry to India for sale.[4]

tain chain on the east of Bengal), "dwarfish and stumpy and platter-faced, but white in complexion." Lassen locates them as a Bhotiya race in the Himalya near Darjiling; his map (by Kiepert) in the Garo and Kasia Hills north of Silhet.

[1] The word is *ταρπόνας*, the meaning of which is doubtful.

[2] The word is *καλάμοι*, and would usually mean reeds or canes. But it seems absurd so to term what had been described as like green vine-twigs.

[3] Not the withes but the *leaves*, as Lassen (iii, 38) has pointed out, must have been called thus; Sanst. *Patra*, a leaf; mod. Hindust. *Patti*.

[4] The same terms (*hadrospherum, mesospherum, microspherum*) are applied by Pliny to varieties of *Nard*; perhaps a mistake of his, as Dioscorides observes that some people made the mistake of regarding *malabathrum* as the leaf of Indian Nard.

Some of the early writers after the Portuguese discoveries took the pán or betel leaf for the malabathrum of the ancients, but the physician Garcias Da Horta, in his work on the aromatics of India (first published at Goa in 1563) pointed out that malabathrum was the *Tamálapatra*, the leaf of a species of cassia, still valued in India though in a greatly inferior degree (see ch. xix; I quote an Ital. transl., Venice, 1589). Curiously enough Ramusio gives as a representation of the "Betelle" a cut which really represents with fair accuracy the Tamalapatra, commonly called (at least in Bengal) *Tejpát*. Linschoten describes it accurately, noticing its pleasant clove-like smell, and says it was in great repute among the Hindus as a diuretic, etc., and to preserve clothes from moths, two of the uses expressly assigned to malabathrum by Dioscorides and Pliny. He also observes that the natives considered it to rival spikenard in all its qualities. Linschoten's commentator Paludanus says much was imported to Venice in his time; and that it was called by the Arabs *Cadegi Indi* (Read *çadegi*). I see that in F. Johnson's *Persian Dictionary*, *Sádaj* is defined "Indian ~~spikenard~~," and *Sádhají Hindi*, "Indian leaf," which seems to show the persistence of the confusion between the two articles. This leaf was abundant in the forests of the Kasia Hills, where I passed a part of my earliest service in India, and so was a cassia producing a coarse cinnamon, of which there was a considerable export to the plains. The trees were distinct, if I be not mistaken, though evidently of the same genus. The *Tejpát* was narrow, like that of the Portugal laurel, that of the other tree much broader, both noticeable for their partition by *three* main longitudinal nerves, like the lines of longitude on a map of the hemisphere. The Kasias in features would answer well to the

"But as for the regions beyond those places that we have mentioned, whether it be that the wintry climate and excessive cold renders it hard to penetrate them, or whether it be the result of some supernatural influence from the gods, it is the fact that they never have been explored." From *Müller's Geogr. Gr. Minores*, i, pp. 303-5.

NOTE II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE GEOGRAPHY OF PTOLEMY.

(Circa A.D. 150).

"The inhabited part of our earth is bounded on the east by the Unknown Land which lies along the region occupied by the eastermost nations of Asia Major, the SINÆ and the nations of SERICE; and on the south likewise by the Unknown Land which shuts round the Indian Sea, and encompasses that Ethiopia to the south of Libya which is called the land of Agisymba; to the west by the Unknown Land which embraces the Ethiopic Gulf of Libya, and then by the Western Ocean which lies along the most westerly parts of Libya and of Europe; and on the north by that continuation of the same ocean which encircles the Britannic Isles and the most northerly parts of Europe, and which goes by the names of Duecalydonian and Sarmatic, and by an Unknown Land which stretches along the most northerly parts of Asia Major, viz., Sarmatia, Scythia, and Serice. . . .

"The Hyrcanian Sea, called also Caspian, is everywhere shut in by the land, so as to be just the converse of an island encompassed by the water. Such also is the case with that sea which embraces the Indian Sea with its gulfs, the Arabian Gulf, the Persian Gulf, the Gangetic Gulf, and the one which is called distinctively the Great Gulf, this sea

Besadæ or *Sesadæ*, but they are no dwarfs, whilst some of the Tibetan tribes of the Himalya are very short. Domestically among Anglo-Indians this once prized malabathrum, some qualities of which the Romans purchased at three hundred denarii per pound, is, as far as I know, used only to flavour tarts, custards, and curries. But (besides what Linschoten says) Rheede mentions that, in his time in Malabar, oils in high medical estimation were made from both the root and the leaves of the *Karua* or wild cinnamon of that coast, a plant no doubt closely allied. And from the former a *camphor* was extracted, having several of the properties of real camphor and more fragrant.

Mr. Crawfurd has suggested that the finer malabathrum was *benzoin*, but I believe all the authorities on the subject speak of it as derived from a *leaf*; indeed Dioscorides, like our author here, speaks of the *stitching* up of the leaves. Some part of what Dioscorides says seems indeed to apply to a solid extract, but it may have been of the nature of Rheede's camphor. (See *Pliny*, xii, 25, 26, 59; xiii, 2; xxxiii, 48; *Dioscorides*, loc. cit.; *Linschoten*, Latin version, Hague, 1599, p. 84; *Rheede, Hortus Malabaricus*, i, 107; *Crawf. Dict. Indian Islands*, p. 50; on Malabathrum, see also *Lassen*, i, 283; iii, 37, 154 *seq.*)

being encompassed on all sides by the land. So we see that of the three Continents Asia is joined to Libya both by that Arabian Isthmus which separates Our Sea from the Arabian Gulf, and by the unknown land which encompasses the Indian Sea. . . .

"The eastern extremity of the known earth is limited by the meridian drawn through the metropolis of the Sinæ, at a distance from Alexandria of 119½°, reckoned upon the equator, or about eight equinoctial hours. . . ."(Book vii, ch. 5.)

In his first book Ptolemy speaks of Marinus as the latest Greek writer who had devoted himself to geography. Editions of his revision of the geographical tables had been very numerous. But his statements required much correction, and he forms too great an estimate of the extent of the inhabited world both in length and breadth. As regards latitude Ptolemy illustrates this by criticising the position which Marinus had assigned, on the basis of certain journeys and voyages, to the extreme southern region of Ethiopia called Agisymba. The calculation of distance in the rough from those routes would have placed this region 24,680 stadia south of the equator, or as Ptolemy says almost among the antarctic frosts.[1] Marinus had summarily cut this down to 12,000 stadia, bringing it nearly to the southern tropic, and Ptolemy again on general reasoning as to the nature of the animals met with, etc., reduces the distance to 8,000 stadia. So also, he says, Marinus had exaggerated the longitude, giving an interval of fifteen hours between the Fortunate Islands in the west and the most easterly regions of Sera, of the Sinæ, and of Cattigara in the east, which should not be more than twelve hours. In determining the position of Sera, etc., Marinus had made use of the route of certain mercantile agents who had travelled thither, and this Ptolemy proceeds to criticise. He assents to the longitude assigned by Marinus between the Fortunate Isles and the Euphrates Ferry at Hierapolis,[2] and then proceeds (Bk. i, ch. 11) :

"But as regards the distance between the said Euphrates Ferry and the Stone Tower, which he deduces to be 876 *schœni*, or 26,280 stadia, and the distance from the Stone Tower to Sera, the capital of the Seres,[3] a journey of seven months, which he calculates at 35,200 stadia running on one parallel (*i.e.* due east) we shall apply a correction in reduction of each of these. For in neither section has he made any diminution on account of the exaggeration caused by deviations from a straight course, whilst in the second portion of the route he has fallen into the same errors as in regard to the itinerary from the country of the Garamantes to that of Agisymba. In that case it was found necessary to cut down

[1] Bk. i, ch. 8. [2] N.E. of Aleppo.

[3] Most editions I believe read "capital of the *Sinæ*," which, however, with Ptolemy's views, as clearly enough shown in these extracts, *cannot* be the genuine reading.

more than the half on the distance as calculated from a journey of four months and fourteen days, for it was not to be supposed that travelling should have gone on without intermission all that time. And as regards this seven months' journey the same consideration will apply even more forcibly than on the route from the Garamantes. For in the latter case the business was carried out by the king of the country, and as we may suppose with more than ordinary forethought, and they had fine weather all along. But on the journey from the Stone Tower to Sera bad weather was to be looked for, seeing that it ran (according to Marinus's own hypothesis) in the latitudes of Hellespont and Byzantium. And on this account there must have been many halts on the journey. Moreover it must be remembered that it was on a trading expedition that the information about this road was acquired.

"For he tells us that the distances were taken down by one Maës called also Titianus, a Macedonian, and a merchant like his father before him; not that he made the journey himself, but he had sent agents to the Seres. Now Marinus himself (on other occasions) has shown little faith in traders' stories, as (for example) when he refuses to believe the statement of Philemon (founded on the talk of some traders), that the Island of Iuvernia was twenty days' journey in length from east to west. For such people, he observes, don't take any trouble to search into the truth of things, being constantly taken up with their business and often exaggerating distances through a spirit of brag. Just so, as there seems to have been nothing else that they thought worth remembering or telling about this seven months' journey, they made a wonder about the length of time it had occupied.

CHAPTER XII.

"For these reasons, and because the journey was not really upon one parallel (the Stone Tower being in the latitude of Byzantium, whilst Sera is further south than Hellespont) it might have seemed advisable to reduce the distance of 36,200 stadia ascribed to this seven months' journey by more, rather than by less, than a half. But let us keep the reduction *within* the half, so as to calculate the distance on a round estimate at 22,625 stadia or 45¼° . . . And the first distance (I speak of that from Euphrates to the Stone Tower) should be reduced from 876 schœni to 800 only, *i.e.* 24,000 stadia, on account of deviations from the straight line. . . . For the road from the ferry of the Euphrates at Hierapolis through Mesopotamia to the Tigris, and thence through the territory of the Garamæans of Assyria,[1] and Media, to Ecbatana and the Caspian Gates,[2] and through Parthia to Hecatonpylos,[3] is assumed to lie in the parallel of Rhodes, for Marinus himself draws that parallel through

[1] In the country S.E. of Mosul; see the *Beth-Garma* of the list at p. 179 *infra*.
[2] Pass in the Elburz, east of Demawend.
[3] Somewhere near Damghan.

all those places. But the road from Hecatonpylos to Hyrcania[1] must decline to the north, for the city of Hyrcania lies somewhere between the latitudes of Smyrna and of the Hellespont. . . . Then the route runs on through Aria[2] to Margiana Antiochia,[3] first declining to the south (for Aria lies in the same latitude as the Caspian Gates), and then to the north, Antiochia being somewhere near the parallel of the Hellespont. Thence the road proceeds eastward to Bactra,[4] and from that northward up the ascent of the hill country of the Comedi, and then inclining somewhat south through the hill country itself as far as the gorge in which the plains terminate. For the *western* end of the hill country is more to the *north* also, being (as Marinus puts it) under the latitude of Byzantium, the *eastern* end more to the *south* being under the latitude of Hellespont. Hence [the hills running thus from south of east to north of west] the road runs as he describes in the opposite direction, *i.e.* towards the east with an inclination south; and then a distance of fifty schœni extending to the Stone Tower would seem to tend northward. This Stone Tower stands in the way of those who ascend the gorge, and from it the mountains extend eastward to join the chain of Imaus which runs north to this from (the territory of) Palimbothra.". . .[5]

[1] Jorján, N.W. of Astrabad.
[2] The territory of Harah, Heri or HERAT.
[3] Supposed to be MARW.
[4] BALKH.
[5] I have not perhaps succeeded in rendering this description very intelligible. The old Latin versions and the Abbé Halma's French translation seem simply to shirk the difficulties of the passage. I have not access to any others or to Humboldt's *Asie Centrale*, which I believe contains a dissertation on this route.

The account would perhaps be easier to understand if we knew more of the geography of the country towards Karategin, in which I suppose the hill country of the Comedi must lie. The chief difficulties arise in connexion with the expression "as far as the gorge in which the plains terminate" (*μέχρι τῆς ἐκδεχομένης τὰ πεδία φαράγγος*), and the statement that fifty schœni (one hundred and fifty miles?) before reaching the Stone Tower the route lay northward. The former expression is intelligible if with Ritter we understand the passage of Imaus to have been that running from Kokand up the Jaxartes Valley to Andijan and across the Terek Daban to Kashgar, but in that case how could the route approaching the Stone Tower which he places at USH (where there are said to be ancient remains of importance) by any possibility run northward? (see *Ritter*, vii, 483, 563; viii, 693). In the time of the Sui dynasty, or beginning of the seventh century, the Chinese knew three roads from Eastern into Western Turkestan, among which we naturally seek that of Maes Titianus. Of these three the first or north road seems from the description to have run north of the Thian Shan, and is out of the question; a second or middle road passed from Kashgar to Farghana, and is no doubt that of the Terek Daban; the third or south road passed through Khotan, and then through *Chukiupo* (said to be Yangihisar), and *Kopantho* (said to be Selekur or Sarikul; see *N. Ann. des Voy.*, 1846, iii, 47). Ritter takes the second for the route of Titianus, supposing the third route to be that by the Sirikul into Badakshan, which is certainly inconsistent with Ptolemy's data. But is it certain that there was

And so on, bringing out the whole distance from the Fortunate Isles to the city of Sera to be 177½°. In chapters 13 and 14 he tries to estimate the longitude run by sea from Cape Cory in Southern India to Cattigara the port of the Sinæ, determining the latter to lie in 177°; and as all were agreed that the metropolis of the Sinæ lay still further to the east, he puts that in 180°. The whole calculation is based on the loosest possible data, and made to bring out a foregone conclusion. The following is a specimen of the data:

"Marinus does not exhibit the mileage from the Golden Chersonese to Cattigara. But he says that Alexander has described the land beyond (that Chersonese) to lie facing the south, and that after sailing by this for twenty days you reach the city of Zaba, and still sailing on for some days southward but rather to the left you reach Cattigara. He exaggerates the distance, for the expression is *some days* not *many days*. He says indeed that no numerical statement of the days was made because they were so many: but this I take to be ridiculous," etc., etc.

In chapter 17, speaking of persons who had made the voyage to India and spent much time in those parts, he proceeds:

"From these persons also we have got more exact information about India and its kingdoms, as well as about the remoter[1] parts of the region extending to the Golden Chersonese and thence to Cattigara. For example they all agree in stating that in going thither your course is to the east, and in coming back again it is to the west, and they agree also in saying that no determinate time can be named for the accomplishment of the

no route in former use *intermediate* between the pass to Farghana and that to Badakshan, e.g. passing from Tashbalik towards Karateghin? *Kiumi*, which is probably the country of Ptolemy's Comedi, is mentioned in Remusat's list of states tributary to China under the Thang. He says indeed it lay "among the mountains of Tokharestan south of the Oxus, towards Balk and Termedh," but *north of the Oxus* would be more consistent with the data, and it is north of the Oxus that the kingdom of *Keumitho* mentioned by Hiouen-Thsang appears to lie, which is doubtless the same (see *Mem. de l'Acad. R. des Inscr.*, viii, 92-3; *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 464; and Chino-Japanese ancient Map, in Klaproth's *Mémoires*, tom. ii). I see that Kiepert in his map of Asia (1864) inserts *Kumid* above Karategin with a query (?). It seems possible, however, that we have the name of the Comedi in *Kawadián* or *Kabadián*, which Edrisi applies to the country between Termedh and Hissar, and which still survives as the name of a town or village.

Beyond the Stone Tower, and in Imaus itself, there was a δρμητηριον or station for the traders to the Seres (bk. vi, ch. 13). This may have been about Tashbalik. Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Roman Geography*, article *Serica*, states as a fact that in the ancient conduct of the silk trade the Seres deposited their bales of silk in the Stone Tower with the prices marked, and then retired, whilst the western merchants came forward to inspect. Where is the authority? And if it were so, why did Maës send his agents seven months' journey further? Or did the writer of the article find the dumb trade in Pliny and the Stone Tower in Ptolemy, and like a celebrated character of Dickens's "combine the information"?

[1] *Lit.* "Interior."

voyage, which varies with circumstances. They also agree that the land of the Seres with their metropolis lies to the north of the land of the Sinæ, and that all that is further east than these is a Terra Incognita full of marshy lagoons in which great canes grow, and that so densely that people are able to cross the marshes by means of them. They tell also that there is not only a road from those countries to Bactriana by the Stone Tower, but also a road to India which goes through Palimbothra. And the road from the metropolis of the Sinæ to the port of Cattigara runs towards the south-west ; so the former city would appear not to fall on the meridian of Sera and Cattigaras, as Marinus will have it, but to lie further east."

SERICE.

"SERICE is bounded on the west by Scythia beyond Imaus, according to the line already defined (*i.e.*, a line whose northern extremity is in *long.* 150°, *N. lat.* 63° and its southern extremity in *long.* 160°, *N. lat.* 35°); on the north, by the Terra Incognita, in the latitude of the Island of Thule ; on the east, by the Eastern Terra Incognita in the meridian of 180° from lat. 63° down to 3°0; on the south, by the remaining part of India beyond the Ganges along the parallel of 35° to the termination of that country in *long.* 173°, and then by the Sinæ along the same line till you reach the frontier of the Terra Incognita, as it has just been defined.[1]

"Serice is girdled round by the mountains named Anniba,[2] by the eastermost part of the Auxacian Mountains, by the mountains called Asmiræan, the easternmost part of the Kasian Mountains, by Mount Thagurus, by the most easterly part of the ranges called Hemodus and Sericus, and by the chain of Ottorocorrhas. Two rivers of especial note flow through the greater part of Serice; the river Œchordas is one of these, one source of which is that set forth as flowing from the Auxacian range, and the other from the Asmiræan range. . . . And the other is the river called Bautes, which has one source in the Kasian Mountains and another in the mountain of Ottorocorrhas.[3]

[1] One might be reading the legislative definitions of the boundaries of an American state or an Australian colony. We see here how Ptolemy's Asiatic Geography was compiled. It is evident that he first drew his maps embodying all the information that he had procured, however vague and rough it might be. From these maps he then educed his tables of latitudes and longitudes and his systematic topography. The result is that everything assumes an appearance of exact definition; and indications on the map which meant no more than "somewhere hereabouts is said to be such a country," become translated into a precision fit for an Act of Parliament.

[2] I omit the latitudes and longitudes of the mountains, rivers, and cities named in this chapter.

[3] There is, I suppose, no question that the Serice described here is mainly the basin of Chinese Turkestan, encompassed on three sides by lofty mountains. In *Auxacia* we probably trace the name of Aksu *(Deguignes* and *D'Anville)*, in Kasia perhaps Kashgar *(D'Anv.)*. The

"The most northern parts of Serice are inhabited by tribes of cannibals.[1] Below these the nation of the Annibi dwells to the north of the mountains bearing the same name. Between these last and the Auxacian Mountains is the nation of the Sizyges;[2] next to them the Damnæ; and then the Piaddæ, extending to the river Œchardus. Adjoining it are a people bearing the same name, the Œchardæ.

"And again, east of the Annibi are the Garenæi and the Nabannæ.[3] There is the Asmiræan country lying north of the mountains of the same name, and south of this extending to the Kasian Mountains the great nation Issedones; and beyond them to the east the Throani. Below them come the Ethaguri to the east of the mountains of the same name, and south of the Issedones the Aspacaræ, and then the Batæ, and furthest to the south, near the mountain chains Hemodus and Sericus, are the Ottorocorrhæ.[4]"

The names of the following cities of Serice are given: "Damna, Piada, Asmiræa, Tharrhana, Issedon Serica, Aspacara, Drosache, Paliana, Abragana, Thogara, Daxata, Orosana, Ottorocorrha, Solana, Sera Metropolis" (book vi, ch. 16).

The Land of the SINÆ.

"The Sinæ are bounded on the north by part of Serice, as has been defined already; on the east and the south, by the Terra Incognita; on the west, by India beyond the Ganges, according to the boundary already defined extending to the Great Gulf, and then by the Great Gulf itself, and those gulfs that follow it in succession, by the gulf called *Theriodes*, and by part of the gulf of the Sinæ, on which dwell the fish-eating Ethiopians,[5] according to the detail which follows."

He then gives the longitude and latitude of various points on the coast; viz., River Aspithra, city of Bramma, River Ambastes, Rhabana

Oikhardai, on the river of that name, which is probably the Tarim, may represent the *Uigurs*.

[1] As late as the middle of the thirteenth century King Hethum of Armenia in the deserts near Bishbalig *(Urumtsi)* speaks of wild men with no covering but the hair of their heads; "They are real brutes," it is added. I do not know any other reference to tribes in Tartary in so low a state *(Journ. Asiat.*, ser. ii, tom. xii, p. 273 *seqq.)*

[2] The name *Sizyges* in its probable etymology appears to refer to the chariot or waggon driving habits of the people. A tribe of the Uigurs hereabouts were called by the Chinese *Chhessé* or "The Car Drivers" *(Rémusat in Acad.*, viii, 112).

[3] Possibly the *Naiman* horde so notable in the Mongol history.

[4] *Utara Kuru* of the Hindus, see Lassen i, 846.

[5] Marcianus of Heraclea in the corresponding passage has the "Ichthyophagi *Sinae*," which is, perhaps, an indication that *his* Ptolemy did not contain the perplexing appellation *Æthiopes*. As this appellation (Ichthyophagi Æthiopes) occurs more appropriately (Bk. iv, chap. 9) as that of a tribe on the remote west coast of Africa, it is not improbable that its introduction here is due to officious, or perhaps unconscious, interpolation by a transcriber.

R. Senus, Cape Notion, Satyr's Cape, R. Cottiaris, and Cattigara, to the Port of the Sinæ. Of inland cities are named Akadra, Aspithra, Cocco- or Coccora-Nagara, Saraga, and Thinæ the Metropolis.

"But this last, they say, hath in reality neither brazen walls nor anything else worth mentioning"[1] (book vii, ch. 3).

NOTE III.

FROM POMPONIUS MELA DE SITU ORBIS.

(Supposed about A.D. 50.)

"In the furthest east of Asia are the Indians, Seres, and Scythians. The Indians and Scythians occupy the two extremities, the Seres are in the middle" (i, 2).

In another passage, after speaking of certain islands in the Caspian, and on the Scythian coast, he proceeds:—

"From these the course (of the shore) makes a bend and trends to the coast line which faces the east. That part which adjoins the Scythian promontory is first all impassable from snow; then an uncultivated tract occupied by savages. These tribes are the Cannibal Scythians and the Sagæ, severed from one another by a region where none can dwell because of the number of wild animals. Another vast wilderness follows, occupied also by wild beasts, reaching to a mountain called Thabis which overhangs the sea. A long way from that the ridge of Taurus rises. The Seres come between the two; a race eminent for integrity, and well known for the trade which they allow to be transacted behind their backs, leaving their wares in a desert spot" (iii, 7).

NOTE IV.

EXTRACTS FROM PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY.

(Bn. A.D. 23, Dd. A.D. 79.)

"From the Caspian Sea and the Scythian Ocean the course (of the coast) makes a bend till the shore faces the east. The first part of that tract of country, beginning from the Scythian Promontory, is uninhabitable from eternal winter; the next portion is uncultivated and occupied by savage tribes, among whom are the Cannibal Scythians who feed on human flesh; and alongside of these are vast wildernesses tenanted by multitudes of wild beasts hemming in those human creatures almost as brutal as themselves. Then, we again find tribes of Scythians, and again desert tracts occupied only by wild animals, till we come to that mountain chain overhanging the sea, which is called Tabis. Not

[1] See note at p. cxxv.

till nearly half the length of the coast which looks north-east has been past, do you find inhabited country.[1]

"The first race then encountered are the SERES, so famous for the fleecy product of their forests. This pale floss, which they find growing on the leaves, they wet with water, and then comb out, furnishing thus a double task to our womenkind in first dressing the threads, and then again of weaving them into silk fabrics. So has toil to be multiplied; so have the ends of the earth to be traversed: and all that a Roman dame may exhibit her charms in transparent gauze.[2]

[1] It is evident from a comparison of this with the passage of Mela quoted in the preceding note, that both authors are drawing from some common source.

[2] Seneca is still stronger in expressions to like purport: "Video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandæ sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus, aut denique pudor possit; quibus sumptis mulier parum liquido nudam se non esse jurabit. Hæc ingenti summâ, ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus, accersuntur, ut matronæ nostræ ne adulteris quidem plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendant." *De Beneficiis*, vii, 9.

From these passages it would appear that the silk textures in such esteem among the Romans of those days were not what we should call *rich* silks, like the satins and damasks which were imported from China in later days, but *gauzes*, the value of which lay in their excessive delicacy. And that this continued to be the character of the China silks in most general estimation for several centuries later may be gathered from Abu Zaid, who tells us that the chief Chinese officers wore "silks of the first quality, such as were never imported into Arabia," and illustrates this by the story of an Arab merchant whose curiosity was attracted by a mark upon the chest of an officer of the imperial household, which was plainly visible through several folds of the silk dress which he wore; and it proved that the officer had on five robes of this texture, one over the other (*Relations* i, p. 76). Like stories are told in India of the Dacca muslins. One tells, I think, of Akbar that he rebuked one of his ladies for the indecent transparency of her dress, and in defence she showed that she had on *nine*, of the kind which was called *Bád-baft*, or "Woven Wind."

The passage of Pliny here translated, coupled with another to be noticed presently, has led to a statement made in many respectable books, but which I apprehend to be totally unfounded, that the Greeks and Romans picked to pieces the rich China silks and wove light gauzes out of the material. This is asserted, for example, in the treatise on Silk Manufacture in Lardner's *Cyclopædia* (pp. 5, 6), and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (7th ed. article *Silk*). Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography also (article *Serica*) says: "Pliny records that a Greek woman of Cos, named Pamphila, first invented the expedient of splitting these substantial silk stuffs, and of manufacturing those very fine and web-like dresses which became so celebrated under the name of *Coæ Vestes*."

The whole passage of Pliny here alluded to is as follows (xi, 25): "Among these there is a fourth kind of *Bombyx* produced in Assyria and greater than those of which we have been speaking. These make nests of clay, having the appearance of salt, fastening them upon stone; and these nests are so hard that they can scarcely be pierced with a pointed tool. They secrete wax in these nests more copiously than bees do, and the grub too is of proportionately larger size.

"26. There is one with another mode of development produced from a yet larger grub which has two peculiar horns as it were. From this it becomes first a caterpillar; then what is called *bombylius*; next *necydalus*;

The Seres are inoffensive in their manners indeed; but, like the beasts of the forest, they eschew the contact of mankind; and, though ready

and then in six months a *bombyx*. These spin webs like spiders, which are turned to the account of female dress and extravagance under the name of *Bombycina*. The process of dressing these webs and again of weaving them into fabrics was first invented in Ceos by a woman called Pamphila, the daughter of Latous. Let us not cheat her of her glory in having devised a method by which women shall be dressed and yet naked!

"27. They say that *Bombyces* are also produced in the island of Cos by the genial action of the earth on the flowers of cypress, turpentine-tree, ash, or oak, when shaken down by rain. The first form of the creature produced is that of a butterfly, little and naked; then as the cold affects it, it develops a rough coat, and against the winter prepares for itself a thick envelope by scraping off the down of leaves with its feet, which are adapted to this purpose. Carding, as it were, and spinning out this substance to a fine thread with its claws, it stretches it from branch to branch, and then lays hold of it and winds it round its body till entirely wrapped in the nest so formed. The people then gather the creatures and put them in earthen pots with warm bran, the effect of which is to develope on them a new plumage, clothed with which they are let go to the other functions reserved for them. The woolly web that they had spun is moistened so as to disengage more easily, and wound off on a reel of reed. The stuffs made from this are worn without shame even by men as light summer clothing. So far have we degenerated from the days when cuirasses of mail were worn that even a coat is too great a burden for us! The produce of the Assyrian Bombyx however we as yet leave to the ladies."

On these passages we may remark:

1. That the account of the Bombyx in §25 appears to be substantially taken from Aristotle, *De Animal. Hist.*, v, 24, and to refer to some kind of mason bee. The "*in Assyria proveniens*" of Pliny, which the reference to "*Bombyx Assyria*" again at the end of the extract seems to connect with the produce of some kind of texture, does not appear in Aristotle at all. And yet Pliny gives no explanation as to what the produce of the Assyrian Bombyx was.

2. In §26 Pamphila's invention and some kind of web-weaving bombyx are referred to *Ceos;* in §27 another kind of weaving bombyx (with its anomalous history) is referred to *Cos;* whilst Aristotle, as we shall see, refers Pamphila to Cos. Has not Pliny here been merely emptying out of his note book two separate accounts of the same matter?

3. In §26 Pliny's words *redordiri rursusque texere* are verbatim the same that he uses in the passage about the Seres translated in the text, and seem to be merely affected expressions, indicating nothing more than the carding and reeling the *sericum* and the *bombycinum* respectively out of the entanglement of their natural web (as Pliny imagines it) and then re-entangling them again (as it were) in the loom. This is put beyond doubt by the fact that §26 is merely a paraphrase from Aristotle (*De An. Hist.*, v, 19), who, speaking of various insect transformations, says: "From a certain great grub, which has as it were horns, and differs from the others, is produced, first by transformation of the grub, a caterpillar, and then *bombylius*, and then *necydalus*. In six months it goes through all these changes of form. And from this creature some women disengage and reel off the *bombycina* and then weave them. And the first who is said to have woven this material was Pamphile, daughter of Plates in Cos." Whatever material this *bombycina* may have really been, there is evidently here no question of picking foreign stuffs to pieces, a figment which seems entirely based on Pliny's rhetoric. Cuvier considered the description in §27, however erroneous, clearly to indicate some species of

to engage in trade, wait for it to come to them instead of seeking it" (vi, 20).

Further on, when speaking of Taprobane, he says:—

"So far we have from the ancients. But we had an opportunity of more correct information in the reign of Claudius, when ambassadors came from the island. A freedman of Annius Plocamus, who had farmed the customs of the Red Sea from the Imperial Exchequer, after sailing round Arabia, was driven by storms past Carmania, and on the fifteenth day made the port of Hippuri.[1] Here he was entertained by the king with kindness and hospitality for six months; and, when he had learned to speak the language, in answer to the king's questions, told him all about Cæsar and the Romans. Nothing that the king heard made such a wonderful impression on him as the opinion of the exactness of our dealings which he formed from seeing in some Roman money that had been taken that the coins were all of the same weight, though the heads upon them showed that they had been struck by different princes. And the stranger having particularly urged him to cultivate the friendship of the Romans, he sent these four ambassadors, the chief of whom was named Rachias.[2].....These men also related that the side of their island which was opposite India, extended ten thousand stadia towards the south-east. The Seres, too, who dwell beyond the mountains of Emodus, and who are known to us by the commerce which is carried on with them, had been seen by those people; the father of Rachias had visited their country; and they themselves, on their travels, had met with people of the Seres. They described these as surpassing the ordinary stature of mankind, as having red hair, blue eyes, hoarse voices, and no common language to communicate by. The rest of what they told was just as we have it from our own traders. The goods carried thither are deposited on the further side of a certain river beside what the Seres have for sale, and the latter, if content with the bargain, carry them off; acting, in fact, as if in contempt of the luxury to which they ministered, and just as if they saw in the mind's eye the object and destination and result of this traffic"[3] (vi, 24).

silkworm, which had been superseded by the introduction of that from China (see *Didot's* edition of Pliny with Cuvier's notes *in loco*). And, indeed, as regards the *Assyrian* Bombyx, we learn from Consul Taylor that its wild silk is still gathered and used for dresses by the women about Jazirah on the Tigris (see *J. R. G. S.*, xxxv, p. 51).

[1] Tennent says this is the modern Kudra-mali on the north-west of Ceylon, near the pearl banks of Manaar" (i, 532).

[2] On the possible interpretations of this name see *Tennent's Ceylon*, i, 532-3.

[3] I cannot attempt to solve the difficulties of this passage on which I have seen nothing satisfactory. Putting aside the red hair and blue eyes, it is difficult to conceive that the Chinese ever practised this dumb trade, which in all other known cases I believe has been found only where one party to it was in a very low state of civilisation. A certain kind of

In a later passage, after speaking of the simplicity of primitive habits, he goes on:—

"Hence, one wonders more and more, how from beginnings so different, we have come now to see whole mountains cut down into marble slabs, journeys made to the Seres to get stuffs for clothing, the abysses of the Red Sea explored for pearls, and the depths of the earth in search of emeralds! Nay, more, they have taken up the notion also of piercing the ears, as if it were too small a matter to wear these gems in necklaces and tiaras, unless holes also were made in the body to insert them in!" (xii, 1).

And again:—

"But the sea of Arabia is still more fortunate; for 'tis thence it sends us pearls. And at the lowest computation, India and the Seres and that Peninsula put together drain our empire of one hundred million of sesterces every year. That is the price that our luxuries and our womankind cost us!" (xii, 41).

NOTE V.

FROM THE ITINERARY OF GREECE OF PAUSANIAS.

(Circa A.D. 174.)

"Now, the Land of Elis is not merely fruitful in other products, but also, and it is not the least of them, in *Byssus*.[1] Hemp and flax and byssus are sown by such as have soils appropriate to the cultivation of each. But the filaments from which the Seres make their stuffs are the growth of no plant, but are produced in quite another manner; and thus it is. There exists in their country a certain insect which the Greeks call *Sēr;* but by the Seres it is not called Sēr, but something quite different. In size 'tis twice as big as the biggest of beetles: but, in other respects, it resembles the spiders that spin under trees; and, moreover, it has eight legs as spiders have. The Seres keep these creature, and make houses for their shelter adapted to summer and winter respectively. And the substance wrought by these insects is found in the shape of a slender filament entangled about their legs. The people feed them for about four years upon millet, and in the fifth year (for they know that the creatures will not live longer than that) they give them a kind of green reed to eat. This is the food that the insect likes best of all; and it crams itself with it to such an extent that it bursts

dumb trade indeed prevails more or less in most Asiatic countries, including Mongolia *(Huc and Gabet,* 112) and *possibly* China, I mean that by which bargains are driven and concluded by the two parties fingering each other's knuckles under a shawl without a word spoken. Could the stories of the Seric trade have risen out of this practice?

[1] Cotton?

from repletion. And when it is thus dead, they find the bulk of what it has spun in its inside.[1]

"Now, SERIA is known to be an island in a recess of the Erythræan Sea. But I have been told that it is not the Erythræan Sea which makes it an island, but a river which they call SĒR, just as the Delta of Egypt is isolated by the Nile and not by a sea compassing it all round. And these Seres are of the Ethiopic race; and they hold also the adjoining islands, ABASA and SAKAIA. Yet others say that they are not Ethiopians at all, but a cross between the Scythians and the Indians. This is what they tell of these matters" (vi, 26).

NOTE VI.

FROM THE HISTORY OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

(Circa A.D. 380.)

"Beyond these regions of the two Scythias, towards the east, a circling and continuous barrier of lofty mountains fences round the Seres, who dwell thus secure in their rich and spacious plains. On the west they come in contact with the Scythians; on the north and east they are bounded by solitary regions of snow: on the south, they reach as far as India and the Ganges. The mountains of which we have spoken are called Anniva and Nazavicium and Asmira and Emodon and Opurocarra.[2] And these plains, thus compassed on all sides by precipitous steeps, are traversed by two famous rivers, Œchardes and Bautis, winding with gentle current through the spacious level; whilst the Seres themselves pass through life still more tranquilly, ever keeping clear of arms and war. And being of that sedate and peaceful temper whose greatest delight is a quiet life, they give trouble to none of their neighbours. They have a charming climate, and air of healthy temper; the face of their sky is unclouded; their breezes blow with serviceable moderation; their forests are spacious, and shut out the glare of day.

"The trees of these forests furnish a product of a fleecy kind, so to speak, which they ply with frequent waterings, and then card out in fine and slender threads, half woolly fibre, half viscid filament. Spin-

[1] Erroneous as this account is, it looks as if it had come originally from real information, though afterwards misunderstood and perverted. The "shelter adapted to winter and summer" seems to point to the care taken by the Chinese in regulating the heat of the silk-houses; the "five years" may have been a misunderstanding of the five *ages* of the silk-worm's life marked by its four moultings; the reed given it to eat when the spinning season has come may refer to the strip of rush with which the Chinese form receptacles for the worms to spin in (see *Lardner's Cyc. Silk Manufacture*, p. 126).

[2] Read "Anniba, Auxacius, Asmiraeus, Emodon, and Ottorocorrhas." See extract from Ptolemy, *supra*, p. cli.

ning these fibres they manufacture *silk*, the use of which once confined to our nobility has now spread to all classes without distinction, even to the lowest. Those Seres are frugal in their habits beyond other men, and study to pass their lives in peace, shunning association with the rest of mankind. So when foreigners pass the river on their frontier to buy their silk or other wares, the bargain is settled by the eyes alone with no exchange of words. And so free are they from wants that, though ready to dispose of their own products, they purchase none from abroad" (xxiii, 6).

NOTE VII.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SILK-WORM INTO THE ROMAN EMPIRE, FROM PROCOPIUS, DE BELLO GOTHICO.

(A.D. 500-565.)

"About the same time certain monks arrived from the (country of the) Indians, and learning that the Emperor Justinian had it much at heart that the Romans should no longer buy silk from the Persians, they came to the king and promised that they would so manage about silk that the Romans should not have to purchase the article either from the Persians or from any other nation; for they had lived, they said, a long time in a country where there were many nations of the Indians, and which goes by the name of SERINDA. And when there they had made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the way in which silk might be produced in the Roman territory. And when the Emperor questioned them very closely, and asked how they could guarantee success in the business, the monks told him that the agents in the production of silk were certain caterpillars, working under the teaching of nature, which continually urged them to their task. To bring live caterpillars indeed from that country would be impracticable, but arrangements might be made for hatching them easily and expeditiously. For the eggs produced at a birth by one of those worms were innumerable; and it was possible to hatch these eggs long after they had been laid, by covering them with dung, which produced sufficient heat for the purpose. When they had given these explanations, the emperor made them large promises of reward if they would only verify their assertions by carrying the thing into execution. And so they went back again to India and brought a supply of the eggs to Byzantium. And having treated them just as they had said, they succeeded in developing the caterpillars, which they fed upon mulberry leaves. And from this beginning originated the establishment of silk-culture in the Roman territory" (iv, 17).

Zonaras (*Annals* xiv, vol. ii, p. 69 of Paris ed. 1687), in relating this story after Procopius, says that till this occurred the Romans did not know how silk was produced, nor even that it was spun by worms.

The same as told by THEOPHANES of Byzantium.

(End of sixth century).

"Now in the reign of Justinian a certain Persian exhibited in Byzantium the mode in which (silk) worms are hatched, a thing which the Romans had never known before. This Persian on coming away from the country of the Seres had taken with him the eggs of these worms (concealed) in a walking-stick, and succeeded in bringing them safely to Byzantium. In the beginning of spring he put out the eggs upon the mulberry leaves which form their food; and the worms feeding upon those leaves developed into winged insects and performed their other operations. Afterwards when the Emperor Justinian showed the Turks the manner in which the worms were hatched, and the silk which they produced, he astonished them greatly. For at that time the Turks were in possession of the marts and ports frequented by the Seres, which had been formerly in the possession of the Persians. For when Epthalanus King of the Ephthalites (from whom indeed the race derived that name) conquered Perozes and the Persians, these latter were deprived of those places, and the Ephthalites became possessed of them.[1] But somewhat later the Turks again conquered the Ephthalites and took the places from them in turn." In *Müller's Fragmenta Histor. Græc.* iv, 270.

NOTE VIII.

EXTRACTS REGARDING INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE TURKISH KHANS AND THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

From the Fragments of MENANDER PROTECTOR.

(End of sixth century.)

"In the beginning of the fourth year of the Emperor Justin [568] an embassy from the Turks arrived at Byzantium; and it came about thus. The power of the Turks had now grown to a great pitch, and the people of Sogdia who had formerly been subject to the Ephthalites but were now under the Turks, besought the king to send an embassy to the Persians, in order to obtain permission for them to carry silk for sale into Persia. Dizabulus[2] consented to send an embassy of Sogdians, and

[1] Perozes (Firoz) reigned 458-484. The circumstances as gathered from other Greek writers are set forth in *Lassen* ii, 773.

The mention here of the "*ports* frequented by the Seres" is remarkable, and I believe the only indication of the Seres (under that name) as a seafaring people. *If the expression can be depended on,* the ports in question must have been in Sind. We have seen that a record of the Chinese trade to Sind at a date somewhat later exists (*supra,* p. lxxix). This passage then becomes a final link of identification between Seres and Chinese.

[2] The Great Khan of the Turks at this time, according to the Chinese

Maniach was put at the head of the mission. So they presented themselves before the Persian king, and solicited permission to carry on their silk trade without obstruction. The King of the Persians, however, was not at all pleased at the notion that the Turks should have free access from that side into the Persian territories, and so he put them off till the morrow, and when the morrow came again deferred reply. After he had thus staved off the matter for a length of time on one pretext or other, the solicitations of the Sogdian people became very importunate, and at last Khosroes called a council where the matter was brought up for consideration. And then that same Ephthalite Katulphus, who, in revenge for the king's ravishing his wife, had betrayed his nation to the Turks, and who had on that account abandoned his country and taken up with the Medes, exhorted the Persian king on no account to let the silk have free passage, but to have a price put upon it, buy it up, and have it burnt in the presence of the ambassadors. It would thus be seen that though he would do no injustice, he would have nothing to do with the silk of the Turks. So the silk was put in the fire and the ambassadors turned homeward, anything but pleased with the result of their journey, and related to Dizabulus what had taken place. He was, however, exceedingly desirous to obtain the good will of the Persians for his government, so he immediately despatched a second embassy. When this second Turkish embassy arrived at the Persian court, the king, with the Persian ministers and Katulphus, came to the conclusion that it would be highly inexpedient for the Persians to enter into friendly relations with the Turks, for the whole race of the Scythians was one not to be trusted. So he ordered some of the ambassadors to be taken off by a deadly poison, in order to prevent any more such missions from coming. Most of the Turkish envoys accordingly, in fact all but three or four, were put an end to by a deadly poison which was mixt with their food, whilst the king caused it to be whispered about among the Persians that the Turkish ambassadors had died of the suffocating dry heat of the Persian climate; for their own country was subject to frequent falls of snow, and they could not exist except in a cold climate. Dizabulus, however, a sharp and astute person, was not ignorant of the real state of the case. And so this was the origin of ill-will between the Turks and

histories, was *Mokan*. There was also a great chief called by these authorities *Titeupuli*, who is mentioned as joining Mokan Khan in an expedition to China a few years before this time. It is difficult not to identify this name with that of *Dizabulus*, but the latter is so distinctly represented as the supreme chief that Deguignes hesitates whether to identify him with Mokan or Titeupuli (ii, 380-385).

Another of the fragments of Menander contains an account of the embassy of Valentine who was sent some twelve years later by the Emperor Tiberius II. In this occur the names of *Tardu* and *Bochanos*, two Turkish chiefs who appear in the Chinese Annals as Tateu Khan and Apo Khan (see *Deguignes* i, 226, 227; ii, 395, 463).

the Persians. Maniach, who was chief of the people of Sogdia, took the opportunity of suggesting to Dizabulus that it would be more for the interest of the Turks to cultivate the friendship of the Romans, and to transfer the sale of silk to them, seeing also that they consumed it more largely than any other people. And Maniach added that he was quite ready to accompany a party of Turkish ambassadors, in order to promote the establishment of friendly relations between the Turks and the Romans. Dizabulus approved of the suggestion, and despatched Maniach with some others as ambassadors carrying complimentary salutations, with a present of silk to no small value, and letters to the Roman Emperor. So Maniach . . . at last arrived at Byzantium, and presenting himself at the court, conducted himself before the Emperor in accordance with the obligations of friendship, and when he had made over the letter and presents to the proper officers, prayed that all the toils of his long journey might not have been wasted. The emperor when he had by aid of the interpreters read the letter, which was written in Scythian, gave a gracious reception to the embassy, and then put questions to them about the government and country of the Turks. They told him that there were four chiefs, but that the supreme authority over the whole nation rested with Dizabulus. They also related how he had subdued the Ephthalites and even made them pay tribute. Then said the Emperor, 'Has then the whole power of the Ephthalites been overthrown?' 'Altogether,' answered the envoys. Again the Emperor: 'Did the Ephthalites live in cities or villages or how?' *The Envoys:* 'They are a people who live in cities, O king.' 'Is it not of course then,' said the Emperor, 'that you are become masters of all their cities?' . . . The ambassadors having counted up to the Emperor all the nations who were subject to the Turks, begged him to give his sanction to the establishment of amity and alliance between the two nations, and said that on their part they would always be ready to attack the enemies of the Roman power wherever they might show themselves in their part of the world. And as he said this Maniach and his companions raised their hands and swore a great oath that they were speaking with their whole hearts, and invoked curses on themselves and on Dizabulus, and on all the nation, if their promises were not true and such as they would carry out. And thus it was that the nation of the Turks became friends with the Romans." * * * * *

(Another Fragment.)

"Now Justin, when the Turks, who were anciently called Sacæ, had sent to arrange a treaty with him, resolved to send them an embassy also. So he ordered Zemarchus the Cilician, who was then Præfect of the cities of the East, to prepare for this. And when he had got everything ready that he required for so long a journey, which was towards the end of the fourth year of the reign of Justin, in the month which the

Latins call August, Zemarchus started from Byzantium with Maniach himself and his company." * * * * *

(*Another*).

"After accomplishing a journey of many days, Zemarchus and his party arrived in the territories of the Sogdians. And as they dismounted from their horses certain Turks, sent as it seemed for that purpose, presented some iron which they offered for sale; this being, I fancy, in order to show that they had mines of iron in their country. For the manufacture of iron is reckoned among them to be by no means an easy art; and we may guess that this was a kind of brag by which they intended to indicate that theirs was a country in which iron was produced.[1] Some others of the tribe also showed off their performances (in a different line). These, announcing themselves as the conjurors away of evil omens, came up to Zemarchus and taking all the baggage of the party set it down in the middle. They then began ringing a bell and beating a kind of drum over the baggage, whilst some ran round it carrying leaves of burning incense flaming and crackling, and raged about like maniacs, gesticulating as if repelling evil spirits. Carrying on this exorcism of evil as they considered it, they made Zemarchus himself also pass through the fire, and in the same manner they appeared to perform an act of purification for themselves.[2] After these performances the party proceeded with those who had been sent to receive them to the place where the Khagan was, in a certain mountain called Ectag, or as a Greek would say "the Golden Mountain." And when they got there they found the camp of Dizabulus in a certain hollow encompassed by

[1] It may have had a different import. For according to the Chinese authority followed by Deguignes, the tribe which founded the Turkish power shortly before this time had long inhabited the Altai, where they worked as smiths for the service of the Khan of the Geu-gen or Juen-juen; and the Khans of the Turks instituted in memory of their origin the ceremony of annually forging a piece of iron. The presentation of iron to the Byzantine envoys may have had some kindred signification (*Deguignes* ii, 350, 373).

[2] When Plano Carpini and his companions came to the camp of Batu they were told that they must pass between two fires, because this would neutralise any mischievous intentions they might entertain, or poison that they might be carrying. And in another place the traveller says: "To be brief, they believe that by fire all things are purified. Hence when envoys come to them, or chiefs, or any other persons whatever, they and the presents they bring must pass between two fires, to prevent their working any witchcraft or bringing any poison or evil thing with them" (p. 744 and p. 627). In the French note which Busquarel, the ambassador in 1289 of Argun Khan of Persia, presented with his master's letter to the King of France (both of which are preserved in the French archives) it is said: "priant vous que se vous li envoiez yceuls ou autres messages, que vous vouliez souffrir et commander leur que il li facent tele reverence et honneur comme coustume et usage est en sa court *sanz passer feu*" (*Remusat*, in *Mem. de l'Acad. Insc.* vii, 432).

the Golden Mountain.[1] The party of Zemarchus on their arrival were immediately summoned to an interview with Dizabulus. They found him in his tent, seated on a golden chair with two wheels, which could be drawn by one horse when required. Then they addressed the Barbarian in accordance with the fashion of those people, and laid the presents before him, which were taken charge of by those whose office it was. Zemarchus then made a polite speech [which may be omitted], and Dizabulus replied in like manner. Next they were called to a feast, and passed the whole day in conviviality in the tent. Now this tent was furnished with silken hangings of various colours artfully wrought. They were supplied with wine, not pressed from the grape like ours, for their country does not produce the vine, nor is it customary among them to use grape wine; but what they got to drink was some other kind of barbarian liquor.[2] And at last they departed to the place assigned for their quarters. Next day again they assembled in another pavilion, adorned in like manner with rich hangings of silk, in which figures of different kinds were wrought. Dizabulus was seated on a couch that was all of gold,[3] and in the middle of the pavilion were drinking vessels and flagons and great jars, all of gold.[4] So they engaged in another drinking match, talking and listening to such purpose as people do in their drink, and then separated.[5] The following day there was another bout in a pavilion supported by wooden posts covered with gold, and in which there was a gilded throne resting on four golden peacocks.[6] In front of the place of meeting there was a great array of waggons, in which there was a huge quantity of silver articles consisting of plates and dishes, besides numerous figures of animals in silver, in no respect inferior to our own. To such a pitch has attained the luxury of the Turkish Sovereign!

[1] *Ek-tag* or *Ak-tagh* would, I believe, be "White Mountain." The Altai or Golden Mountain of the Mongols, which was the original seat of these Turks, may be meant, but it is very remote. All that can be deduced from the narrative is that it was beyond *Talas*, for the party pass that place on their march towards Persia (*infra*). Simocatta also says it was an established law among the Turks that the Golden Mountain should be in the hands of the most powerful Khagan (vii, 8).

[2] No doubt *Darassun*; see Shah Rukh's embassy in Note xvii *infra*.

[3] So Rubruquis describes Batu as seated "on a long broad throne like a bed, gilt all over" (p. 268).

[4] "At the entrance of the tent there was a bench with Cosmos (*Kumis* or fermented mare's milk), and great goblets of gold and silver set with precious stones" (*Ibid*). See also Shah Rukh's Embassy *infra*.

[5] This constant drinking corresponds exactly to the account of the habits of the Mongol court in Plano Carpini and Rubruquis. Thus the former, on the occasion of Kuyuk Khan's formal inthroning, says that after the homage had been done "they began to drink, and as their way is, continued drinking till hour of vespers" (p. 758). Rubruquis's account of his residence at the Court of Mangu Khan is quite redolent of drink. One sees how Sultan Baber came by his propensity to strong drink.

[6] Probably the lineal predecessor of the Peacock Throne of Dehli.

"And whilst Zemarchus and his party continued there, Dizabulus thought proper that Zemarchus with twenty of his servants and followers should accompany him on a campaign against the Persians, sending the rest of the Romans back to the land of the CHOLIATÆ[1] to await the return of Zemarchus. These last Dizabulus dismissed with presents and friendly treatment; and at the same time he honoured Zemarchus with the gift of a handmaiden, one of those called *Kherkhis*, who was the captive of his spear.[2] And so Zemarchus went with Dizabulus to fight the Persians. Whilst they were on this expedition, as they were pitched at a place called TALAS, an ambassador from the Persians came to meet Dizabulus, who invited him to dinner as well as the ambassador of the Romans.[3] When the party had met, Dizabulus accorded to the Roman much the more honourable treatment, and made him occupy the more honourable place at table. Moreover he heaped great reproaches on the Persians, telling the injuries he had received at their hands, and how he was coming on that account to attack them.[4] So as the abuse of Dizabulus waxed more and more violent, the Persian envoy, casting off all regard for that etiquette of theirs which imposes silence at feasts, began to speak with heat, and in the most spirited manner to refute the charges of Dizabulus; insomuch that all the company wondered at the way in which he gave rein to his wrath. For, contrary to all rule, he used all sorts of intemperate expressions.

"And in this state of things the party broke up and Dizabulus pro-

[1] Or *Chliatæ*. The *Kallats* are mentioned with the Kanklis, Kipchaks, and Kharliks as four Turkish tribes descended from the Patriarch Oguz Khan *(Deguignes* ii, 9).

Were these the four divisions of the Turks of whom Maniach spoke to the Emperor?

Deguignes, however, identifies the Chliatæ with the *Kangli* who lay north of the country between the Caspian and Aral (ii, 388). And St. Martin in his notes on Lebeau's History says that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the Russians called the Turk and Fin nations near the Caspian *Khwalis*, and knew that sea as the *Sea of Khwalis (Hist. du Bas Empire*, 1828, x, 61).

[2] This girl might be either Kirghiz or Circassian. St. Martin thinks the latter (*Ib.*)

[3] Near Talas about sixty years later the Chinese pilgrim, Hiwen Thsang, on his way to India fell in with the Great Khan of the Turks, a successor of Dizabulus, whom the Chinese traveller calls *Shehu*. His account is very like that of Zemarchus. The Khan "occupied a great tent adorned with gold flowers of dazzling richness. The officers of the court sat in two long rows on mats before the Khan, brilliantly attired in embroidered silk; the Khan's guard standing behind them. Although here was but a barbarian prince under a tent of felt, one could not look on him without respect and admiration" (*H. de la Vie de H. T.*, p. 55-56).

[4] A curious parallel to the scene at Samarkand, related by Clavijo *(supra*, p. cxxxv), where Timur takes the place of Dizabulus, the Castilian envoy that of Zemarchus, and the Chinese ambassador that of the Persian.

secuted his preparations against the Persians. And then he summoned Zemarchus and his party, and when they had presented themselves he renewed his declarations of friendship for the Romans and gave them their dismissal homewards, sending also with them another embassy. Now Maniach the leader of the former embassy was dead, and the name of the one next in rank was Tagma, with the dignity of *Tarchan*.[1] So this personage was sent by Dizabulus as ambassador to the Romans, and along with him the son of the deceased, I mean of Maniach. This was quite a young fellow, but he had succeeded to his father's honours, and obtained the next place in rank to Tagma Tarchan.* * * *

"Now when the rumour spread through Turkey[2] and among the neighbouring nations how ambassadors from the Romans were among them, and were going back to Byzantium accompanied by a Turkish embassy, the chief of the tribes in that quarter sent a request to Dizabulus that he might be allowed also to send some of his own people to see the Roman state. And Dizabulus granted permission. Then other chiefs of the tribes made the same petition, but he would grant leave to none except the Chief of the Choliatæ. So the Romans taking the latter with them across the River OECH, after a long journey came to that huge wide lagoon.[3] Here Zemarchus halted for three days and sent off George, whose business it was to carry expresses, to announce to the Emperor the return of the party from the Turks. So George with a dozen Turks set out for Byzantium by a route which was without water, and altogether desert, but was the shortest way. Zemarchus then travelled for twelve days along the sandy shores of the Lagoon, and having to cross some very difficult places, came to the streams of the River ICH,[4] and then to the DAICH,[5] and then by other swampy tracts to the ATTILA,[6] and then again to the land of the UGURS.[7] And these sent to say that four thousand Persians were stationed in ambuscade in the bush about the River KOPHEN[8] to lay hands on the party as it passed," etc., etc.

Zemarchus escapes the Persians, and after visiting the chief of the ALANS gets to the Phasis, and so to Trebizond, whence he rode post to Byzantium. (From *Müller's Fragmenta Histor. Græc.*, iv, p. 235.)

[1] See p. 287 *infra*.

[2] "Κατὰ τὴν Τουρκίαν."

[3] If this was the Aral we may suppose the Oech to be the Sir or Jaxartes. But this is scarcely consistent with the position assigned to the Chliatæ.

[4] Probably the *Emba*. It appears to be called *Tic* by Sharifuddin (*P. de la Croix*, ii, 95, 129).

[5] The Ural or *Iaik*, called by Constantine Porphyrogenitus Γεήχ (*De Administ. Imper.*, cap. xxxvii).

[6] The *Athil* or Wolga.

[7] On these Ugors see Vivien St. Martin in *N. Annales des Voyages* for 1848, iv.

[8] *Kuban* I presume.

NOTE IX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE TOPOGRAPHIA CHRISTIANA OF COSMAS THE MONK.

(Circa 545.)

1. "But, as is said by those who are without,[1] in discoursing of this matter (and here they speak truth), there are on this earth four gulfs which enter the land from the ocean; to wit, this one of ours which penetrates the land from the west side, and extends from Gades right through Romania; then the Arabian Gulf called also Erythræan, and the Persian Gulf, both which are offshoots from that of Zinj, and penetrate the southern and eastern side of the earth overagainst the region called Barbary, which forms the extremity of the land of Ethiopia. And those who navigate the Indian Sea are aware that Zinj, as it is called, lies beyond the country where the incense grows, which is called Barbary, and which is compassed round by the ocean as it passes on into those two gulfs. And the fourth gulf enters from the north side of the earth, further to the east, and is called the Caspian or Hircanian Sea. Now navigation is confined to these gulfs only. The ocean it is impossible to navigate, on account of the multitude of currents and the fogs that rise and obstruct the rays of the sun, and because of its vast extent. These things, then, I have made known as I received them from the Man of God (as has been mentioned); or indeed, I might rather say in this case, from my own experience. For I myself, for purposes of trade, have sailed on three out of those four gulfs; to wit, the Roman, the Arabian, and the Persian; and I have got accurate information about the different places on them from the natives as well as from seafaring men.

"Once upon a time, when we were sailing to Further India,[2] we had crossed over within a little way of Barbary, beyond which is Zinj (for so they call the mouth of the Ocean), and there I saw to the right of our course a great flight of the birds called *suspha*. These are birds twice as big as kites and somewhat more. And I observed that in that quarter there were signs of very unsettled weather. So all the men of experience on board, whether mariners or passengers, began to say that we were getting near the Ocean, and so they called out to the steersman, 'steer the ship to port, and bear up into the gulf, or the currents will sweep us out into the Ocean, and we shall be lost'. For the Ocean driving up into the gulf was creating a very heavy sea, and the currents from the

[1] Οἱ ἔξωθεν, meaning those who are not Christians.
It should be noted that the book is illustrated with sketches and diagrams, the originals of which would appear to have been drawn by Cosmas himself.

[2] Literally "Inner India."

gulf again were drifting the ship towards the Ocean; a terrible thing indeed for us who saw what was happening, and in great fear were we. And all this time flocks of those birds called *suspha* followed us flying high over our heads, which was a sign that the Ocean was nigh"[1] (Book ii, p. 132).

2. "For if Paradise were really on the surface of this world, is there not many a man among those who are so keen to learn and search out everything, that would not let himself be deterred from reaching it? When we see that there are men who will not be deterred from penetrating to the ends of the earth in search of silk, and all for the sake of filthy lucre, how can we believe that they would be deterred from going to get a sight of Paradise? The country of silk, I may mention, is in the remotest of all the Indies, lying towards the left when you enter the Indian Sea, but a vast distance farther off than the Persian Gulf or that island which the Indians call SELEDIBA and the Greeks TAPROBANE. TZINITZA is the name of the country, and the Ocean compasses it round to the left, just as the same Ocean compasses Barbary round to the right. And the Indian philosophers, called Brachmans, tell you that if you were to stretch a straight cord from Tzinitza through Persia to the Roman territory, you would just divide the world in halves. And mayhap they are right.

"For the country in question lies very much to the left, insomuch that loads of silk passing through the hands of different nations in succession *by land* reach Persia in a comparatively short time, whilst the distance from Persia *by sea* is vastly greater. For, in the first place, just as great a distance as the Persian Gulf runs up into Persia has the voyager to Tzinitza to run up from [the latitude of] Taprobane and the regions beyond it to reach his destination. And, in the second place, there is no small distance to be traversed in crossing the whole width of the Indian Sea from the Persian Gulf to Taprobane, and from Taprobane to the regions beyond [where you turn up to the left to reach Tzinitza].[2] Hence it is clear that one who comes by the overland route from Tzinitza to Persia makes a very short cut. And this accounts for the fact that such quantities of silk are always to be found in Persia.

"Further than Tzinitza there is neither navigation nor inhabited country.

"And here I may observe, that if anyone should actually measure the earth's longitude with a straight line running from Tzinitza westward, he would find it to be four hundred marches more or less, taking

[1] With reference to the terrors of the Southern Ocean see *infra*, p. 92 *note*. Edrisi says: "The Ocean Sea, which is called the Dark Sea, because it *is* dark, and is almost always in commotion with violent winds, and covered by thick fogs" (i, 87).

[2] I believe this is the meaning, but the passage is very elliptical.

the marches at thirty miles each. And the measurement will run thus: From Tzinitza to the frontier of PERSIA, including all UNNIA and INDIA, and the Land of the Bactrians, will be about a hundred and fifty marches, if not more, certainly not less. The whole of Persia will be eighty marches. From Nisibis to Seleucia thirteen marches. From Seleucia by ROME and the GAULS and IBERIA (the country of those who are nowadays called Spaniards), to Outer GADES on the Ocean a hundred and fifty marches and more. So the total of the distances will be four hundred marches, more or less.

"Now, as regards the earth's latitude. From the far north to Byzantium will not be more than fifty marches (for we may form a good guess at the extent of those northern regions, both inhabited and uninhabited, from the position of the Caspian Sea which is a gulf of the ocean).[1] From Byzantium again to Alexandria is fifty marches. From Alexandria to the Cataracts thirty marches. From the Cataracts to Axum thirty marches. From Axum to the projecting part of Ethiopia, the country where the incense grows, and which is called Barbary,[2] lying along the Ocean, and including the territory of SAS which is the remotest part of Ethiopia, and is anything but a narrow tract of country, indeed quite the reverse, fifty marches, more or less. So that we may take the whole breadth at two hundred marches, more or less. And thus we see that the Holy Scripture speaks the truth when it puts the length of the earth at double its breadth: '*For thou shalt make the Table* (which is, as it were, a pattern of the Earth) *in length two cubits, and in breadth one cubit.*'

"Now, the country where the incense grows lies in the projecting parts of Ethiopia, being itself indeed an inland region, but having the ocean on the other side of it. Hence the people of Barbary, being in the vicinity, are able to visit the interior for trading purposes, and bring back with them many kinds of aromatics, such as incense, cassia, calamus, and a great variety of others, and these again they carry by sea to Adule and Homerite, and to Further India and to Persia. And this is just as you will find it written in the Book of Kings, where the Queen of Saba, *i.e.*, of Homerite (and whom again in the Gospels the Lord terms the Queen of the South) brings to Solomon aromatics from this very Barbary (she residing hard by on the coast just opposite), and brings him also staves of ebony, and monkeys, and gold from Ethiopia, the whole of Ethiopia being in fact quite in her vicinity and just across the

[1] I suppose there is here to be understood a comparison of the Caspian, regarded as a gulf, with the Red Sea or Persian Gulf, and a deduction that the Ocean cannot lie further north from the innermost point of the Caspian than it lies south of the innermost point of one of those gulfs.

[2] The modern Somali country. The name of Barbary is still retained in that of Berberah on the coast over against Aden. See also Ptolemy i, 17.

Arabian Gulf. Again, let us look at some of Our Lord's words, as when he calls those places *the Ends of the Earth*, saying, '*The Queen of the South shall rise up in judgment with this generation and shall condemn it, for she came from the* Ends of the Earth *to hear the wisdom of Solomon.*' The fact is, Homerite is at no distance from Barbary, for the sea between them has only a width of some two days' sail. And beyond that is the Ocean, which thereabouts is called the Sea of Zinj. And just as the Incense Country has the Ocean near it, so also has the Land of Sas where the gold mines are. Now, year by year the King of the Axumites, through the ruler of Agau,[1] sends men of his own to Sas for the purchase of gold. And many others bound on the same speculation accompany them on this expedition, so there shall be more than five hundred in the party. They take with them beeves, and pieces of salt, and iron. And when they get near the country they make a halt at a certain place, and take a quantity of thorns with which they make a great hedge, within which they establish themselves, and there they slaughter the oxen and cut them up, and put the meat, and the pieces of salt, and the iron on the top of the hedge. So the natives then approach with gold in nuggets, like peas, which they call *Tancharan*, and each of them deposits one or two of these upon the joints of meat, or the salt, or the iron as he pleases, and then stands aloof. Then the owner of the beef etc., comes up, and if he is satisfied he takes the gold, whilst the other party comes and removes the flesh, or piece of salt or iron. But if the trader is not satisfied he leaves the gold where it is, and when the native comes up and sees that his gold has not been taken, he either adds to the quantity or takes up his gold and goes away. This is the mode of barter among the people in that quarter; for they are of different language and have no supply of interpreters. The time of their stay to do business in that country extends to five days, more or less, according to the rate at which customers present themselves until they have sold off all their goods. And on the return journey they all form themselves into an armed body; for there are certain people in the tract they pass through who hang about them and endeavour to plunder the gold. The whole business carried on in this way takes some six months; the journey thither being accomplished more slowly than the retnrn, chiefly because of the cattle that accompany them, and also because they make great haste on the way back that the winter rains catch them not on the

[1] Alvarez in Ramusio speaks of certain lordships of Abyssinia "the people of which are called *Agaos*," and who are a mixture of Gentiles and Christians. The Agaus appear to be scattered widely over Abyssinia. Salt speaks of them along the Takazzé to the east of Gondar, and one of Petermann's maps shows Agau also to the south-west of Tzana Lake, which again lies south-west of Gondar. A country including both of these positions would lie south and a little west of Axum (*Ramusio* i, f. 250; *Salt's Second Travels, French transl.*, 1816, ii, 21 *seq.*; *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1857, pl. 23).

journey. For the head of the Nile is somewhere thereabouts, and the rivers that feed it cross the route, and in winter become greatly swollen by the rains. Now, the winter there is in the time of our summer, extending from the month called by the Egyptians *Epiphi*,[1] till that called *Thoth:* and all these three months it rains with great violence, so as to give rise to a multitude of rivers, all of which discharge themselves into the Nile"[2] (book ii, pp. 138-140).

Cosmas then proceeds to give an account of an ancient marble throne which he had seen at Adule (then the port of Abyssinia, a little south of Massawa), with Greek inscriptions on it, of which he gives a professed transcript; but I shall not attempt to enter upon this subject, which has been treated by competent commentators[3] (pp. 140-143).

3. In a later passage, speaking of the Gospel's being preached throughout the world, he says:—

"So that I can speak with confidence of the truth of what I say, relating what I have myself seen and heard in many places that I have visited.

"Even in the Island of TAPROBANE in Further[4] India where the Indian Sea is, there is a church of Christians with clergy and a congregation of believers, though I know not if there be any Christians further on in that direction. And such also is the case in the land called MALÈ, where the pepper grows.[5] And in the place called KALLIANA[6] there is a bishop appointed from Persia, as well as in the island which they call the Isle of Dioscoris in the same Indian Sea. The inhabitants of that island speak Greek, having been originally settled there by the Ptolemies who ruled after Alexander of Macedon. There are clergy there also, ordained and sent from Persia to minister among the people of the

[1] *Epiphi* (June 25th—July 25th) was the eleventh month of the Egyptian year, and *Thoth* (August 29th—September 28th) the first month; represented by the modern Coptic months *Ebîb* and *Tût* (see *Nicolas, Chron. of Hist.*, pp. 13, 15).

[2] Alvise Cadamosto gives nearly the same account of the dumb barter of salt for gold as carried on by negro traders from Timbuktu and Melli with a certain people in the remote interior.

The *Sasus* of Cosmas must also have lain towards the centre of the continent and south-west from Abyssinia. This is shown by the relative position of Agau to Axum (see preceding note); by the fact that the route crossed numerous Nile feeders, apparently those which show so thickly in the map between 7° and 10° N. lat.; and again because the Adule inscription mentioned in the next paragraph of the text speaks of conquests extending *east* to the Thuriferous country, and *west* to Sasus. Cosmas indeed speaks of Sasus as not far from the Ocean. But then he supposes the ocean to cut across Africa somewhere about the equator.

[3] See *Salt's Travels*, and *De Sacy* in *Annales des Voyages*, xii, 350.

[4] "*Inner.*"

[5] Malabar. Compare the *Kaulam-Malé* of the Arab *Relations*.

[6] Probably the *Kalliena* of the Periplus, which Lassen identifies with the still existing *Kalyáni* on the mainland near Bombay. Father Paolino indeed will have it to be a place still called *Kalyánapúri* on the banks of a river two miles north of Mangalore, but unreasonably (*Viag. alle Indie Orientali*, p. 100).

island, and a multitude of Christians.[1] We sailed past the island, but did not land. I met, however, with people from it who were on their way to Ethiopia, and they spoke Greek. And so likewise among the Bactrians and Huns and Persians and the rest of the Indians, and among the Persarmenians and Greeks and Elamites, and throughout the whole land of Persia, there is an infinite number of churches with bishops, and a vast multitude of Christian people, and they have many martyrs and recluses leading a monastic life. So also in Ethiopia, and in Axum, and in all the country round about, among the Happy Arabians, who are now-a-days called Homeritæ, and all through Arabia and Palestine, Phœnicia, and all Syria, and Antioch and Mesopotamia; also among the Nubians and the Garamantes, in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, and so through Africa and Mauritania as far as Southern Gades,[2] in a very great number of places are found churches of Christians with bishops, martyrs, monks, and recluses, wherever in fact the Gospel of Christ hath been proclaimed. So likewise again in Cilicia, Asia, Cappadocia, Lazice, and Pontus, and in the Northern Regions of the Scythians, Hyrcanians, Heruli, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Illyrians, Dalmatians, Goths, Spaniards, Romans, Franks, and other nations till you get to Ocean Gades" (book iii, p. 178).

4. He says the place in the Red Sea where the Egyptians perished is "in Klysma,[3] as they call it, to the right of people travelling to the Mount (Sinai); and there also are to be seen the tracks of chariot-wheels over a long tract extending to the sea. These have been preserved to this day, as a sign, not for believers, but for unbelievers" (book v, p. 194).

5. "— Elim, now called *Raithu*, where there were twelve springs, which are still preserved.[4] . . . Raphidin, now called *Pharan*, whence Moses went with the elders to Mount Choreb, *i.e.* in Sinai, which is about six miles from Pharan," *ib.*, pp. 195, 196.

6. "And when they (the Israelites) had received the written Law from God, they then and there first learned letters. For God made use of the

[1] See *On the Christianity of Socotra*, p. 168 *infra*, where this passage of Cosmas should have been referred to. Some further particulars on the subject, apparently taken from the letters of Francis Xavier, are given in Jarric (*Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, i, p. 108-9). On the use of the Greek language in Abyssinia and Nubia, see *Letronne* in *Mem. de l'Acad.* (New), ix, 170 *seqq.*

[2] "ἕως Γαδείρων, τὰ πρὸς νότον," an odd construction, which, however, seems intended to be distinctive from "Γαδείρων τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ" mentioned a few lines further on, and to indicate some place in Africa, perhaps Tingis, or Cape Spartel, called by Strabo Κώτεις. I do not know if this Southern Gades is mentioned by any other author, but something analogous will be found in the passage quoted from Mandeville at p. 345 *infra*, where Gades is used for the World's End, eastern as well as western.

[3] At or near Suez, whence the *Kolzum* of the Arabs, and the name *Bahr-Kolzum* given to the Red Sea.

[4] *Raithu* was the seat of a monastery, as is mentioned by Cosmas himself (at p. 141).

wilderness in its quiet as a kind of school for them, and allowed them there to practise their letters for forty years. And you may see in that desert of Sinai, at every place where you halt, that all the stones which have rolled down from the mountains are written over with Hebrew characters. And to this I can myself bear witness, having travelled that ground on foot. And these inscriptions were explained to us by certain Jews who could read them, and they were to this effect: "The departure of So-and-so of such a tribe, in such a year and such a month;" just such things in fact as you often find scribbled on the walls of inns by people among ourselves. But the Israelites, as is the way of people who have but recently learned to write, were always making use of their new accomplishment, and were constantly writing, so that all those places are quite covered with Hebrew characters. And these have been preserved to this day,—for the sake of unbelievers as I think. And anyone who likes may go there and see for himself, or may ask from those who have been there, and learn that I am saying what is true." (Pp. 205-206.)

Nearly the whole of Book xi is worth translating. It contains "*Details regarding Indian Animals, and the Island of Taprobane.*"

"*Rhinoceros.*

"This animal is called Rhinoceros because he has horns over his nostrils; when he walks his horns jog about, but when he is enraged with what he is looking at he erects his horns, and they become so rigid that he is able to uproot trees with them, especially if they are straight before him.[1] His eyes are placed low down near his jaws. He is altogether a fearful beast, and he is somehow especially hostile to the elephant. His feet and his skin are, however, very like those of the elephant. His skin when dried is four fingers thick, and some people have used it instead of iron to put in the plough, and have ploughed the ground with it! The Ethiopians in their own dialect call him *Arue Harisi*, using in the second word an aspirated *a* with *rhisi* added. The word *Arue* expresses the beast as such, but *Harisi* expresses *ploughing*, a nickname that they give him from his form about the nose, and also from the use to which his skin is turned.[2] I saw this creature alive

[1] ? τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ἔμπροσθεν. The fact about the animals carrying the horn loose when not irritated is confirmed by Salt (*2d Travels, French Trans.*, 1816, ii, 191).

[2] Ludolf mentions *Arweharis* as a great and fierce beast, of which his friend Abba Gregory often used to speak. He quotes Arab. *Hharash, Hharshan*, "Unicorn," but I do not find these in the dictionaries. Salt again says: "The name by which the rhinoceros (two horned) is designated to this day all over Abyssinia is absolutely the same as that given by Cosmas. In the *Gheez* it is written *Aruê Hâris*, pronounced with a strong aspiration of the *Ha*..... *Aruê*, signifying always *fera* or *bestia* in genere; a coincidence so extraordinary as to convince me that the lan-

once in Ethiopia, but I kept at a good distance from him. And I have seen one dead, skinned and stuffed with straw, standing in the king's palace, so that I have been able to draw him accurately.

"*Taurelaphus.*

"This creature, the Taurelaphus (or Bull-stag), is found both in India and Ethiopia. Those in India are tame, and they make them carry loads of pepper and other such articles in sacks; they also milk them and made butter from their milk. We also eat their flesh, Christians cutting their throats and Greeks felling them. Those of Ethiopia again are wild beasts, and have not been domesticated.[1]

"*Cameleopard.*

"The Cameleopard is found only in Ethiopia. These also are wild beasts, and have not been domesticated. But in the palace [at Axum] they have one or two which they have tamed by the king's command by catching them when young, in order to keep them for a show. When milk or water to drink is given to these creatures in a dish, as is done in the king's presence, they cannot reach the vessel on the ground so as to drink, except by straddling with their fore-legs, owing to the great length of their legs and height of the chest and neck above the ground. It stands to reason therefore that they must widen out their fore-legs in order to drink. This also I have drawn (or described) from personal knowledge.

"*The Wild Ox.*

"This Wild Ox is a great beast of India, and from it is got the thing called *Tupha*, with which officers in the field adorn their horses and pennons. They tell of this beast that if his tail catches in a tree he will not budge, but stands stock-still, being horribly vexed at losing a single hair of his tail; so the natives come and cut his tail off, and then when he has lost it altogether he makes his escape! Such is the nature of the animal.[2]

"*The Musk Animal.*

"This little animal is the Musk. The natives call it in their own tongue *Kasturi*.[3] When they hunt it they shoot it with arrows, and

guage spoken at the court of Axum was the *Gheez*" (*Ludolf*, i, 10, 78; *Salt* as above).

Hhars means "ploughing" in Arabic, which may illustrate the etymology of Cosmas.

[1] This appears to be the buffalo. Everything applies accurately except the name, which does not seem a very appropriate one. The picture is that of a lanky ox with long *tusks*.

[2] This is evidently the *Yak*, which Cosmas could only have known by distant hearsay. *Tupha* is probably *Túgh* or *Tau*, which according to Rémusat is the Turkish name of the horse-tail standard, applied also by the Chinese to the *Yak-tail*, which respectively with those nations mark the supreme military command (*Rech. sur les langues Tartares*, 303; also *D'Ohsson*, i, 40).

[3] *Kastúri* is a real Sankrit name for the perfume *musk* (see *Lassen*, i,

after tying up the blood collected in the navel, cut it off. For this is the fragrant part of the beast, or what we call the *musk*. The rest of the body they throw away.

"*The Unicorn.*

"This creature is called a Unicorn. I can't say I ever saw him, but I have seen bronze figures of him in the four-towered palace of the King of Ethiopia, and so I have been able to make this drawing of him. They say he is a terrible beast, and quite invincible, and that all his strength lies in his horn. And when he is encompassed by many hunters so that he is hard put to it, he makes a leap over some high precipice, and as he falls he turns over, so that his horn bears the whole force of the fall, and he escapes unhurt.[1] So also the Scripture discourses of him, saying: '*Save me from the mouths of lions and my humility from the horns of the Unicorns;*'[2] and again in the blessings wherewith Balaam blessed Israel, he saith twice over: 'Thus hath God led him out of Egypt like the glory of the unicorn';[3] in all these passages testifying to the strength and audacity and glory of the creature.

"*The Hog-stag and Hippopotamus.*

"The Chœrelaphus (or Hog-stag) I have both seen and eaten. The hippopotamus I have not seen indeed, but I had some great teeth of his that weighed thirteen pounds which I sold here [in Alexandria]. And I have seen many such teeth in Ethiopia and in Egypt.[4]

"*Pepper.*

"This is the pepper-tree. Every plant of it is twined round some lofty forest tree, for it is weak and slim like the slender stems of the vine. And every bunch of fruit has a double leaf as a shield;[5] and it is very green like the green of rue.

316; and iii, 45). This author says that in the Himalya *Kastúri* is also applied to the animal. He observes that "Cosmas is the first to mention the musk animal and musk as products of India, but he is wrong in representing the animal as living in Taprobane." Cosmas does nothing of the kind.

[1] From this story some kind of Ibex or Oryx would seem to be meant. The practice is asserted of animals of that class in parts of the world so remote from each other that it can scarcely be other than true.

[2] "Save me from the lion's mouth: for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns" (*Ps.* xxii, 21).

[3] "God brought him out of Egypt: He hath as it were the strength of an unicorn" (*Numbers* xxiii, 22; xxiv, 8).

[4] The *Chœrelaphus* is represented in the drawing as a long-legged hog with very long tusks. It has certainly nothing to do with the so-called hog-deer of India, which has no resemblance to a hog. It looks a good deal like the *Babirussa*, but that is I believe peculiar to the Archipelago. Yet this description by Pliny of a kind of swine in India comes very near that animal: "In India cubitales dentium flexus gemini ex rostro, totidem a fronte ceu vituli cornua, exeunt" (viii, 78).

[5] I do not find any confirmation of this in modern accounts. But Ibn Khurdadbah (see *ante*, p. cix) says: "The mariners say every bunch of

"*Argellion* (the Coco-nut).

"Another tree is that which bears the *Argell*,[1] i.e. the great Indian Nut. In nothing does it differ from the date-palm, excepting that it surpasses it in height and thickness, and in the size of its fronds. All the fruit it produces is from two or three stalks bearing three Argells each.[2] The taste is sweet and very pleasant, like that of fresh nuts. The Argell at first is full of a very sweet water, which the Indians drink from the nut, using it instead of wine. This drink is called *Rhoncosura*,[3] and is exceedingly pleasant. But if the Argell be pluckt and kept, the water congeals gradually on the inside of the shell; a small quantity remaining in the middle, till in course of time that also gets quite dried up. If, however, it be kept too long the coagulated pulp goes bad and cannot be eaten.

"*Phoca, Dolphin, and Turtle.*

"The Phoca, Dolphin, and Turtle we eat at sea if we chance to catch them. To eat the dolphin or turtle we cut their throats; the phoca's throat we don't cut, but strike it over the head as is done with large fishes. The flesh of the turtle is like mutton, but blackish; that of the dolphin is like pork, but blackish and rank; that of the phoca is also like pork, but white and free from smell.

"*Concerning the Island of Taprobane.*

"This is the great island in the ocean, lying in the Indian Sea. By the Indians it is called SIELEDIBA,[4] but by the Greeks TAPROBANE. In

pepper has over it a leaf that shelters it from the rain. When the rain ceases the leaf turns aside; if rain recommences the leaf again covers the fruit" (in *Journ. As.*, ser. vi, tom. v, p. 284).

[1] Pers. *Nárgíl.*

[2] This is obscure in the original: *οὐ βάλλει δὲ καρπὸν εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρία σπάθια ἀπὸ τριὼν ἀργελλίων.* But his drawing explains, showing two stalks with three nuts to each. He must have seen but poor specimens.

[3] Possibly Cosmas has confounded the cocoa-nut milk with the coco-palm toddy. For *Sura* is the name applied on the Malabar coast to the latter. *Roncho* may represent *Lanha*, the name applied there to the nut when ripe but still soft, in fact in the state in which it gives the milk (see *Garcias dall' Orto*, Venice, 1589, p. 114; *Rheede*, vol. i).

[4] This represents fairly the Pali name SIHALADIPA. Síhala or (Sansk.) *Sinhala*, the "Dwelling of the *Lions*," or as otherwise explained, "The Lion-Slayers." Taprobane, from (Pali) TAMBAPANNI, (Sansk.) TAMRAPARNI, the name of a city founded near Putlam by Wijaya (son of Sihabahu) the first human king and colonist. These names are explained in the Mahawanso thus:

"At the spot where the seven hundred men, with the king at their head, exhausted by (sea) sickness, and faint from weakness, had landed out of the vessel, supporting themselves on the palms of their hands pressed on the ground, they set themselves down. Hence to them the name of *Tambapanniyo* ("copper-palmed," from the colour of the soil). From this circumstance that wilderness obtained the name of TAMBAPANNI. From the same cause also this renowned land became celebrated (under that name).

"By whatever means the monarch Sihabahu slew the *Siho* (Lion), from

it is found the hyacinth stone. It lies on the other side of the Pepper Country.[1] And round about it there are a number of small islands, in all of which you find fresh water and coco-nuts. And these are almost all set close to one another.[2] The great island, according to what the natives say, has a length of three hundred *gaudia*, and a breadth of the same number, i.e. nine hundred miles.[3] There are two kings on the island, and they are at enmity with one another.[4] The one possesses the hyacinth,[5] and the other has the other part in which is the great place of commerce and the chief harbour. It is a great mart for the people of those parts. The island hath also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon, and all the apparatus of public worship. But the natives and their kings are quite another kind of people.[6] They have many temples on the island, and on one of these temples which stands in an elevated position there is a hyacinth, they say, of great size and brilliant ruddy colour, as big as a great pine-cone, and when it is seen flashing from a distance, especially when the sun's rays strike on it, 'tis a glorious and incomparable spectacle.[7]

"From all India and Persia and Ethiopia many ships come to this island, and it likewise sends out many of its own, occupying as it does a kind of central position. And from the remoter regions, I speak of Tzinista and other places of export, the imports to Taprobane are silk, aloes-wood, cloves,[8] sandal-wood,[9] and so forth, according to the products

that feat his sons and descendants are called *Sihala* (Lion-Slayers), This Lanka having been conquered by a Sihalo, from the circumstance also of its having been colonized by a Sihalo, it obtained the name of SIHALA" (in *Turner's Epitome*, p. 55). The more approved etymologies of the names will be found in *Lassen*, i, 200 *seq.*; *Tennent's Ceylon*, i, 525).

[1] Malabar, so called by the Arabs (*Balad-ul-Falfal*); see *Ibn Batuta infra*, p. 476.

[2] ἀσσοβαθαὶ, perhaps a mistake for ἀσσόταται. He here seems to speak of the Maldives.

[3] "This singular word *gaou*, in which Cosmas gives the dimensions of the island, is in use to the present day in Ceylon, and means the distance which a man can walk in an hour" (*Tennent*, i, 543).

[4] Tennent translates: "at opposite ends of the island."

[5] This has been thought by some to mean the part of the island containing the ruby mines; but Tennent considers it to refer to *the* Ruby mentioned below (see *Ceylon*, i, 543). The expression, however, "the Hyacinth" for the "district producing hyacinths" seems quite in the vein of Cosmas. Thus below he uses τὸ καρυόφυλλον for the Clove Country. Tennent considers the Port to be Galle, but I have noticed this elsewhere (Note xii).

[6] ἀλλόφυλλοι, i.e. as I understand it, *Gentiles*; at any rate not Persian Christians. But Sir E. Tennent renders it: "The natives and their kings are of different races."

[7] This is spoken of by Hiwen Thsang as on the Buddha-Tooth Temple near Anurajapura. "Its magical brilliance illumines the whole heaven. In the calm of a clear and cloudless night it can be seen by all, even at a distance of 10,000*li*" (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 199; also 371-2).

[8] Here Tennent, following Thevenot's edition, has "clove-wood," but it is not in Montfaucon. As regards clove-wood see pp. 305, 472-3, *infra*.

[9] Τζάνδανη, representing the Sanscrit *Chandana*.

of each place. These again are passed on from Sielediba to the marts on this side, such as Malè, where the pepper is grown, and Kalliana, whence are exported brass, and sisam logs,[1] and other wares, such as cloths (for that also is a great place of business); also to SINDU, where you get the musk or castorin, and androstachyn;[2] also to Persia, Homerite, and Adule. And the island receives imports again from all those marts that I have been mentioning, and passes them on to the remoter ports, whilst at the same time it exports its own produce in both directions.

"SINDU is where India begins. Now, the Indus, *i. e.*, Phison, the mouths of which discharge into the Persian Gulf, is the boundary between Persia and India. And the most notable places of trade are these: SINDU, ORRHOTHA, KALLIANA, SIBOR,[3] and then the five marts of Malè, from which pepper is exported, to wit, PARTI, MANGARUTH, SALOPATANA, NALOPATANA, PUDOPATANA.[4] Then there is SIELEDIBA; *i.e.*, Taprobane, which lies hitherward about five days and nights' sail from the Continent; and then again on the Continent, and further back is MARALLO, which exports conch shells;[5] KABER, which exports alabandinum;[6] and then again further off is the Clove Country; and then TZINISTA, which produces the silk. Beyond this there is no other country, for the ocean encompasses it on the east.

[1] The Periplus mentions among exports from Barygaza (*Baroch*) *brass*, sandal-wood, beams, horns, and *planks of sasam* and ebony. I suppose the suggestion has been made before, though I cannot find it, that these sisam logs or sasam planks were the wood of the *sissu* or *shisham*, one of the most valuable Indian timbers. I believe the blackwood of Western India, much used for carved furniture, is a species of sissu. The *brass* was probably manufactured in pots and vessels; still so prominent a business in Indian towns.

[2] Sindu, doubtless a port at the mouth of the Sinthus or Indus, probably Diul or Daibul, which we have seen to be a port known to the Chinese soon after this (*supra*, p. lxxix). *Androstachyn* is probably, as Lassen suggests, an error for *Nardostachys* or spikenard, the chief sources of which seem to have been the countries on the tributaries of the Upper Indus (see *Lassen*, iii, 41, 42; also i, 288-9).

[3] *Sibor*, probably the Supera of Jordanus and Suppara of Ptolemy (*infra*, p. 227). Orrhatha is supposed by Lassen to be Ptolemy's *Soratha* on the Pen. of Gujarat, identified with the Surata of Hiwen Thsang, not to be confounded with modern *Surat* (*Reinaud, Mem. sur l'Inde* in *Acad.*, p. 155).

[4] Of these five ports of Malabar, Mangaruth is no doubt Mangalore, Pudopatana the port which bore the same name till a recent century (see *infra*, pp. 448, 453); the others I cannot identify.

[5] In position and perhaps in name identical with Marava or Marawar opposite Ceylon. The fishing of *chank* shells hereabouts was till recently I believe a government monopoly like the pearl-fishery. Walckenær says Marallo is "Morilloum, opposite Ceylon". Is there such a place?

[6] *Kabēr*, from the name and position, may be the Chabēris of Ptolemy (*Kaveripatam*), but I can get no light on the *alabandinum*. Pliny speaks of alabandic carbuncles and of an alabandic black marble, both called from a city of Caria. The French apply the name almandine or albandine to a species of ruby (*Pliny*, xxxvii, 25; xxxvi, 13; *Dict. de Trevoux*). If rubies be meant it is just possible that Pegu may be in question.

"This same Sielediba then, set, as it were, in the central point of the Indies, and possessing the Hyacinth, receiving imports from all the seats of commerce, and exporting to them in return, is itself a great seat of commerce. Here let me relate what there befel one of the merchants accustomed to trade thither. His name was Sopatrus, and he has been dead, to my knowledge, these thirty-five years past. Well, he had gone to the island of Taprobane on a trading adventure, and a ship from Persia happened to put in there at the same time. So when the Adule people, with whom Sopatrus was, went ashore, the people from Persia went ashore likewise, and with them they had a certain venerable personage of their nation.[1] And then, as their way is, the chief men of the place and the officers of the custom-house received the party, and conducted them before the king. The king having granted them an audience, after receiving their salutations, desired them to be seated, and then asked, 'In what state are your countries? and how go your own affairs?' They answered, 'Well.' And so as the conversation proceeded, the king put the question, 'Which of you has the greatest and most powerful king?' The Persian elder snatching the word, answered, 'Our king is the greatest and the most powerful and the wealthiest, and indeed is the king of kings; and whatever he desires, that he is able to accomplish.' But Sopatrus held his peace. Then, quoth the king, 'Well, Roman! hast thou not a word to say?' Said Sopatrus, 'Why, what is there for me to say, after this man hath spoken as he hath done? But if thou wouldst know the real truth of the matter thou hast both the kings here; examine both, and thou shalt see thyself which is the more magnificent and potent.' When the prince heard that, he was amazed at the words, and said, 'How make you out that I have both the kings here?' The other replied, 'Well, thou hast the coins of both—of the one the *nomisma*, and of the other the *dirhem* (*i.e.*, the *miliaresion*). Look at the effigy on each, and you will see the truth.' The king approved of the suggestion, nodding assent, and ordered both coins to be produced. Now, the nomisma was a coin of right good ring and fine ruddy gold, bright in metal and elegant in execution, for such coins are picked on purpose to take thither, whilst the miliaresion, to say it in one word, was of silver, and of course bore no comparison with the gold coin. So the king, after he had turned them this way and that, and had studied both with attention, highly extolled the *nomisma*,[2] saying that in truth the Romans were a splendid, powerful, and sagacious people. So he ordered great honour to be paid to Sopatrus, causing him to be set on an ele-

[1] "πρεσβύτης." A *Shaikh*? Montfaucon's Latin has *orator*.

[2] *Nomisma* was usually applied to the gold solidus, as here. The *miliaresion* or *miliarensis* was a silver coin, the twelfth part of the solidus (*Ducange, de Inf. Aevi Numism.*). The latter coin continued to be well known in the Mediterranean probably to the end of the Byzantine Empire. *Migliaresi* are frequently mentioned by Pegolotti *circa* 1340.

phant, and conducted round the city with drums beating in great state. These circumstances were told me by Sopatrus and the others who had accompanied him from Adule to that island. And, as they told the story, the Persian was very much ashamed of what had happened" (p. 338).

"But in the direction of those most notable places of trade that I have mentioned, there are many others (of minor importance) both on the coast and inland, and a country of great extent. And in India further up the country, *i. e.*, further north, are the White Huns.[1] That one who is called Gollâs, 'tis said, goes forth to war with not less than a thousand elephants, besides a great force of cavalry. This ruler tyrannises over India and exacts tribute from the people. Once upon a time, as they tell, he would lay siege to a certain inland city of India; but the city was protected all round by inundation. So he sat him down before it for many days, and in course of time what with his elephants and his horses and the people of his camp the whole of the water was drunk dry, so that at last he was able to cross over dry-shod, and took the city.

"These people have a great fondness for the emerald stone, and it is worn by their king in his crown. The Ethiopians who obtain this stone from the Blemmyes in Ethiopia, import it into India and with the price they get are able to invest in wares of the greatest value.

"Now, all these matters I have been able thus to describe and explain, partly from personal experience, and partly from accurate inquiries which I made when in the vicinity of the different places" (p. 339).

"There are other kings (I may observe) of different places in India who keep elephants, such as the King of Orrhotha, and the King of the Kalliana people, and the Kings of Sindu, of Sibor, and of Malê. One will have six hundred elephants, another five hundred, and so on, some more, some less. And the King of Sielediba [gives a good price for][2] both the elephants that he has, and the horses. The elephants he buys by cubit measurement; for their height is measured from the ground, and so the price is fixed according to the measurement, ranging from fifty to a hundred nomismata or more.[3] Horses they bring to him from Persia, and these he buys, and grants special immunities to those who import them.

[1] On the Yueichi, Yetas or White Huns, called also Epthalites, see *Lassen*, ii, 771 *seqq.*, and iii, 584 *seqq*. There is a special dissertation on them by Vivien St. Martin (*Les Huns Blancs ou Epthalites*), which I have not been able to obtain.

[2] This is conjectural, as some words are evidently wanting. Montfaucon's Latin supplies *pretio emit*.

[3] From £32 to £65. The price of elephants in Bengal now may run from twice to thrice these amounts. Height is always one of the elements in estimating the price of an elephant. Edrisi says: "The Kings of India and China make a great work about the height of their elephants; they pay very dear in proportion as this attribute increases' (*i*, 97).

"The kings on the mainland cause wild elephants to be tamed, and make use of them in war. And it is a common practice to get up elephant fights as a spectacle for the king. For this purpose they set up between the two elephants a pair of upright timbers with a great cross-beam fastened to them which reaches as it might be to the chests of the elephants.[3] A number of men are also stationed on this side and on that to prevent the animals coming to close quarters, but at the same time to stir them up to engage one another. And so the beasts thrash each other with their trunks till at length one of them gives in.

"The Indian elephants are not furnished with great tusks.[1] And even when they have them naturally the people saw them off, in order that their weight may not be an incumbrance in war. The Ethiopians do not understand the art of taming elephants; but if their king should want one or two for a show they catch them young and bring them up in captivity. For in their country there are great numbers of elephants, and they are of the kind that have great tusks. And these tusks are exported by sea from Ethiopia into Persia and Homerite and the Roman territory, and even to India. These particulars are derived from what I have heard" (p. 339).

NOTE X.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE SYRO-CHINESE CHRISTIAN MONUMENT AT SINGANFU.

From the RELAZIONE DELLA CINA *of* P. ALVAREZ SEMEDO, *Rome*, 1643.

"In the year 1625, whilst the foundations of a house were a-digging in the neighbourhood of the city of Singanfu, the capital of the province of Shensi, the workmen hit upon a stone slab more than nine palms long, by four in width, and more than a palm in thickness. The head of this slab, *i.e.* one of the ends in its longer dimension, is finished off in the form of a pyramid more than two palms high with a base of more than one palm, and on the surface of this pyramid is a well-formed cross with floreated points, resembling those which are described to be sculptured on the tomb of St. Thomas at Meliapur, and such as were also at one time in use in Europe, as we may see by some examples that have been preserved to the present day.

"There are some cloudy marks round about the cross, and (immediately) below it three transverse lines, each composed of three large characters clearly carved, all of the kind employed in China. The whole (of the rest) of the surface of the stone is seen to be sculptured over with

[1] It is well known that a large proportion of male elephants in India have only very small tusks like the females. Such in Bengal are called *makhna*.

characters of the same kind, and so also is the thickness of the slab, but in the last the characters are different from the others, for some of them are outlandish, and their nature was not known at the time of the discovery.

"No sooner had the Chinese cleaned this notable piece of antiquity and seen what it was, than, with the vivid curiosity which is natural to them, they ran to tell the Governor. He came in all haste to see it, and straightway caused it to be set up on a handsome pedestal under an arch which was closed at the sides and open in front, so that it might at once be protected from the weather, and accessible to eyes capable of enjoying and appreciating an antique of such a venerable kind. The place which he selected for it was also within the enclosure of a Bonze Temple, not far from where the discovery occurred.

"Great numbers of people flocked to see this stone, attracted in part by its antiquity and in part by the novelty of the strange characters that were visible on it. And as the knowledge of our religion has now spread far and wide in China, a certain Pagan who happened to be present, and who was on very friendly terms with a worthy Christian mandarin called Leo, when he discerned the bearing of this mysterious writing, thought he could not do his friend a greater pleasure than by sending him a copy of it. And this he did, although the Mandarin was a six weeks' journey off, residing in the city of Hangcheu, whither most of our fathers had retired on account of the persecution that had occurred, of which we shall speak in its place. He received the transcript with pious joy, and visible demonstrations of delight, seeing the irrefragable testimony of the ancient Christianity of China which it contained (a thing such as had been much desired and sought for), as we shall explain.

"Three years later, in 1628, some of the fathers had an opportunity of visiting the province in question in company with a Christian mandarin called Philip, who had to go thither. A church and a house (of the Society) were erected in that metropolis; for the Blessed God who had willed the discovery of so fine a monument of the ancient occupation of this country by His Divine Law, was also pleased to facilitate its restitution in the same locality. It was my fortune to be one of the first to go thither, and I thought myself happy in having that post, on account of the opportunity it gave me of seeing the stone; and on my arrival I could attend to nothing else until I had seen it and read it. And I went back to read it again, and examined it in a leisurely and deliberate manner. Considering its antiquity, I could not but admire that it was so perfect, and exhibited letters sculptured with such clearness and precision.

"Looked at edge-wise there are on it many Chinese characters which contain a number of names of priests and bishops of that age. There are also many other characters which were not then known, for they are

neither Hebrew nor Greek, but which, as far as I understand, contain the same names, in order that if by chance some one from abroad should come who could not read the writing of the country, he might, perhaps, be able to understand these foreign characters.

"Passing afterwards through Cochin on my way to Cranganor, the residence of the Archbishop of the Coast, I consulted on the subject of those letters Father Antonio Fernandez of our Society, who was very learned in the literature of those St. Thomas Christians, and he told me that the letters were Syriac, and the same as were in use by that body." (P. 197 *seq.*)

The following account is given in a Chinese work entitled "LAICHAI'S *Brief Examination of Inscriptions on Stone and Metal.*"

"At present this inscription exists in the enclosure of the monastery Kinching ('Golden Victory') to the west of the city of Singan. In the years Tsungching of the Ming (1628-1643) the Prefect of Singan, Doctor Tseu Tsingchang, a native of Tsinling, had a young child called Hoaseng who was endowed from his birth with a very rare degree of intelligence and penetration. Almost as soon as he could speak he would already join his hands to adore Fo. When he had reached his twelfth year, the child, without knowing where was the seat of his ailment, pined away; his eyes insensibly closed; he opened them for an instant with a smile, and died. Chang, seeing that his son was gone, cast lots, and these indicated for the place of his burial a spot to the south of the monastery *Thsungjin* ('Sublime Humanity') in Changgan. After digging here to a depth of several feet, they hit upon a stone which was no other than that bearing the inscription," etc. (From *Pauthier, L'Inscription Chrétienne de Singanfou*, pp. 70-71.)

NOTE XI.

THE KINGDOMS OF INDIA IN THE NINTH CENTURY, SPOKEN OF BY THE ARAB WRITERS IN THE *RELATIONS* TRANSLATED BY REINAUD.

The first king named is the BALHARA, who is said to have been regarded as the most exalted of Indian princes, and whom the Indians and Chinese classed with the Khalif, the Emperor of China, and the King of the Romans, as the four great kings of the world. There is, however, scarcely anything definite stated about him except that his empire began at the country of *Komkam* (the Konkan) on the sea coast.

The name of *Balhara* Lassen considers to be a corruption of *Ballabhirâa* or *raja*, the title of a great dynasty which reigned at Ballabhipura

in the Peninsula of Gujarat,[1] but which had fallen long before this time. Nor indeed does there appear to have been any *very* powerful dynasty in this region in the ninth century.[2] Al Biruni, who in Indian matters knew what he was talking about a great deal better than other old Arabic writers, says nothing of the Balhara.[3] He mentions a kingdom of Konkan with its capital at *Tálah* [read *Ṭánah*].[4]

Among the other kings with whom the Balhara was often at war was one named the JURZ, who was noted for his cavalry, and had great riches, and camels and horses in great numbers. His states are said to form a tongue of land, *i.e.*, I presume, to be on the sea coast. Yet Abu-Zaid says that Kanauj formed his empire, and to this M. Reinaud holds. But Masudi, who gives the same account of the Jurz (or *Juzr* as it is in his book as printed), makes him entirely distinct from the King of Kanauj, whom he calls the *Bawurah*.[5] Lassen and the editors of Masudi[6] make this kingdom Gujarat, apparently from the slight resemblance of name. But it seems much more likely that it is the King *Jor* of Al Biruni, whom that writer places on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, either in the Tanjore country or in Telinga, or extending over both. And from Hiwen Thsang also we hear of a kingdom called *Juri* or *Jurya*, which lay some three hundred miles north of Dravida (the capital of which last was the present Konjeveram), and this may have been the same.[7]

There is then the kingdom of THAFAK, or THAFAN as Masudi has it, which was noted for its women, who were the *whitest* and most beautiful in India. The author of the *Relations* calls it *beside* the Jurz, but no

[1] Called by Masudi *Manekir*, and identified by Lassen with the *Minnagara* of Ptolemy.

[2] See Lassen, iii, 533 *seqq.*, and iv, 917 *seqq.* It is a curious illustration of the expanse of the Mahomedan power and consequent circulation of its agents that the name of this Indian prince, the *Balhara*, was applied to a village in the neighbourhood of Palermo, now the well-known Monreale, and from it again to a market in the city, *Súk-Balhara*, now called *Piazza Ballarò*. Similar illustrations are found in the names of *Manzil-Sindi*, near Corleone; *Jibal-Sindi*, near Girgenti; and *'Ain-Sindi*, in the suburbs of Palermo: all preserved by mediæval documents, and the last still surviving under the corrupted name of Fonte *Dennisinni* (*Amari, St. dei Musulm. di Sicilia*, i, 84; ii, 33, 34, 300).

[3] Reinaud, *Mem. sur l'Inde* in *Mem. de l'Acad.*

[4] Reinaud in *J. As. S.*, iv, tom. iv, p. 251.

[5] Or *Baurawa*. Gildemeister says on this: "*Paurav* [in Nagari letters] esse puto, nam eo nomine Reges Kanyakubgenses gloriati sunt"; but gives no authority (p. 160). Masudi also speaks of a *city* Bawurah on one of the Panjab rivers, which is perhaps the *Parvata* of Hiwen Thsang (*Pr. d'Or*, i, 371; *Vie de H. T.*, p, 210).

[6] *Lassen*, iv, 921; *Prairies d'Or*, i, 383, 384. In the last passage the French translator puts simply *le Guzerat* to represent *Al-Jurz* or *Juzr*, which is scarcely fair translating of so doubtful a point.

[7] See *Vie de H. T.*, pp. 189-90, 453; also *Lassen*, iii, 205, *note*. The *Jurz* of the *Relations* is evidently the *Malik-al-Jizr* of Edrisi, who puts him on what he calls the Island of Madai on the way to China, but Edrisi's information about the South Eastern Indies, is a hopeless chaos (see i, 86, 98).

great weight can be attached to this where his knowledge was evidently so dim. Because of Ibn Batuta's praise of the Mahratta women, M. Reinaud will have Thâfan to be in the Dekkan, nay he localises it "in the present province of Aurungabad," and Lassen following up this lead with equal precision will prefer to put it in *Baglana*, which was then the Mahratta country.[1] But Ibn Batuta certainly does not say that the Mahratta women were *white*, the very last attribute I suppose that they could claim, and we find that Masudi couples Thafan with Kashmir and Kandahar *(i.e. Gandhára*, the country about Peshawar and Attok) as one of the countries in which the Indus had its sources.[2] The traveller Ibn Mohalhal speaks of *Thábán* as a chief city of Kabul,[3] but whether that be meant for the same place or no, this Thafan is certainly to be sought on the N.W. frontier of India, and the fair women are very probably those of the race now called *Kafirs*, whose beauty and fair complexion are still so much extolled.[3]

Contiguous to these, according to the Arab writer, was the Kingdom of Ruhmi, Rahma, or RAHMAN,[4] who was at war with the Jurz and the Balhara. He was not of great consideration, though he had the greatest army, and was accompanied by some fifty thousand elephants and fifteen thousand washermen! Muslins that could pass through a ring were made in his country. Gold, silver, aloes-wood, and chowries were also found in it. Cowries were the money used; and in the forests was the rhinoceros, of which a particular description is given under the name of *Karkadan*.[5] The Kingdom of Rahma, adds Masudi, extends both inland and on the sea.

Of this Reinaud says: "This seems to me to answer to the ancient Kingdom of Visiapour;" and Lassen will have it that it fits none but the Kingdom of the Chalukyas of Kalliani (in the Dekkan). Why, it would be hard to say; the washermen doubtless exist in those regions, and to a certain extent the elephants, but none of the other alleged products. Gold, silver, aloes-wood, chowries, rhinoceroses, and the fabulous stud of elephants all point to Transgangetic India, perhaps including

[1] *Lassen*, iv, 921.

[2] *Prairies d'Or*, i, 207.

[3] See the notices of the Kafir women quoted at p. 555 *infra*. Kazwini mentions a very strong fortress of India called *Thaifand*, on the summit of a mountain almost inaccessible, but which had water, cultivation, and everything needful for the maintenance of its garrison. It was taken, he says, by Mahmud Sabaktagin in the year 414 (A.D. 1023), and five hundred elephants were found in it. This is like the account given of a stronghold on the west of the Indus, at *Mahaban*, which has been admirably identified by Col. James Abbott with Aornos. The name may have to do with our Thâfan (see *Gildem*, p. 208).

[4] Some copies of Mas'udi have *Wahman*, which seems to point to Rahman as the proper name (see *Reinaud, Relations*, i, cii). *Edrisi* (in *Jaubert*, i, 173) has *Dumi*.

[5] This is probably the word which Aelian intends in his description of the Indian unicorn, which he calls καρταζόνον (*De Nat. Animalium*, xvi, 20).

Assam, whilst the muslins that pass through a ring are the produce of Eastern Bengal (Dacca muslins). Pegu is known in Burma, Buddhisto-classically, as *Rahmaniya*,[1] and I have little doubt that this is the name involved, though I should be sorry to define more particularly the limits of the region intended by the Arab writer.[2]

Then come an inland people of white complexion with pierced ears, and remarkable for their beauty, called KASHIBÍN, or, as Masudi has it, *Káman*. M. Reinaud says Mysore, but only because he had last said Visiapur. He cannot suppose that the people of Mysore are white in any sense. All that can be said is that this and all the other kingdoms mentioned afterwards appear to be in Farther India. These are KAIRANJ, said to be on the sea, probably the sea called *Kadranj*, in the list of seas between Oman and China ;[3] then MUJAH, where there is much good musk and very long ranges of snowy mountains ; and MABAD or MAYAD, the people of both of which resemble the Chinese, whilst the latter touch the Chinese frontier. These are to be sought in the vicinity of Yunan, which has much musk and very long ranges of snowy mountains.

NOTE XII.

ABSTRACT OF THE TRAVELS OF IBN MUHALHAL.

Quitting Khorasan and the Mahomedan cities of Mawarulnahr, with the ambassadors of China, as mentioned in the text, the party came first to the territory of HARKAH (or Harkat). It took a month to pass through this region, and then they came to that of THATHAH, through which they travelled for twenty days. The people of this country are in alliance with those of Harkat to repel the inroads of the Pagans, and they are subject to the orders of the Emperor of China. They pay tribute also to Harkat, as the latter lies between them and the Musulman

[1] The great Burmese inscription at Kaungmúdhau Pagoda, near Ava, thus defines : "All within the great districts of Hanzawadi (i.e., the city of Pegu), Digun (Rangoon), Dala (opposite Rangoon), Kothian, Youngmyo, and Mauttama (Martaban) is the great kingdom of RAMANIYA" (*Mission to Ava*, p. 351.) *Arramaniya* is also used in the Ceylonese annals to designate some country of the Transgangetic Peninsula (see *Turnour's Epitome*, p. 41). The sounding titles of many of the Indo-Chinese princes refer to their possession of vast numbers of elephants.

[2] The kings of India as given by Ibn Khurdadbah (*supra*, p. cix), are the Balhara, the kings of Jábah, Táfan, Juzr, *Ghánah* or *'Anah*, Rahma, and Kámrún. Ghanah seems to have no parallel in other lists, nor can I conjecture what is meant.

[3] A passage quoted by Dulaurier, in relation to camphor, from an Arabic author, Ishak Bin Amram, says that the best camphor comes from "*Herenj*, which is Little China." This seems to point either to Borneo or to Cochin China (*Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iv, tom. viii, p. 218).

countries with which they desire to have commerce. Next they reached NAJA,[1] tributary to Thathâh. Here they have wine, figs, and black meddlars, and a kind of wood which fire will not burn. The Christians carry this wood away, believing that Christ was crucified upon it. Next they came to the BAJNAK,[2] a people with beards and mustachios, and went twenty-two days through their territory which extended north to the confines of the SCLAVES. Next to the JIKIL, a people who keep no cattle; they marry their daughters and sisters without regard to unlawful affinities, and are subject to the Turks. They have a herb called *Kalkan* which they boil with their meat.[3] Bezoars are found here, and malignant serpents haunt the country in the beginning of winter. Their houses are of wood and clay. Then to the BAGHRAJ, whose king is descended from 'Ali, and who are very skilful in the manufacture of arms.[4] Next to TOBBAT, and travelled forty days therein. There was a great city there built of reeds and a temple made of ox leather covered with varnish. There is also an idol made of the horns of musk oxen.[5] Next they came to KIMAK, where the houses are of the skins of beasts, and there are vines with grapes which are half black and half white. There is also a stone here with which they produce rain as often as they will.[6] Gold is found on the surface, and diamonds are disclosed by the rivers. They have no king nor temple. They venerate greatly those who attain eighty years without being ill. The travellers were thirty-five days among them.[7] Then they came to the GHUZ, whose city is of stone,

[1] Or *Baja*.

[2] On the three preceding peoples or countries, *Harkah*, *Thathâh*, and *Naja*, I can throw no light. The *Bajnak* are the Pechinegs, or Πατζινακίται of the Greeks, much discoursed of by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who evidently stood in great fear of them, in his book De Administrando Imperio. In his time they were on the Dnieper and Dniester, but he tells us that fifty years before they had been driven from their original seats on the *Atil* and *Geech* (Wolga and Iaic) by the *Uz* (or Ghuz) and Khazars. Their original settlement is described by an Arab writer as having on the north Kipchak, to the south the Khazars, to the east the Ghuz, to the west the Slaves (*Const. Porph. in Banduri Imper. Orientale*, vol. i; *Defrémery, Fragments de Geographes*, etc., in *Jour. As.*, ser. iv, tom. xiii, 466; *Masudi, Prairies d'Or*, i, 262).

[3] *Kalank* in *Pers.* is the kitchen herb *purslain*. The *Ashkal*, *Szekely* or *Siculi*, no doubt the same as these Jikil, are mentioned in the extracts by Defrémery just quoted (p. 473), as being to the south of the Majgars or Majars, who again were south of the Bajnaks.

[4] Qu. Georgians? (whose kings were *Bagratidæ*); or Bulgarians? (of the Wolga).

[5] Some region of Siberia?

[6] On the *rain-stone* used by the Turk and Tartar tribes to conjure rain, and still known among the Kalmaks, see one of Quatremère's long but interesting notes on *Rashiduddin*, pp. 428 *seqq.*; also *Hammer's Golden Horde*, pp. 42 and 436. This stone was called by the Turks *Jadah* (Pers. *Yadah*). Is this the origin of our Jade-stone? and is it connected with the (*Pers.*) word *Jádú*, conjuring, in common use in India?

[7] The *Kimaks* are represented by Edrisi as the greatest of the Turk (or Tartar) nations. They had the Taghazghaz to the south, the Khiziljis

timber, and reeds. They have a temple but no images. Their king is very powerful and trades with India and China. Their clothes are of linen and camel's hair. They have no wool. They have a white stone which is good for colic, and a red stone which by touching a sword prevents it from cutting. The route lay securely for one month through this country.[1] Then came the TAGHAZGHAZ who eat flesh, both raw and cooked, and wear wool and cotton. They have no temples; they hold horses in high esteem. They have a stone that stops bleeding at the nose. They celebrate a feast when they see a rainbow. In prayer they turn to the west. The king is very powerful, and at the top of his castle is a round structure of gold which holds a hundred men, and is seen for five parasangs. Their standards are black. The travellers went twenty days through this country in great fear.[2] Next they came to the KHIRKHIZ, a people who have temples for worship and a written character, and are a very intelligent people. They never put a light out.[3] They have a little musk. They keep three feasts in the year. Their standards are green, and in prayer they turn to the south. They adore the planets Saturn and Venus, and predict the future by Mars. They have a stone that shines by night and is used for a lamp. No man

(Kharlikhs?) to the south-west, the Khilkhis to the west, on the east the Dark Sea. They had numerous cities, all on a great river flowing eastward. El-Wardi calls them a race of Eastern Turks, bordering on Northern China. In the Chinese Annals we find embassies repeatedly from the *Kumuki*, coupled with the Khitans, to the court of the Wei dynasty in the fifth century (*Edrissi*, i, 25; ii, 217-223, etc.; *Ibn Khurdádbah* in *Jour. As.*, ser. vi, tom. v, 268; *D'Herbelot* in v.; *Deguignes*, i, 183, 184). The river was perhaps the *Irtish*, as Mas'udi speaks of the "Black and White *Irshat* (the French transl., however, prints *Arasht*) on the banks of which is the kingdom of the *Keimak-Baigur*, a Turkish tribe originating in the country beyond the Jihun" (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 230; also 288).

[1] The *Ghuz* or *Uzes* had their seats about the Aral and to the east of it. In the reign of Constantine Ducas they penetrated into Macedonia, and got large sums from the emperor to make peace. On their return they were cut to pieces by the Pechinegs. The Ghuz are identified with the *Turkomans* (*Edrisi*, i, 7; ii, 339 *seqq.*; *Deguignes*, ii, 522; *Mas'udi*, *Prairies d'Or*, i, 212).

[2] The Taghazghaz (printed in Edrisi, *Bagharghar*), were one of the greatest tribes of the Turks, according to the early Arab geographers. Their country seems to have been that afterwards known as the Uigur country, whether they were the same people or not (see *Edrisi*, i, 490 *seq.*; *Ibn Khurdadbah*, u.s., 268). Masudi says they occupied the city of Kushan between Khorasan and China, supposed to be the *Kaochang* of the Chinese, the modern Turfan. He says they were in his day the most valiant, powerful, and best governed of the Turks (*Prairies d'Or*, i, 288). The round structure of gold was probably a gilt Dagoba.

[3] Wood mentions this prejudice, against *blowing* out a light, not indeed among the Kirghiz, but among the immediate neighbours of the Kirghiz of Pamir, the people of Wakhan and Badakhshan; "A Wakhani considers it bad luck to blow out a light by the breath, and will rather wave his hand for several minutes under the flame of his pine-slip than resort to the sure but to him disagreeable alternative" (*Oxus*, p. 333; see also p. 274).

under forty sits down in the king's presence. Next to the HAZLAKH,[1] who are great gamblers, and stake wife, mother, or daughter on their play. When a caravan of travellers comes into their country the wife or sister or daughter of some chief comes and washes them. And if any of these ladies takes a fancy for one of the strangers she carries him home and entertains him with all kindness, and makes her husband or son or brother provide for him in every way; nor as long as the guest is keeping company with her does the husband come near them unless for necessary business.[2] Next they reached the KHATHLAKH, the bravest of all the Turks. These admit marriage with sisters. Women are allowed to marry but once, and there is no divorce except for breach of marriage vows; in which case both the offending parties are burnt. The wife is endowed with all the man's worldly goods, and he must serve her father for a year. They have the custom of exacting blood-money; and the king is not allowed to marry on pain of death. Next they came to the KHATIYAN.[3] These do not eat meat unless cooked; they have civi-

[1] I suspect it should be *Kharlikh* (it is a question of points only), the name of one of the greatest Turkish tribes, and sometimes written *Carligh*, whose country seems to have been north of Farghana. They are probably the *Khizilji* of the French Edrisi, and the *Khuzluj* of Mas'udi, "remarkable for their beauty, stature, and perfect features. Formerly they ruled over all the other tribes. From their race descended the Khakan of the Khakans who united under his empire all the kingdoms of the Turks, and commanded all their kings" (p. 288).

[2] This discreditable custom is related by Marco Polo of the people of Kamul; he says of it, "il le tiennent a grand honneur et n'en ont nulle honte. Car tuit cil de ceste province sont si honni de leur moliers comme vous avez ouy" (*Pauthier*, 157).

It is a notorious allegation against the Hazaras of the Hindu Kush that they exercise the same practice (*Wood*, p. 201, and *Burnes*). But what shall we say to its being ascribed also by a Byzantine historian of the fifteenth century to a certain insular kingdom of Western Europe (the capital of which was Λούνδρας), at least if we trust to the Latin version of Conrad Clauser. The Greek runs: "νομίζεται δὲ τούτοις τά τ'αμφὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἁπλοϊκωτέρα ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νῆσον ἐπειδάν τις ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἐπιτηδείου αὐτῷ οἰκίαν ἐσήει καλούμενος, κύσαντα τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω ζενίζεσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς δὲ ἁπανταχῇ περιέχονται τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις . . . . καὶ οὐδὲ αἰσχύνην τοῦτο φέρει ἑαυτοῖς κύεσθαι τὰστε γυναῖκας ἀυτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας" (*Laonicus Chalcondylas*, in ed. Paris, 1650, p. 48-49). The translation of Clauser gives substantially the same meaning as Ibn Muhalhal's account of the Kharlikh practice, except that it is much more grossly expressed. We need not defend our ancestors and ancestresses against the Byzantine; but was he really such a *gobemouche* as his translator makes him? I must needs speak very diffidently, but do the words mean more than this? "They take things very easily in regard to their wives and children. For over all the island, when anyone goes to visit a friend, he kisses the good wife on entering the house. And if friends meet on the highway 'tis the universal custom that they embrace each other's wives. . . . Nor do they think shame that their wives and daughters should be kissed."

[3] I have elsewhere (p. 545 *infra*) intimated a suspicion that this is Khotan. The civilised character of the people; their temples; and their having musk, are favourable to this supposition, as well as the juxtaposition of *Bai*.

lised laws of marriage and wise institutions; they have no king; they use no cruelties towards foreigners. They have no dyed clothes; they possess musk, and a stone which heals poisoned bites, etc., also the bezoar. Then they came to BAHI. This is a great city and territory, with palm trees, vines, etc. In the city are Mahomedans, Jews, Christians, Magians, and idolaters. They have a green stone which is good for the eyes, and a red stone which is good for the spleen; also excellent indigo. They travelled forty days in this territory.[1] Then they came to KALIB, in which there is a colony of the Arabs of Yemen, who were left behind by the army of Tobba, after he had invaded the Chinese. They use the ancient Arabic language and the Himyaritic character. They worship idols, and make a drink from dates. The king pays tribute to the King of China.[2] After travelling for one month through their territory they came to the *Makám ul Báb* (House or Halting-place of the Gate), in a sandy region. Here is stationed an officer of the King of China, and anyone desiring to enter China from the Turkish countries or elsewhere must ask leave here. He is entertained three days at the king's expense and is then allowed to set out. In the first parasang of the journey the travellers met with beasts loaded with necessaries for them, and then they arrived at the *Wadi ul-Makám* (Valley of the Station or Halting-place), where they had to ask leave to enter, and after abiding three days at the king's expense in that valley, which is one of the pleasantest and fairest regions of God's earth, permission was given.[3] Leaving the valley and travelling for a whole day they came to the city of SINDABIL, the capital of China, and where the king's palace is. They stopped the night at a mile from the city. Setting out in the early morning, and making the best of their way for a whole day,[4] they reached the city at sunset. It is a great city, a day's journey in length, and having sixty straight streets radiating from the

[1] This is probably the *province of Pein*, which in Marco Polo follows Khotan, and is now represented by the town and district of *Bai* between Aksu and Kucha (see p. 545 *infra*).

[2] The name of this country seems to be corrupt. *Tibet* is probably meant, of which Mas'udi says, "the population is in great part composed of Himyarites mixt with some descendants of Tobba," etc. (*Prairies d'Or*, i, p. 350). He also in his account of the Kings of Yemen speaks of one of them, Malkíkarib, son of Tobba al Akrán, who "overran various countries of the East, such as Khorasan, Tibet, China, and Sejistan" (iii, 154). *Tobba* was the hereditary title of the ancient Kings of Yemen. They seem to have been as useful to the Arabian antiquaries as the Phœnicians to ours. Samarkand was said to have been built by them, and a Himyarite inscription on one of the gates to testify thereunto (see *d'Herbelot*).

[3] This part of the narrative has a kind of verisimilitude, and may be compared with that of Shah Rukh's ambassadors, who were stopt and entertained for a day or two by the Chinese officials, after which they proceeded *through the desert* to the Great Wall, provisions of all sorts being supplied to them, etc. (See the abstract in Note XVII.)

[4] "*Per totam diem contendimus.*" I do not understand, unless it be meant that getting through the crowded population took them a whole day to move a mile?

palace. The wall (of the palace?) is ninety cubits high and ninety thick; on the top of it is a stream of water throwing off sixty branches, one at every gate. Each branch flows down the street and back to the palace, so that every street has a double canal flowing this way and that. The one supplies water, the other acts as a drain.[1] There is a great temple inclosure, greater than that of Jerusalem, inside of which are images and a great pagoda. The constitution of the government is very elaborate, and the laws are strict. No animals are slaughtered for food, and to kill them is a capital offence. The traveller found the king most accomplished, intelligent, and benevolent, and enjoyed his hospitality until the terms of the marriage were settled, and the princess was then committed to the escort of two hundred slaves and three hundred handmaidens to be taken to Khorasan to Noah Ben Nasr.

Leaving Sindabil, the traveller proceeded to the sea-coast and halted at KALAH, the first city of India (from the east) and the extreme point made by ships going in that direction. If they go past it they are lost. This is a great city with high walls, gardens, and canals. Here are the mines of lead called *Qala'i*, which is found in no part of the world except QALA'H.[2] Here also are made the swords of Qala'h, the best in India. The inhabitants rebel against their king or obey him, just as they please. Like the Chinese, they do not slaughter animals (*i.e.*, are Buddhists). The Chinese frontier is three hundred parasangs from their territory. Their money is of silver, worth three dirhems, and is called *Fahri*. Their king is under the King of the Chinese, and they pray for him and have a temple dedicated to him.

From Kalah Ibn Muhalhal proceeds to the PEPPER COUNTRY, by which

[1] This is all very obscure in the Latin. I have tried to interpret into consistent meaning.

[2] This difference of spelling is in the original. Kalah or Kalah-bar is spoken of by the authors of the *Relations* as one month's voyage from Kaulam, and as midway between Oman and China, and as a great central point of trade in aloes, camphor, sandal, ivory, the lead called *al-qala'i*, ebony, brazil-wood, and spices, i.e. of the products of the Archipelago. Reinaud is very wild about the position of this *Kalah*, and whether he means it to be a port on the Coromandel coast, the Kalliana of Kosmas (i.e. a port on the West of India), or Pt. de Galle in Ceylon, is difficult to discern. It seems to me certain that it is a port of the Archipelago, representing in a general way the modern Singapore or Malacca, and very possibly identical with *Kadah* (*Quedah*) as M. Maury has suggested. M. Reinaud objects to "the lead called *al-qala'i*" being translated tin, though all the light he throws on it is a suggestion that it is the *brass* which Cosmas says was exported from Kalliana. Yet *qala'i* is the word universally used in Hindustani for the tinning of pots and pans, and I see F. Johnston's Persian Dictionary simply defines it as *tin*. This product sufficiently fixes Kalah as in or near the Malay Peninsula. Edrisi also places the mine of *qala'i* at that place.

I should not have enlarged on this if Sir E. Tennent had not in his *Ceylon* followed up and expanded the suggestion of Reinaud that Kalah was Pt. de Galle. He refers to the arguments of Dulaurier in the *Journ. Asiat.*, but there does not seem to be much force in them.

name Malabar is often styled,[1] and thence to the foot of Mount Káfúr, on which there are great cities, one of which is KAMRUN, from which comes the green wood called *Mandal Kámrúni*. There also is the city called SANF, which gives its name to the Sanfi aloes-wood. At another foot of the mountain towards the north is the city called SAIMUR, whose inhabitants are of great beauty, and said to be descended from Turks and Chinese. From this place also the SAIMURI wood is named, though it is only brought thither for sale, etc.[2] After describing JAJALI, a city on a great mountain overlooking the sea, he goes to KASHMIR, where there is a great observatory made of Chinese iron which is indestructible;[3] thence to KABUL and its chief city THABAN (see *supra*, p. clxxxv). He then returns rapidly to the shore of the Indian Sea, and describes the city called MANDURAFIN (or KIN), a place which has not been identified; and thence to KULAM, where grow teak, brazil, and bamboos, and respecting which various other perplexing particulars are stated. From the cities of the shore he visits MULTAN, where he gives a romancing description of the great idol so celebrated among the early Arab invaders.[4] According to Abu Dulif it was a hundred cubits high, and hung suspended in air, without support, a hundred cubits from the ground. Thence he goes to MANSURA and DABIL, etc.[5]

[1] E.g., see Ibn Batuta *infra*, p. 476, and Cosmas, *supra*, p. clxxvii.

[2] This passage is a strange jumble, but it may be doubted whether the author has been fairly represented in the extracts. For in *Gildemeister* (p. 70) will be found a quotation from Kazwini which seems to represent the same passage, in which the cities named are Kamarún, Kumár, and Sanf, but nothing is said of Saimur. *Kamrún* is generally understood to be intended for *Kamrúp* or Assam, though the notices of Abulfeda (*ib.*, p. 191) leave this very doubtful. *Sanf* is Champa, and Kumar has been spoken of at pp. 469, 519 *infra*. *Saimur* was the name of a seaport not far from Bombay, the exact site of which has not been ascertained. According to Reinaud it is the Simylla of Ptolemy and the Periplus, and perhaps the Chimolo of Hiwen Thsang (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 420). It seems to be called by Al-Biruni Jaimur. He puts it south of Tanah in the country of *Lárán* (see Reinaud's *Mem. sur l'Inde* in *Mem. Acad.*, p. 220, and his extracts in *J. As.*, ser. iv, tom. iv, p. 263-4). Putting all these forms of the name together, and looking to the approximate position, it seems likely that the old name was something like *Chaimul* or *Chánwul*, and that the port was no other than CHAUL, some thirty miles south of Bombay, which continued to be a noted port down to the seventeenth century.

[3] Compare Pliny at p. xliii, as to Seric iron.

[4] According to Edrisi the image was mounted on a throne of plastered brick. The temple was in the form of a dome (probably the Hindu bulging pyramidal spire) which was gilt; the walls were painted. When Multan was taken in the time of the Khalif Walid by Mahomed Ibn Kasim, he left the temple of the idol standing, but hung a piece of beef round the neck of the latter (*Edrisi*, i, 167; *Reinaud, Mem.*, p. 185).

[5] As to Daibal see p. lxxix *supra*. Mansúra, the capital of the Musulman conquerors of Sind, was two parasangs from the old Hindu city of Bahmanabad; and this lay on an old channel forty-three miles to the north-west of Haidarabad (see *Proc. R. G. S.*, vol. x, p. 131).

On the whole the impression gathered is, that the author's work (like that of some more modern travellers) contained genuine matter in an arrangement that was not genuine; but that some at least of the perplexities found in it are due to the manner in which its fragments have been preserved and joined together.

NOTE XIII.

EXTRACTS REGARDING CHINA FROM ABULFEDA.[1]

(A.D. 1273-1331).

"China is bounded on the west by the lands between India and China; on the south by the sea; on the east by the Eastern Atlantic; on the north by the lands of Gog and Magog, and other regions respecting which we have no information. Writers on the customs and kingdoms of the world have in their works mentioned many provinces and places and rivers as existing in China under the different climates, but the names have not reached us with any exactness, nor have we any certain information as to their circumstances. Thus they are as good as unknown to us; there being few travellers who arrive from those parts, such as might furnish us with intelligence (respecting those places), and for this reason we forbear to detail them.

"Some places, however, are named by persons who come from those parts, and of these one is KHANFU,[2] which is known in our day as KHANSA, and on the north side of which is a lake of fresh water called SÍKHU about half-a-day's journey in circumference.[3]

"It is also stated that SHANJU, known in our time as ZAITUN, is one of the ports of China, and with them the ports are also the places of customs.

"Khanfu is one of the gates of China, and is situated on the river, as it is stated in the *Kánún*.[4] Ibn Said says it is mentioned in books, and

[1] My friend Mr. Badger was kind enough to make a literal translation of these extracts for me. I have slightly smoothed the ruggedness of a literal version from Arabic, whilst trying not to affect the sense.

It is to be lamented that M. Reinaud has left his version of Abulfeda's Geography unfinished for some eighteen years. There is a Latin translation by Reiske in Büsching's Magazine, but I have no access to it.

[2] The word is written as in Jaubert's Edrisi, *Khánkú*, but I believe there can be no doubt as to the right reading. See above, pp. lxxx, cv, cix.

[3] The *Si-hu* or Western Lake of Hangcheu. Its mention here is no doubt a part of Abulfeda's scanty recent information, as well as the next paragraph.

[4] The *Kanun* is I believe the lost work of Al Biruni upon Geography. The "Gates of China" appears to have been a sort of technical expression for the chief ports of China, connected with the view of the access to that country conveyed in the *Relations* and in Edrisi. In approaching China ships find a series of mountainous islands or promontories.

is situated on the east of the River Khamdán. Ibn Khurdádbah says it is the greatest commercial port of China, and abounds in fruit, vegetables, wheat, barley, rice, and sugar-cane.

"KHANJU is, according to the Kanun, one of the gates of China, situated on the river. Ibn Said states that it is the chief of the gates of China, and is fortified with masonry. . . . To the east of it is the city of TAJAH. Ibn Said adds: It[1] is the capital of China where the Baghbúr their great king resides.

"YANJU, the residence of their king. The Kanun states that *this* is the abode of the Fághfúr of China, who is called Tamghaj Khan, and is their Great King, etc. (see *supra*, p. lii). The Kanun also states that the city of KAZKU in China is greater than the above-named Yanju. . . . Some who have seen Yanju describe it as in a temperate part of the earth, with gardens and a ruined wall. It is two days from the sea, and between it and Khansa is a distance of five days. Yanju is to the north and west of Khansa, and is smaller in size.[2]

"ZAITUN, *i.e.* Shanju, is a haven of China, and, according to the accounts of merchants who have travelled to those parts, is a city of mark. It is situated on a marine estuary which ships enter from the China Sea. The estuary extends fifteen miles, and there is a river at the head of it. According to some who have seen the place the tide flows (at Zaitun). It is half-a-day from the sea, and the channel by which ships come up from the sea is of fresh water. It is smaller in size than Hamath,[3] and has the remains of a wall which was destroyed by the Tartars. The people drink water from the channel and also from wells.[4]

"KHANSA, *i.e.* Khanfu. According to some travellers Khanfu is at the present time the greatest port of China, and is that which is made by voyagers from our own country. According to some who have seen it, it is east and south of Zaitun, and is half-a-day from the sea. It is a very large city and lies in a temperate part of the earth. In the middle of the city are some four small hills. The people drink from wells. There are pleasant gardens about it. The mountains are more than two days distant from it."

Between these are narrow channels, through which the ships pass to the various ports of the Empire, and these passages are called the *Gates of China* (*Reinaud, Relations*, i, 19; *Edrisi*, i, 90).

[1] I.e. as I apprehend *Tájah*, the *Bájah* of Jaubert's Edrisi (*supra*, p. cxiii) *Khanju* is perhaps *Quangcheu* or Canton.

[2] Yanju is evidently from name and position *Yangcheu* (see Odoric, p. 123). But it never was the capital of China. I do not know what *Kazku* is; but no doubt the name is corrupt. It is perhaps *Fucheu* in some form.

[3] Hamath was Abulfeda's own city. We may strongly doubt the accuracy of his information as to the comparative size of Zayton.

[4] On Zayton or Chincheu see note to Odoric, p. 108, and to Ibn Batuta, p. 486.

NOTE XIV.

EXTRACT FROM THE HISTORY OF HAYTON THE ARMENIAN.

(Written in 1307.)

"*Of the Kingdom of Cathay.*

"The empire of Cathay is the greatest that you will find on the face of the earth, and it abounds with population, and has wealth without end. It is situated on the shore of the Ocean Sea. And there are in that quarter so many islands in the sea that there is no knowing their number. For no man is to be found in existence who shall venture to say that he hath seen all those islands. But such of them as are attainable are found to have an infinite store of riches.

"That which is reckoned well-nigh the most costly article that you can purchase in those parts is oil of olive, and when any such oil finds its way thither by any means the kings and nobles treasure it with the greatest care as if it were some princely salve.

"There are in that kingdom of Cathay more marvellous and singular things than in any other kingdom of the world. The people of the country are exceedingly full of shrewdness and sagacity, and hold in contempt the performances of other nations in every kind of art and science. They have indeed a saying to the effect that they alone see with two eyes, whilst the Latins see with one, and all other nations are blind! By this you may easily gather that they look on all other nations as quite uncivilised in comparison with themselves. And in good sooth there is such a vast variety of articles of marvellous and unspeakable delicacy and elaboration of workmanship brought from those parts, that there is really no other people that can be compared with them in such matters.

"All the people of that empire are called Cathayans, but they have also other names according to the special nation to which they belong. You will find many among them, both men and women, who are very handsome, but as a general rule they have all small eyes, and nature gives them no beard. These Cathayans have a very elegant written character, which in beauty in some sort resembles the Latin letters. It were hard to enumerate all the sects of Gentiles in that empire, for there be some who worship idols of metal; others who worship oxen because these plough the ground which produces wheat and the other fruits of the earth; others who worship great trees of different kinds; some who devote themselves to astronomy and the worship of nature; others who adore the sun or the moon; and others again who have neither creed nor laws but lead a mere animal life like brute beasts. And though these people have the acutest intelligence in all matters wherein material

things are concerned, yet you shall never find among them any knowledge or perception of spiritual things.

"The people of that country are not courageous, but stand in greater fear of death than at all befits those who carry arms. Yet being full of caution and address they have almost always come off victorious over their enemies both by land and by sea. They have many kinds of arms which are not found among other people.

"The money which is current in those parts is made of paper in a square form, and sealed with the king's seal; and according to the marks which it bears this paper has a greater or less value. And if perchance it begins to wear from long usage the owner thereof shall carry it to a royal office, and they give him new paper in exchange. They do not use gold and other metals except for plate and other purposes of show.

"'Tis said of that empire of Cathay that it forms the eastern extremity of the world, and that no nation dwells beyond it. Towards the west it hath upon its frontier the kingdom of TARSE, and towards the north the Desert of BELGIAN, whilst towards the south it hath the Islands of the Sea, whereof we have spoken above."

NOTE XV.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF PAOLO DAL POZZO TOSCANELLI TO FERNANDO MARTINEZ, CANON OF LISBON.

(Written 25th June, 1474).

"And now to give you full information as to all those places which you so much desire to learn about, you must know that both the inhabitants and the visitors of all those islands are all traders, and that there are in those parts as great a multitude of ships and mariners and wares for sale, as in any part of the world, be the other what it may. And this is especially the case at a very noble port which is called ZAITON, where there load and discharge every year a hundred great pepper ships, besides a multitude of other vessels which take cargoes of other spices and the like.[1] The country in question is exceedingly populous, and there are in it many provinces and many kingdoms, and cities without number, all under the dominion of a certain sovereign who is called the Great Caan, a name which signifies the king of kings. The residence of this prince is chiefly in the province of CATHAY. His predecessors greatly desired to have intercourse and friendship with Christians, and some two hundred years since they sent ambassadors to

[1] Here Toscanelli is drawing from Marco Polo (*i*, ch. 81), as again below where he speaks of Quinsai.

the Pope, begging him to despatch a number of wise and learned teachers to instruct them in our faith. But on account of the hindrances which these ambassadors met with they turned back without reaching Rome. And in later times there came an ambassador to Pope Eugenius IV,[1] who rehearsed to him the great friendship that those princes and their people bore towards Christians. And I myself discoursed at length with this ambassador on many subjects, as of the greatness of their royal buildings, and of the vastness of their rivers in length and breadth. And he told me many things that were wonderful as to the multitudes of cities and towns which are built on the banks of those rivers; as that upon one river alone are to be found two hundred cities, all of which have their marble bridges of great width and length, and adorned with a profusion of marble columns. The country indeed is as fine a country as has ever been discovered; and not only may one have great gain, and get many valuable wares by trading thither, but also they have gold and silver and precious stones, and great abundance of all kinds of spices such as are never brought into our part of the world. And it is a fact that they have many men of great acquirements in philosophy and astrology, and other persons of great knowledge in all the arts, and of the greatest capacity who are employed in the administration of that great territory, and in directing the ordering of battle.

"From the city of Lisbon going right to the westward there are in the map which I have mentioned twenty-six spaces, each containing two hundred and fifty miles, to the great and very noble city of QUINSAI, which has a circuit of one hundred miles or thirty-five leagues."

NOTE XVI.

EXTRACTS REGARDING CATHAY FROM THE NARRATIVE OF SIGNOR JOSAFA BARBARO.

(Written about 1480, but the information acquired about 1436.)

"And in this same province of Zagatai is the very great and populous city of SAMMARCANT, through which all those of CHINI and MACHINI pass to and fro, and also those of CATHAY, whether traders or travellers. . . . . I have not been further in this direction myself, but as I have heard it spoken of by many people, I will tell you that Chini and Machini are two very great provinces inhabited by idolaters. They are, in fact, the country in which they make plates and dishes of porcelain. And in those places there is great store of wares, especially of jewels and of fabrics of silk and other stuffs. And from those provinces you go on into that of Cathay, about which I will tell you what I learned from

[1] 1431-1447.

the Tartar's ambassador who arrived from those parts when I was at Tana. Being with him one day and our talk running on this Cathay, he told me that after passing the places that have been mentioned, as soon as he had entered the country of Cathay all his expenses were provided stage by stage until he arrived at a city called CAMBALU. And there he was honourably received, and had an apartment provided for him. And he said that all the merchants who go that way have their expenses provided in the same manner. He was then conducted to where the sovereign was, and when he came in front of the gate he was obliged to kneel down outside. The place was a level, very broad and long; and at the far end of it there was a stone pavement, on which the prince was seated on a chair with his back turned towards the gate. On the two sides there were four persons sitting with their faces towards the gate and from the gate to the place where those four were there was on each side a row of mace bearers standing with silver sticks, leaving, as it were, a path between them, and all along this were interpreters sitting on their heels as the women do with us here. The ambassador accordingly having been brought to the gate, where he found things arranged as we have described, was desired to say what his object was. And so having delivered his message it was passed from hand to hand by the interpreters till the explanation reached the prince, or at least those four who sat at the top. Answer was then made that he was welcome, and that he might return to his quarters where the official reply would be delivered to him. And thus there was no more need for him to return to the prince, but only to confer with some of his people who were sent to the ambassador's house for the purpose; reference being made in this quarter or that, as occasion arose; and so the business was despatched in a very prompt and pleasant manner. One of the servants of this ambassador, and also a son of his, both of whom had been with him in Cathay, told me wonderful things of the justice that was done there. . . . . And they said that not only in the city but anywhere outside of it where travellers pass, if anything should be found under a stone or elsewhere that a traveller has dropt, no one would dare to take it up and appropriate it. And, moreover, if one going along the road is asked by some one whom he regards with suspicion, or does not put much trust in, where he is going; and if he go and make complaint of this question, then the person who put it must give some good and lawful reason for asking, otherwise he will be punished. And so you may easily perceive that this is a city of liberty and great justice.

"As regards the disposal of merchandise, I have heard that all the merchants who arrive in those parts carry their goods to certain *fonteghi*, and those whose duty it is then go and see them, and if there is anything that the sovereign would like to have they take it at their option, giving in exchange articles of greater value. The rest remains at the disposal of the merchant. For small dealings there they use money of

paper, which is exchanged every year for other paper freshly stamped; the old money being taken at the new year to the mint, where the owners receive an equal amount of fine new paper, paying always a fee of two per cent. in good silver money, and the old (paper) money is thrown into the fire. Their silver is sold by weight, but they have also some metal coinage of a coarse description.

"I am of opinion that the religion of these Cathayans is paganism, although many people of Zagatai and other nations who have been there assert that they are Christians. And when I asked on what ground they judged them to be Christians, the answer was that they had images in their temples as we have. And it having chanced once when I was at Tana, and the ambassador aforesaid was standing with me, that there passed in front of us one Nicòlas Diedo, an old Venetian of ours, who sometimes used to wear a coat of cloth quilted with taffetas, and with open sleeves (as used to be the fashion in Venice) over a jerkin of leather, with a hood on the back, and a straw hat on his head that might be worth four sous, as soon as the ambassador saw him he said with some surprise, 'That's the very dress that the Cathay people wear; they must be of the same religion with you, for they dress just like you!'

"In the country of which we are speaking there is no wine grown, for 'tis a mighty cold country, but of other necessaries of life they have good store." *Ramusio* ii, f. 106 v, and 107.

NOTE XVII.

THE EMBASSY SENT BY SHAH RUKH TO THE COURT OF CHINA.

A.D. 1419—1422.

Abstracted from Quatremère's Translation in NOTICES ET EXTRAITS xiv, Pt. i, pp. 387 *seqq.; with Notes.*

The embassy embraced representatives not only of Shah Rukh himself but of several princes of his family governing different provinces of the empire founded by Timur, and appears also, like the ordinary sham embassies which frequented China under the Ming dynasty, to have been accompanied by merchants bound on purely commercial objects. Shádi Khwája was the chief of Shah Rukh's ambassadors, and Ghaiassuddín Nakkásh ("The Painter"), one of the envoys (sent by one of the king's sons, Mirza Baisangar), was the author of the narrative which has been preserved by Abdurrazzák; his master having enjoined on him to keep a full diary of everything worthy of note.

The party left Herat, the capital of Shah Rukh, on the 16th of Dhu'lkadah A.H. 822 (4th December, 1419), and proceeded via Balkh to

Samarkand. The envoys of Mirza Olug Beg (the astronomer, and eldest son of Shah Rukh), who governed there, had already started,[1] but those deputed by other princes joined the mission here, and the whole party left Samarkand on the 10th Safar 823 (25th February 1420).

Passing by TASHKAND, SAIRAM, and ASHPARAH,[2] they entered the Mongol territory on the 25th April, and were soon afterwards met by the venerable Amir Khudaidád (see *infra*, pp. 525, 545). We cannot trace with certainty their course to YULDUZ, but it probably lay by the Issikul and the Ili River, crossing the Thian Shan N.W. of YULDUZ.[3]

From Yulduz they proceeded to TURFAN (see *infra*, p. 578) where the people were mostly Buddhists, and had a great temple with a figure of Sakya Muni. From Turfan they reached Karakhoja (*infra*, p. 275) and five days beyond this they were met by Chinese officials, who took down the names of the envoys and the number of their suite. Seven days later they reached the town of ATA-SUFI (a name which does not seem to occur elsewhere), and in two marches more KAMUL (*infra*, pp. 390, 579) where they found a magnificent mosque and convent of Derwishes in juxtaposition with a fine Buddhist temple. The envoy notes that at the gate of the latter were figures of two demons which seemed preparing to fly at one another; a correct enough description of the figures commonly called *warders* which are often found in pairs facing one another in the approaches to temples in Burma and other Buddhist countries.

Twenty-five days were then occupied in crossing the Great Desert. In the middle of the passage they fell in with a wild camel and a *Kutás*, or wild Yak.

[1] A place called Sairam appears in some of our modern maps about one degree north of Tashkand. The Sairam of those days must, however, have been further east, for Hulagu on his march to Persia reached Sairam, the second day after passing TALAS. Rashid also speaks of *Kari-Sairam* near Talas as an ancient city of vast size, said to be a day's journey from one end to the other, and to have forty gates. (*Not. et Ex.* xiii, 224).

[2] Asparah was a place on the Mongol frontier, frequently mentioned in the wars of Timur's time. Its position does not seem to be known, but it certainly lay east of Talas, not far from Lake Issik Kul. It is perhaps the *Equius* of Rubruquis, a place that has been the subject of great difference of opinion. The idea that its odd name is the translation of *some* Persian word beginning with *Asp* (a horse), is due to Mr. Cooley in *Maritime and Inland Discovery*. There is another Asparah or Asfarah south of the Sihun, with which this is not to be confounded. (*Remusat, Nouv. Mélanges*, i, 171 *seqq.*; *Not. et Extraits*, xii, 224, 228; *Hist. Univ.* (*Moderne*) iv, 139, 141; *Arabshah*, i, 219). Some remarks on the topography of Rubruquis, including the position of Equius, will be found at the end of this paper.

[3] The only places named between Asparah and Yulduz are *Bilugtu* and the river *Kankar* or Kangar; and they passed the latter five days before reaching the Yulduz territory, whilst in that journey they traversed a desert region so cold that water froze two inches thick, though it was nearly midsummer. The Kangar from these indications would seem to have been the Tekes or one of its branches; perhaps the *Kungis*. The cold region must have occurred in the passage of the Thian Shan.

On arriving near the frontier of China Proper, Chinese officers again came to meet them, and one march further on they found a platform with awnings erected in the desert, and an elegant repast set out for them, such as many cities would have found it difficult to furnish. Provisions of all sorts were also supplied to every member of the party, with many polite forms. The envoys were then called on to subscribe a document declaring the number of persons in their service, and the *Dájis*[1] had to make affidavit that nothing but truth was stated. The merchants who had accompanied the embassy were counted among the servants, and to give a colour to this they employed themselves in waiting on the ambassadors. There were five hundred and ten souls in the party, without counting Mirza Olug Beg's envoys who had gone on before, and those of Mirza Ibrahim Sultan not yet arrived.

Next day they were invited to a feast of royal magnificence at the camp of the *Dangchi* commanding on the frontier.[2] The envoys took their places at the left hand of the Dangchi, that being the position of honour in Cathay, "because the heart is on the left side." Before each of the envoys two tables were placed, on one of which were various dishes of meat and poultry and dried fruits; on the other cake, excellent bread, and artificial bouquets made of paper and silk admirably wrought. The other guests had but one table apiece. Elevated before them there was a great royal drum, and in front of this a buffet on which were ranged flagons, cups, and goblets of silver and porcelain.[3] On either side of this was an elaborate orchestra, which played admirably. One of the great Chinese lords presented the cup to each guest in turn, and as he did so took a sprig from a basket of artificial flowers, and placed it in the other's cap, "so that the pavilion presented the appearance of a parterre of roses." Beautiful children also were in attendance carrying dishes filled with various relishes, such as filberts, jujubes, walnuts, pickles, etc., every kind being disposed on the plate in a separate compartment. When the amir presented the cup to any person of distinction one of these children also presented this plate that he might choose what pleased him. Dances were performed by young men in feminine costume, and by figures of animals made of pasteboard with men inside; among others a perfect representation of a stork, which bobbed its head to the music, this way and that, to the admiration of the spectators. Altogether the first Chinese fête seems to have been regarded as a great success.

[1] It is not explained who the *Dájis* were, but the word seems to be a Tartar form of the Chinese *Tajin*, "great man," a title still applied to certain officers on the Tartar frontiers. They must have been Chinese officials who had joined the mission party at an earlier date.

[2] This perhaps represents the Chinese *Tsiang-shi*, a general. Pauthier however, I see, says it is in Chinese *Tangchi*, without further explanation (*M. Polo*, 166).

[3] See this feature in the receptions of the Turk and Tartar Khans, in the extracts from Menander (p. clxiv, *supra*, and note there).

The following day they proceeded on their march through the desert. On their arrival at a strong castle called KARAUL,[1] in a mountain defile, through the middle of which the road passed, the whole party was counted and their names registered before they were allowed to proceed. They then went on to SUKCHEU,[2] where they were lodged in the great *Yam-Khana* or Post-House, at the City Gate.

"Sukcheu is a great city, with strong fortifications, in the form of a perfect square.[3] The bazars are without covering, and are fifty ells in width, all kept well swept and watered. The people keep tame swine in their houses, and in the butchers' shops mutton and swines' flesh are hung up for sale side by side! In every street you see numerous edifices surmounted by handsome wooden spires, and with wooden battlements covered with lacquer of Cathay. All along the rampart of the city, at intervals of twenty paces,[4] you find towers with the tops roofed over. There are four gates, one in the middle of each of the four walls, so that one directly faces another, and as the streets are as straight as can be you would think in looking from one gate to the other that it is but a little way. And yet to go from the centre of the town to any one of the gates is really a considerable distance. Behind [over ?] each gate there is a two-storied pavilion with a high pitched roof in the Cathayan fashion, just such as you see in Mazanderan. Only in this latter province the walls are plastered with plain mud, whereas in Cathay they are covered with porcelain. In this city there are a variety of idol temples to be seen, some of which occupy a space of ten acres, and yet are kept as clean as possible. The area is paved with glazed tiles, which shine like polished marble."

From this time the party were supplied with everything by the Chinese authorities. They were lodged at the *Yams* or post-houses, of which there were ninety-nine between Sucheu and Khanbalik, and every night found not only provisions but servants, beds, night-clothes, etc., awaiting them. At every *yam* they brought four hundred and fifty well caparisoned horses and donkeys for the use of the travellers, besides fifty or sixty vehicles. The description of these vehicles (*'Arâbah*) is a little obscure, but they seem to have been palankins of some sort, and were

[1] *Karául* means in Persian (probably of Turkish origin) a sentry, guard, or advanced post. The place here so designated is the fortified entrance of the Great Wall called *Kia-yu-Koan*, or Fort of the Jade-Gate, mentioned by Hiwen Thsang in the sixth century, and which was in the latter days of the Ming the actual limit of the Chinese power (see *supra*, p. cxxxviii).

[2] SUCHEU; see pp. 268, 581 *infra*; also Hajji Mahomed in Note XVIII.

[3] A *square* is the typical form of royal fortified cities, both in China and in all the Indo-Chinese countries including Java. It is, I believe, a sacred Buddhist form.

[4] Quatremère has "twenty feet," but this cannot be. The word is *Kadam*, which means sometimes a foot, sometimes a step or pace.

carried by twelve men each. "The lads who have charge of the horses are called *Bá-fú (Má-fú)*; those who look after the donkeys are called *Lú-fú*; and those attached to the vehicles are called *Chí-fú*. . . . At every post-house the travellers were presented with sheep, geese, fowls, rice, flour, honey, *darásun*,[1] arak, garlic, pickled onions and vegetables. At every city the ambassadors were invited to a banquet. The palace of the government is called *Duson*, and the banquet took place there." On these occasions there was always a vacant throne with a curtain hung before it, and a fine carpet spread in front. The Chinese officials and the ambassadors sat down upon this carpet whilst the rest of the company stood behind them in ranks, like Mahomedans at their public worship. A man standing beside the throne then proclaimed something in Chinese, and the mandarins proceeded to *Kotow* before the throne, in which the envoys were obliged to follow them.

The first city that they reached was KAMCHEU,[2] nine yams from Sucheu. The entertainment given by the Dangchi, whose seat was here, took place in Ramadhán, and the envoys were obliged to excuse themselves from eating. The Dangchi took their excuses in good part, and sent all that had been prepared to their quarters.

"In this city of Kamcheu there is an idol temple five hundred cubits square. In the middle is an idol lying at length, which measures fifty paces. The sole of the foot is nine paces long, and the instep is twenty-one cubits in girth. Behind this image and overhead are other idols of a cubit (?) in height, besides figures of *Bakshis*[3] as large as life. The action of all is hit off so admirably that you would think they were alive. Against the wall also are other figures of perfect execution. The great sleeping idol has one hand under his head, and the other resting on his thigh. It is gilt all over and is known as *Shakamuni-fu*. The people of the country come in crowds to visit it, and bow to the very ground before this idol.[4] . . . In the same city there is another temple held in great respect. At it you see a structure which the Mussulmans call the Celestial Sphere. It has the form of an octagonal Kiosque, and from

[1] The rice wine of the Chinese (*infra*, p. 117). Ysbrant Ides (quoted in *Astley*, iii, 567) says: "Their liquors are brandy, which they call *arakka*, and *tarasu*, a sort of wine they drink warm. This is a decoction of immature rice," etc. In Ssanang Ssetzen there is a legend telling how Chinghiz was sitting in his hall when a Jade cup of a delicious drink called *darassun* descended into his hand from the chimney, a token which was recognised as a celestial recognition of his supremacy.

[2] KANCHEU, see pp. 288, 581 *infra*, and next note (xviii).

[3] I.e., Buddhist monks; see pp. 150, 474 *notes*.

[4] This recumbent figure at Kancheu is mentioned also by Hajji Mahomed in Note XVIII. Such colossal sleeping figures, symbolising Sakya Muni in the state of *Nirwana*, are to be seen in Burma, Siam, and Ceylon to this day. Notices of them will be found in *Tennent's Ceylon*, ii, 597; *Mission to the Court of Ava* in 1855, p. 52; and *Bowring's Siam*. Hiwen Thsang speaks of one such in a convent at Bámian which was 1000 feet long! (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 70).

top to bottom there are fifteen stories. Each story contains apartments decorated with lacquer in the Cathayan manner, with anterooms and verandas. . . . Below the Kiosque you see figures of demons which bear it on their shoulders.[1] . . . It is entirely made of polished wood, and this again gilt so admirably that it seems to be of solid gold. There is a vault below it. An iron shaft fixed in the centre of the kiosque traverses it from bottom to top, and the lower end of this works in an iron plate, whilst the upper end bears on strong supports in the roof of the edifice which contains this pavilion. Thus a person in the vault can with a trifling exertion cause this great kiosque to revolve. All the carpenters, smiths, and painters in the world would learn something in their trades by coming here!"

All the baggage was deposited at Kancheu till their return, and the Chinese took over all the presents intended for the Emperor, with the exception of a lion sent by Mirza Baisangar, which the athlete Salahuddin, the lion-keeper, retained charge of till they reached the capital.

Every day they halted at a *yam*, and every week they reached some city. On the 4th of Shawal, A.H. 823 (Oct. 12th, 1420) they were on the banks of the Karamuran, a river which in size might be classed with the Oxus. There was a bridge over it composed of twenty-three boats attached together by a chain as thick as a man's thigh, and this was moored on each side to an iron post as thick as a man's body, deeply planted in the ground. On the other side of the river they found a great city with a splendid temple. This city was remarkable for the beauty of its women, insomuch that it was known as the City of Beauty (HUSNABAD).[2]

After thirty-seven days' journey they reached, we are told, another great river *twice* the size of the Oxus, and this they had to cross in boats (evidently the Hoang Ho again where it divides the provinces of Shensi and Shansi); and twenty-three days later they reached a city which they call SADINFU, where there was a great idol of gilt bronze, fifty ells in height.[3]

Eleven days after this (14th December) they arrived at the gates of Peking some time before dawn. The city had been recently re-occupied

[1] The statement of the dimensions is corrupt and unintelligible.

[2] They probably crossed the Karamuran or Hoang Ho opposite LANCHEU, the present capital of the province of Kansu, and this is therefore most probably the Husnabad of the Persians.

[3] As they reached Peking in eleven days from Sadinfu, the latter city must be looked for about two thirds of the way between the Hoang Ho and the capital. Hereabouts we find the city of CHINGTINGFU in Pecheli; and at that city accordingly, as the Chinese Imperial Geography tells us, there is a Buddhist temple called "the Monastery of the Great Fo," founded A.D. 586, which possesses a bronze statue of Buddha, seventy Chinese feet in height (*Chine Moderne*, p. 50).

after the temporary transfer of the Court to Nanking, and the buildings were yet under reconstruction. The envoys were conducted straight to the palace, in an inner court of which they found a numerous assemblage of courtiers and officers waiting for the Emperor's appearance. "Each held in his hand a tablet of a cubit in length and a quarter as much in breadth, on which he kept his eyes steadfastly fixed.[1] Behind these were troops in countless numbers, of spearmen and cuirassiers, a part of whom held drawn swords. All preserved the profoundest silence. You would have thought it an assembly of the dead." As "the Emperor came out of the women's apartments they set against the throne[2] a silver ladder of five steps, and placed a golden chair on the top of the throne. The Emperor mounted and took his seat upon this chair. He was a man of the middle height; his face neither very large nor very small, and not without some beard; indeed two or three hundred hairs of his beard were long enough to form three or four curls upon his chest. To right and left of the throne stood two young girls with faces like the moon, who had their hair drawn to a knot on the crown; their faces and necks were bare; they had large pearls in their ears; and they held paper and pen in their hands ready to take down the Emperor's orders. It is their duty to write down whatever falls from the Emperor's mouth. When he returns to the private apartments they submit this paper to him. Should he think proper to change any of the orders, a new document is executed, so that the members of his Council may have his mature decisions to follow.

"When the Emperor had taken his seat on the throne, and everybody was in place in the royal presence, they made the ambassadors come forward side by side with certain prisoners. The Emperor proceeded to examine the latter, who were some seven hundred in number. Some of them had a *doshákah* (or wooden yoke) on their necks; others had both neck and arms passed through a board; some five or ten were held together by one long piece of timber, through holes in which their heads protruded.[3] Each prisoner had a keeper by him who held him by the hair, waiting for the Emperor's sentence. Some were condemned to imprisonment, others to death. Throughout the Empire of Cathay no Amir or Governor has the right to put any person whatsoever to death. When a man has committed any crime the details of his guilt are written on a wooden board which is hung round the delinquent's neck, as well as a memorandum indicating the punishment incurred according to the infidel law, and then with a wooden pillory on and a chain attached to him he is

[1] See allusion to these tablets by Odoric, *infra*, p. 141, and the note there.

[2] By *throne* is to be understood an elevated ottoman or cushioned platform.

[3] These are varieties of the portable pillory called by our travellers, after the Portuguese, *Cangue*.

sent off to Khanbalik to the foot of the throne. Should he have a year's journey to get there still he must never be allowed to halt till he reaches the capital.[1]

"At last the ambassadors were led in front of the throne and placed some fifteen ells from it. An Amir kneeling read a paper in the Cathayan language, stating all about the ambassadors to the following effect: Certain deputies, sent by his majesty Shah Rukh and his sons, have come from a distant country with presents for the Emperor, and present themselves in order to strike the ground with their foreheads before him." His worship Hajji Yusuf the Kazi, who was one of the Amirs of a tuman (or commandants of ten thousand) and one of the officers attached to the person of the Emperor, as well as chief of one of the twelve imperial councils, came forward accompanied by several Musulmans acquainted with the languages. They said to the ambassadors: 'First prostrate yourselves and then touch the ground three times with your heads.' Accordingly the envoys bent their heads, but without absolutely touching the ground; then raising both hands they presented the letters of his majesty Shah Rukh, of his Highness Baisangar, and of the other princes and amirs, each of which was folded in a piece of yellow satin. For it is a law among the people of Cathay that everything intended for the Emperor must be wrapt in a piece of some yellow stuff. His worship the Kazi advanced, took the letters, and handed them to an eunuch who stood before the throne; the eunuch carried them to the Emperor, who received them, opened them, and glanced at them, and then gave them back to the eunuch."

After some trivial questions the emperor remarked that they had had a long journey, and dismissed them to take some refreshments. After having done so in an adjoining court they were conducted to the Yamkhana or hostelry, where they found everything handsomely provided for them.

Next morning, *before daylight*, they were summoned by the officer called the *Sejnin* (or *Sekjin*),[2] who had charge of them, to get up and come in haste to the palace, as a banquet was to be given them by the emperor; but this affords nothing of much interest.

"On the 17th of the month of Dhulhajja (23rd December, 1420), several criminals were sent to the place of execution. According to the

[1] This was no doubt a misunderstanding, but it is the Chinese law (not we may presume the practice, at least in troubled times) that every capital sentence must be confirmed by a special court at the capital, composed of members of the six great Boards of Administration and of three great Courts of Justice (see *Chine Moderne*, pp. 230, 256). The presentation of the ambassadors along with criminals for sentence was characteristic. In Burma, even the ambassadors of China are subjected to analogous slight (see *Mission to Ava*, p. 76).

[2] The former in Quatremère, the latter in Astley. The word is (Chin). *Sse-jin*, "a Palace-man or Eunuch" (see *Journ. Asiat.*, s. iv, tom. ii, 435).

practice among the infidels of Cathay, a formal record is made of the punishment inflicted for every crime, and they enter into very long details on this subject. But my pen refuses to expose particularly the (horrid) nature of these punishments. The people of Cathay in all that regards the treatment of criminals proceed with extreme caution. There are twelve courts of justice attached to the emperor's administration; if an accused person has been found guilty before eleven of these, and the twelfth has not yet concurred in the condemnation, he may still have hopes of acquittal.[1] If a case requires a reference involving a six months' journey or even more, still as long as the matter is not perfectly clear the criminal is not put to death, but only kept in custody.

"The 27th day of Moharram His Worship the Kazi sent a message to the ambassadors: 'To-morrow is the New Year. The Emperor is going to visit his New Palace, and there is an order that none should wear white clothes' (for among these people white is the colour of mourning). The 28th, about midnight, the *Sekjin* arrived to conduct the ambassadors to the New Palace. This was a very lofty edifice which had only now been finished after nineteen years of work. This night in all the houses and shops there was such a lighting up of torches, candles, and lamps, that you would have thought the sun was risen already. That night the cold was much abated. Everybody was admitted into the New Palace, and the Emperor gave an entertainment to his great officers of state....[2] It would be impossible to give a just description of this edifice. From the gate of the hall of audience to the outer gate there is a distance of 1985 paces.... To the right and left there is an uninterrupted succession of buildings, pavilions, and gardens. All the buildings are constructed of polished stone and glazed bricks of porcelain clay,[3] which in lustre are quite like white marble. A space of two or three hundred cubits is paved with stones presenting not the very slightest deflexion or inequality, insomuch that you would think the joints had been ruled with a pen. In the arts of stone-polishing, cabinet-making, pottery, brick-making, there is nobody with us who can compare with the Chinese. If the cleverest of our workpeople were to see their performances they could not but acknowledge the superiority of these foreigners. Towards noon the banquet ended.

"On the 9th of Safar (13th February, 1421), in the morning, horses were sent for the ambassadors.... Every year, acording to a practice of theirs, the emperor passes several days without eating animal food, or

[1] Here is doubtless some misapprehension. See preceding page.

[2] Astley's version has here a passage not found in Quatremère's: "They found at the palace one hundred thousand people who had come thither from all parts of Cathay, the countries of Tachin and Machin, Kalmak, Tibet, Kabul (read *Kamul*), Karakhoja, Jurga (*Churché?*), and the sea coasts."

[3] I suppose this meant by "bricks formed of Chinese earth."

entering his harem, or receiving anyone. He goes to a palace which contains no image or idol, and there, as he says, adores the God of Heaven. This was the day of his return, and he entered his harem again with immense pomp. Elephants walked in procession, handsomely caparisoned, and bearing on their backs a circular-gilded litter; then came flags of seven different colours, and men-at-arms, and then five more handsomely gilt litters carried by men on their shoulders. Musical instruments played the while in a manner of which it is impossible to give an idea. 50,000 men marched before and behind the emperor, keeping perfect step and cadence. Not a voice was heard; nothing but the sound of the music. As soon as the emperor had entered the harem everybody went away."

It was now the time of the Feast of Lanterns, but it was stript of its ordinary splendours, of which the ambassadors had heard much, because the astrologers had predicted that the palace would catch fire.

"The 8th of Rabbi First (13th March), the monarch having sent for Ahmed Shah and Bakshi Malik gave them what is called a'*sankish* or present. He gave Sultan Shah eight *balish* of silver,[1] thirty dresses of royal magnificence, a mule, twenty-four pieces of *kala'i*,[2] two horses, one of them caparisoned, a hundred cane arrows, five three-sided *kaibars*,[3] in the Cathayan fashion, and five thousand *chao*.[4] Bakshi Malik received a similar present, only he had one *balish* less. The wives of the ambassadors received no silver, but were presented with pieces of stuffs. . . .

"The 1st day of the Latter Rabbi (5th April), news was brought that the emperor was on his way back from the hunting field, and that they were expected to meet him. The ambassadors were out riding when the news came, and as he was to arrive next day they returned home at once. The blue *Shonghár* belonging to Sultan Ahmed was dead.[5] The *Sekjin* visited them, and said: 'Take care to start to night in order that you may be ready to be presented to the emperor the first thing in the morning.' So they mounted in haste, and when they arrived at the post-house they found His Worship the Kazi looking very much put out. Asking what made him so out of spirits, he answered in a low tone: 'The

[1] See pp. 115, and 481 *infra*.

[2] Tin? Quatremère does not translate it. Astley has "under petticoats"!

[3] Quivers? [4] Bank notes (see pp. 116, 291).

[5] The *shonghár* was a species of falcon monopolised by eastern royalty, and was, I believe, that of which Marco Polo speaks as the gerfalcon, which bred on the shores of the Arctic Ocean. They were sent in tribute to the Great Khan by the chiefs of the Northern Tartar Tribes. In a passage of the narrative which has been omitted, the emperor had presented several to the envoys for their respective princes, adding the brusque observation that they brought him screws of horses and carried off his good *shonghárs*. Petis de la Croix says of the shonghár: "'Tis a mark of homage which the *Russians* and Crim-Tartars are bound by the last treaty to send annually to the Porte" (*H. de Timur Bec*, ii. 75).

emperor during the chase has been thrown by one of the horses sent by His Majesty Shah Rukh, which he was riding. He is tremendously enraged at this mishap, and has ordered the ambassadors to be put in irons and sent off to the eastern provinces of Cathay.' The envoys, deeply disturbed at the intelligence, got on their horses again at morning prayer-time. By the time half the forenoon was past they had ridden some twenty *marrah*,[1] and reached the camp where the emperor had spent the night. This occupied an area of some five hundred feet square, round which they had built that same night a wall of four feet in thickness and ten cubits high. Such walls, built of *pisé*, are erected in Cathay with extraordinary celerity. There were two gates left in it, and at the foot of the wall there was a ditch from which the earth had been dug for it. . . . Inside there was a pavilion of yellow satin, and an awning adorned with gems. Each of these was some twenty-five cubits square, and was supported by four pillars. All round were other tents of yellow satin embroidered with gold.

"When the ambassadors had arrived within five hundred paces of the imperial camp, His Worship the Kazi told them to dismount and stop where they were till the emperor should appear, whilst he himself went on. As soon as the emperor had returned to camp and dismounted, the *Li-daji* and the *Ján-daji* (who in the Cathayan tongue are called *Serai-lid* and *Jik-fú*) came and stood before him. The emperor then discussed the question of arresting the ambassadors. The *Li-daji*, the *Ján-daji*, and His Worship Yusuf the Kazi bowed their foreheads to the ground, and said: 'The envoys are in no way to blame. Their princes send good horses as presents doubtless, when they can meet with such; but in any case these persons have no authority over their sovereigns. If your Majesty has the envoys cut in pieces it won't hurt their kings, but the name of the emperor will be evil spoken of. People will not fail to say that the Emperor of China has used violence to ambassadors contrary to all the rules of justice.' The emperor took these judicious remonstrances in good part. His Worship the Kazi came in great glee to tell this news to the ambassadors, saying: 'The Most High has shown his mercy to these foreigners.' The emperor having thus decided on a merciful course, the dishes which he had sent were placed before the envoys; but as they consisted of swines' flesh and mutton the Musulmans declined to partake of them. The emperor then started, mounted

[1] In a previous passage it is said that "every sixteen *marrah* make a *farsang*" (or nearly three miles and a half). Astley's version has *six* to a farsang. The former estimate reduces the distance ridden in half the forenoon to less than five miles. The word *marrah* is perhaps that which Clavijo called *molé*, but he applies it to Timur's leagues, "equal to two leagues of Castille" (p. 106). This last definition, however, corresponds with that which Ssanang Ssetzen gives of the *Bärä*, probably the same word. This makes it 16,000 ells, which will be about six miles, taking the ell at two feet (see *Schmidt*, p. 5).

on a black horse with white points which had been sent as a present by Mirza Olug Beg, and which had housings of yellow brocaded with gold. Two grooms ran alongside, each holding by one of the stirrups, and these also were dressed in gold brocade of a royal magnificence. The emperor had on a red mantle brocaded with gold, to which was stitched a pocket of black satin in which the imperial beard was cased. Seven small covered palankins were borne after him on men's shoulders; these contained young ladies of the emperor's family. There was also a great palankin carried by seventy men. Right and left of the emperor, at the interval of a bow-shot, were columns of horsemen who kept exactly abreast of him. These lines extended as far as the eye could reach, and there was a space of twenty paces between their ranks. They marched in this way, keeping exact alinement, to the gates of the city. The emperor rode in the middle, accompanied by the *Dah-daji*, whilst the Kazi rode with the Li-daji and the Ján-daji. The Kazi coming forward, said to the ambassadors: 'Dismount and touch the ground with your heads'; and so they did. The emperor then desired them to mount again, which they did, and joined the procession. The monarch began to reproach them, saying to Shadi Khwája: 'When horses or other objects of value are sent as presents to kings, they should be of the best, if they are meant to strengthen the bonds of friendship. Here, I mounted for the chase yesterday one of the horses which you brought me, and the beast, being excessively old, came down with me. My hand is much hurt and has become black and blue. It is only by applying gold in great quantities that the pain has abated a little.' Shadi Khwaja, to put the best face on the matter, answered: 'The fact is, this horse belonged to the Great Amir, Amir Timur Kurkan. His Majesty Shah-Rukh in sending the animal to you intended to give you a testimony of his highest consideration; indeed, he thought that in your dominions this horse would be regarded as a very pearl of horses.'[1] This account of the matter satisfied the emperor who then treated the ambassadors with kindness."

After this one of the emperor's favourite wives died, and also a fire, occasioned by lightning, took place in the new palace, so that "contrary to what usually happens," the diarist observes, "the prediction of the astrologers was completely verified." These misfortunes made the old emperor quite ill, and it was from his son that the ambassadors received their dismissal. During the days that they remained at Peking after this they no longer received the usual supplies.

On their return journey, however, they met with all the same attentions as on their way to court. They followed the same road as before, and quitting Khanbalik on the middle of Jumadah first (about 18th May

[1] As the Great Amir was dead *sixteen years* before, this pearl of horses must indeed have been a venerable animal.

1421), they reached the city of BÍKAN[1] on the first day of Rajab (2nd July). Here they were splendidly fêted; and on the fifth of Shaban (3rd October) they recrossed the Karamuran. Nineteen days later[2] they arrived at Kancheu and took up their servants and baggage which had been left there. But they had to halt here two months on account of the disturbed state of the Mongol country; and they were again detained at Sucheu, so that they did not pass the frontier fortress till some days after the middle of Moharram 825 (about 9th January 1422). Here the whole party were again mustered and registered by the Chinese officials. The troubles in Mongolia induced the ambassadors now to take the unfrequented southern route through the desert. They reached KHOTAN on the 30th May, and KASHGAR on the 5th July. From this they passed the mountains by the defile of ANDIJAN, *i.e.* by the Terek Daban, and there separated; one party taking the road to Samarkand, the other "preferring the route of Badakshan" travelled to HISSAR SHADUMAN,[3] and thence reached BALKH on the 18th August. Finally on the 1st September 1422 they kissed the feet of his majesty Shah Rukh at Herat, and related their adventures.[4]

[1] The dates indicate the position as about one-third of the way from the capital to the passage of the Hoang Ho at Lancheu. This and the name probably point to PINGYANGFU in the province of Shansi, one of the most ancient capitals of China. It is the *Pian*-fu of Polo, who says of it—"moult est grant citez et de grant vaillance; en laquelle a marchans assez qui vivent d'art et de marchandize. Et si font soie en grant habondance" (*Pauthier's Polo, p. 354*).

I find that in the identification of the three cities named on the journey through China (Husnabad, Sadinfu, and Bikan) M. Reinaud has anticipated me in every case; but as my identifications were arrived at independently on the grounds assigned, this is a strong confirmation of their correctness (see his Introduction to Abulfeda, pp. ccclxxxv-vii).

[2] *Nine* days according to the date in Quatremère (14th Shaban), but thus seems much too short. Astley has 24th.

[3] The expression in the text seems to show that Badakhshan was sometimes used in a much larger sense than is now attached to it. But this brief indication of the route followed by the ambassadors from Kashgar to Balkh is particularly interesting, because it precisely retraces Ptolemy's caravan route across Imaus, on the supposition that the Stone Tower was in the vicinity of Ush or Andijan (Andiján=The Stone Tower; Hissar Shaduman=Ascent to Hill Country of the Komedi; Balkh=Bactra). And this is certainly an argument in favour of Ritter's view, for the route from Kashgar via Tashbalik and Wakhsh to Hissar would have been vastly more direct, and there must have been ample reason for not adopting it, even in the height of summer, as on this occasion (see *ante*, p. cxlix, *seq.*)

[4] I will here insert some remarks on the topography of Rubruquis's travels, in connexion with the site of *Equius*, which I suppose to be the *Asparah* of these ambassadors (*supra*, p. cc).

Rubruquis, riding with Tartars and relays of horses, set out from the Wolga on the 16th September 1253. The route lay straight east, or nearly so, through the country of the *Kangli* till the 31st October. They then bore a good deal south, passing through certain Alps (mountain pastures?). On the 7th November they entered a plain irrigated like a garden, through which a large river flowed which entered no sea, but

after forming swamps was absorbed by the earth. It flowed from very high mountains which were seen towards the south (east).

On the 8th November they entered the city of KENCHAC. They went from this *east* towards the mountains, and got among the mountain-pastures, where the *Caracatai* formerly dwelt, a few days later. They found there a great river which they had to cross in a boat; they then turned into a valley where there were old intrenchments of earth over which the plough had passed, and came to a good town called EQUIUS, where the Mahomedan inhabitants spoke Persian.

Next day they passed the "Alps," which were spurs from the great mountains to the south, and entered an extensive and beautiful plain, which was copiously irrigated by the streams from the mountains. The mountains in question were to the right of the travellers, and to the left, beyond the plain, was a sea or great lake of twenty-five days' journey in compass.

There had formerly been many cities in this plain but the Tartars had destroyed them. They found, however, one great town called CAILAC, where they halted for twelve days.

The country in which they now were was called ORGONUM; and here Rubruquis first met with Buddhist temples.

They quitted Cailac on the 30th November (hence they must have reached it on the 18th or 19th), and four days later (3rd December) they came upon the head of the great lake. There was a great island in the lake. The water was brackish, but drinkable. A valley opened upon the head of the lake from the south-east, and up this valley among the mountains was another lake. Through this gorge at times such furious gusts of wind blew that riders were apt to be blown into the lake.

Passing this valley they went north towards great mountains covered with snow.

From December 6th they greatly increased the length of their journeys, doing two days' journey in one. On December 12th they passed a horrible rocky defile, said to be haunted by demons, etc.

They then entered the plains of the Naiman country. After this they again ascended a hill country, tending northward. On December 26th they entered a great flat plain like the sea, and next day reached the camp of Mangu Khan, apparently not far from KARAKORUM.

Now the points on this journey which we may consider ascertained (besides its departure from the Wolga somewhere near SARAI, and its termination near Karakorum) are two.

The first is the city of KENCHAC. This is known to have been one of the cities of the valley of the Talas, near the city so called (see *Quatremère* in *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 224-5-6).

The other is the site of the great rushing wind. This is described in Carpini's narrative in very similar terms (see p. 751). It is also spoken of by the diarist of Hulagu's march; and in modern times by a Russian traveller Poutimsteff (quoted in *Malte Brun, Precis de la Geog. Universelle*, ix, p. 208). These three latter accounts point, and the last indeed, which is singularly coincident with Carpini's, distinctly refers the scene of this phenomenon, to the lake called *Ala-kul*. Rubruquis had specified the island in the lake; Carpini says "several islands;" Poutimsteff says it contains "three great rocks of different colours," with which he connects its name. We now go back to trace the route of Rubruquis.

After riding for six weeks east, but not quite so *due* east as he imagines, leaving the Caspian and Aral on the right, about long. 67° he strikes south-east, crosses the "Alps" of the *Kara-tau* to the south-east of the modern town of Turkestan (in the medieval map south-east of Otrar) and enters the valley of the Talas, the river which, as he says, loses itself in swamps and enters no sea. Here he has to the south-east very lofty mountains, the branches of the Thian Shan, or perhaps the great range itself.

Quitting Kenchak and the Talas, he goes east into the "Alps" that

separate the Upper Talas from the Chu; the Chu is the river crossed in a boat. Beyond this is the valley with the remains of old intrenchments. These are noticed also by the Diarist of Hulagu's march. Four days before reaching Talas, this writer says, "they passed between the two mountains *Itu* (qu. the two parallel ranges called Ala-tagh?). The country is flat, well peopled and well watered; and there are many old ramparts and military structures, for it was formerly occupied by the *Khitan*" (the *Caracatai* of Rubruquis, see *infra*, p. 176). "Near this is a river called *Yi-yun*, very rapid, flowing from the east; the people of the country call it the Yellow river" (as to the muddy colour and great rapidity of the Chu, see *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 262).

Rubruquis then reaches *Equius*, or as I have supposed the *Asparah* of the Mahomedan writers, and we must therefore locate this north of the Chu, somewhere opposite the modern Russian posts of Pishpek or Tokmak.

They then cross the "Alps" again; this time the branch of the Ala-Tau between Pishpek and Almaty, and emerge on the great plain stretching to the Balkash. It is true that towards the lake this is a barren steppe, but the tract along the spurs of the Northern Ala-Tau, which bounded the plain to the right of the traveller as he describes, is rich arable land, amply irrigated (see *Semenov* in *Petermann's Mittheilungen* for 1858, p. 352-3).

Somewhere at the foot of those hills was CAILAC, doubtless the KAYALIK of the historians of the Mongols. It must have been some distance north of the Ili, for the traveller reaches the Alakul from Cailac in four days. It may be placed near the modern Russian station of Kopal.

That it was not *on* the Ili, but some distance beyond it, is in some degree confirmed by the circumstance, that though a place of importance, it is not mentioned in the route either of Hulagu or of King Hethum, both of whom seem to have come down the Ili valley from ALMALIK (near modern Kulja) and then passed to Talas by the route which Rubruquis had come.

At p. 576 *infra* are quoted some passages relating, or supposed to relate, to Kayalik or Cailac. Another may be cited as slightly favourable to the site indicated. We are told that Batu was on his way from his domain on the Wolga to Karakorum, when "at the mountain Aladagh, seven days march from Kayalik, he heard of the death of the Kaan" (*Kuyuk*), and turned back. Supposing this to be the Alatagh pass between the Chu and the Ili the distance would be appropriate to our position (see *D'Ohsson*, ii, 246).

The name *Orgonum*, which Rubruquis heard applied to the country, I have elsewhere endeavoured to elucidate (*infra*, p. 522).

It will be observed that Rubruquis, coming upon the Alakul, regarded it as the continuation and termination of the great lake which had occupied the distant horizon on his left for a good many days, an error which the map alone renders very conceivable to us, and which may then have had still more excuse, as all those lakes appear to be contracting. Indeed there seems to be no doubt that the Balkash and Alakul were formerly actually one, though they may not have been so in the days of Rubruquis (see *Semenov* as above, p. 351; and in *J. R. G. S.*, xxxv, p. 213; also *Petermann* for 1863, p. 392).

From the Alakul the mountains crossed to the north were apparently those above Tarbogatai. From this the route probably lay along the Upper Irtish and then along the Jabkan river.

On the return journey in summer Rubruquis passed to the *north* of the Balkash. The only part common to the two journeys was, he says, a fifteen days' ride along a river among mountains, where there was no grass except on the banks. This would seem to have been the Jabkan.

I discern no real difficulty in the foregoing interpretation of the traveller except one, viz., the scanty time allowed between Kenchak in the Talas valley and the head of the Alakul. This distance is about five hundred

miles without deviations of course, and the time according to the data (deducting the twelve days' halt at Cailac) is fourteen days, giving an average of more than thirty-five miles (crow-flight) daily), and much of it through hilly ground. It is true that the traveller says that they rode daily as far as from Paris to Orleans, say sixty miles; but the measurement of his first long stretch from the Wolga to Talas gives only about twenty-seven miles a day as the crow flies. If we can venture to suppose that the halt at Cailac was written vii days instead of xii, this would bring the marches between Talas and Alakul to about the same average.

The map in "*Russians in Central Asia*," or some other embracing the recent Russian surveys, will be serviceable in following these remarks.

NOTE XVIII.

HAJJI MAHOMED'S ACCOUNT OF CATHAY, AS DELIVERED TO MESSER GIOV. BATTISTA RAMUSIO.

(Circa 1550.)

"In the thirty-eighth chapter of Messer Marco Polo's first book he treats of the rhubarb which is produced in the province of SUCCUIR, and is thence exported into these parts and all over the world. And it seems highly necessary that I should give a particular account of what I chanced to hear on this subject some years ago from a certain Persian of great judgment and intelligence; for the matter is well worthy of correct knowledge, seeing how universal the use of the article among sick people has become in our time, nor have I ever yet seen so much information regarding it in any book.

"The name of the narrator was Chaggi Memet, a native of the province of CHILAN on the shores of the Caspian Sea, and from a city called TABAS,[1] and he had himself been to Succuir, coming afterwards, at the time I speak of, to Venice with a large quantity of the aforesaid rhubarb. Now it happened one day that I had gone out of town to dine at Murano; a relaxation of business allowed me to get away from the city, and to enjoy it all the more I chanced to have in my party that excellent architect Messer Michele San Michele of Verona, and Messer Tommaso Giunti, both very dear friends of mine, besides this Persian.[2] So when dinner was over and the cloth was drawn, he began his narrative, and it was interpreted as he went along by Messer Michele Mambre, a man of great acquirements in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish tongues,

[1] I have not been able to find any place of this name in Ghilan. But Tabas in the Salt Desert north of Yezd is called in the Tables of Nasiruddin *Tabas Kili* or *Gili*, and this may be meant (see in *Hudson*, vol. iii).

[2] Sanmichele of Verona, the still celebrated architect and engineer of the Venetian Republic, and often called (though wrongly) the inventor of modern bastioned fortification. Giunti, the printer and publisher of Ramusio's great work, and editor of it after the author's death.

and a person of most agreeable manners, whose accomplishments have now obtained him the position of Turkish interpreter to this illustrious Signory. First he told us that he had been at SUCCUIR[1] and CAMPION,[2] cities of the province of TANGATH, at the commencement of the states of the Great Can, whose name he said was Daimir Can,[3] and by whom rulers were sent to govern the said cities, the same that M. Marco speaks of in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of his first book. They are the first cities of idolaters that are met with in going from the Musulman territories; and he went thither with the caravan that goes with merchandise from Persia and the countries about the Caspian to the regions of CATHAY. And this caravan is not allowed to enter further into the country than Succuir and Campion; nor may any merchant belonging to it, unless he go as an ambassador to the Great Can.[4]

"This city of Succuir is large and extremely populous, with very handsome houses built of brick after the Italian manner; and in it there are many great temples with idols carved in stone. It is situated in a plain, through which run an infinite number of streamlets, and abounds in all sorts of necessaries. They grow silk there in very great quantities, using the black-mulberry tree for the purpose. They have no wine grown there, but for their drink they make a kind of beer with honey. As regards fruit, the country is a cold one, so they have none but pears, apples, apricots, and peaches, melons, and grapes. Then he told us that the rhubarb grows over all that province, but much the best is got in a certain neighbouring range of lofty and rocky mountains, where there are many springs, with woods of sundry kinds of trees growing to a great height, and soil of a red colour, which, owing to the frequent rains and the springs which run in all directions, is almost always in a sloppy state. As regards the appearance of the root and its leaves it so chanced that the said merchant had brought a little picture with him from the country which appeared to be drawn with great care and skill, so he took it from his pocket and showed it us, saying that here we had the true and natural representation of the rhubarb.... He said moreover ... that in the Lands of Cathay they never used the rhubarb for medicine as we do, but pounded it up and compounded it

[1] *Succuir*, or rather *Succiur* (i.e. Sukchúr) as Polo seems to have written it, is according to Pauthier a Mongol pronunciation of *Suh-cheu-lu*, the Circuit of Suhcheu (*Polo*, p. 164). On Suhcheu or Sucheu see *supra*, p. ccii, and references there.

[2] *Campicion* in most copies of Polo; well identified with *Kancheu*, though the form of the name has not been satisfactorily explained.

[3] *Daiming Khan* is the name by which the Emperor of China is called in Abdurrazzak's History introducing the narrative abstracted in the preceding note. It is, in fact, the name of the native *Dynasty* (*Ta-Ming*, "Great Light") usually called the Ming, which reigned from 1369 to 1616 (see *Chine Ancienne*, p. 389; Atlas Sinensis in *Blaeu*, p. 1; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, pt. i, p. 213 *seq.*; *Schmidt*, pp. 153, 211, 289.

[4] See the narrative of Goës *passim*.

with some other odoriferous ingredients to burn as a perfume before their idols. And in some other places it is so abundant that they constantly use it for fuel, whilst others give it to their sick horses, so little esteem have they for this root in those regions of Cathay. But they have a much greater appreciation of another little root which grows in the mountains of Succuir where the rhubarb grows, and which they call *Mambroni Cini*. This is extremely dear, and is used in most of their ailments, but especially where the eyes are affected. They grind it on a stone with rosewater, and anoint the eyes with it. The result is wonderfully beneficial. He did not believe that this root was imported into these parts, and he was not able to describe it.[1] Then seeing the great pleasure that I beyond the rest of the company took in his stories, he told me that over all the country of Cathay they made use of another plant, or rather of its leaves. This is called by those people *Chiai Catai*,[2] and grows in the district of Cathay, which is called CACIANFU.[3] This is commonly used and much esteemed over all those countries. They take of that herb whether dry or fresh, and boil it well in water. One or two cups of this decoction taken on an empty stomach removes fever, head-ache, stomach-ache, pain in the side or in the joints, and it should be taken as hot as you can bear it. He said besides that it was good for no end of other ailments which he could not then remember, but gout was one of them. And if it happens that one feels incommoded in the stomach from having eaten too much, one has but to take a little of this decoction and in a short time all will be digested. And it is so highly valued and esteemed that every one going on a journey takes it with him, and those people would gladly give (as he expressed it) a sack of rhubarb for an ounce of *Chiai Catai*. And those people of Cathay do say that if in our parts of the world, in Persia and the country of the Franks, people only knew of it there is no doubt that the merchants would cease altogether to buy *Ravend Cini* as they call rhubarb in those parts.[4] . . . "I asked him what route he had followed in returning from Campion

[1] *Mambroni Cini* is, I suppose, *Mámírán-i-Chíní;* the first word of which is explained by F. Johnson as "swallow-wort." Bernier also mentions *Mamiron* as a little root very good for eye ailments, which used to be brought with rhubarb to Kashmir by caravans from China (in *H. Gen. des Voyages*, tom, 37, p. 335). It is possibly the *Jinseng* or "Man-Root" (from its forked radish shape), so much prized by the Chinese as a tonic, etc., and which used to sell for three times its weight in silver. Another root, called by the Chinese *Foling*, comes from the rhubarb region in question, and was formerly well known in European pharmacy under the name *Radix China*. This, however, was not a "little root."

[2] (Pers.) *Chá-i-Khitai*, "Tea of China." Here and in some other words in this narrative the *ch* must be sounded soft, and not as usual in Italian. I do not know of any earlier mention of tea in an European book.

[3] *Cachanfu* is probably Kanjanfu, i.e. Singanfu (see *infra*, p. 148). Tea would come to the frontier from that quarter, whether it *grows* there or not.

[4] Pers. *Ráwand-i-Chíni*, "China Rhubarb."

and Succuir on his way to Constantinople, if he were able to tell it me. He answered by Mambre our interpreter that he would tell me the whole gladly. So he began by saying that he had not returned by precisely the same way that he had taken with the caravan in going, for at the time that he wanted to start it happened that those Tartar chiefs of the Green caps, whom they call *Iescilbas*, were sending an ambassador of theirs with a great company by way of the Desert of Tartary to the north of the Caspian Sea to the Grand Turk at Constantinople in order to make a league with him for a joint attack on their common enemy the *Soffi*. . . . And so he travelled with them as far as CAFFA. But he would willingly detail to me the route as it would have been had he returned by the same that he followed in going. And it would stand thus: Leaving the city of Campion you come to GAUTA,[1] which is a six days' journey. Every day's journey is reckoned at so many *farsenc*, and one Persian *farsenc* is three of our miles. And a day's journey may be taken at eight farsencs, but in case of deserts and mountains they will not do half as much, so days made in the desert must be reckoned at half ordinary journeys. From Gauta you come to Succuir in five days, and from Succuir to CAMUL[2] in fifteen. Here the Musulmans begin; all having been idolators hitherto. From Camul to TURFON thirteen; and after Turfon you pass three cities, the first of which is CHIALIS, ten days, then CHUCHE ten more, and then AKSU twenty days.[3] From Aksu to CASCAR is twenty days more of the wildest desert, the journey hitherto having been through inhabited country. From Cascar to SAMARCAND twenty-five days, from Samarcand to BOCHARA in CORASSAM, five; from Bochara to ERI,[4] twenty; and thence you get to VEREMI in fifteen days;[5] then CASBIN in six, from Casbin to SOLTANIA in four, and from Soltania to the great city of TAURIS in six. Thus much I drew from that Persian merchant. And the detail of his route was all the more interesting to me because I recognised with great satisfaction the names of many cities and of several provinces which are written in the first book of the travels of M. Marco Polo. And on that account it seemed to me in a measure necessary to give the statement here.

"It seems also expedient to add here a brief summary, which was drawn up for me by the said Chaggi Memet the Persian merchant before his departure from this city, giving some particulars regarding the city of Campion, and the people of those parts. And these I shall repeat for

[1] *Kao-tai*, between Kancheu and Sucheu.

[2] *Supra*, p. cc, *infra*, 390, 579.

[3] On these places see *Goës*, infra, pp. 572, *seqq*.

[4] HERAT.

[5] VERAMIN was a great town two marches east of Tehran, close to the site of ancient Rai, "to which it succeeded as Tehran has succeeded to Veramin" (*Ritter*, viii, 450). It is mentioned also by Clavijo, who on his return after passing Damghan, Perescote (*Firuz-koh*), and Cenan (*Semnan*) "came to a great city called *Vatami*" (read VARAMI) "which was nearly depopulated and without any wall, and they call this land the Land of Rei" (*Markham's Clavijo*, p. 182); see also *P. de la Croix, H. de Timur Bec*, ii, 181, 401).

the benefit and advantage of all my gentle readers in few words and under various heads just as he set them down.

"The city of Campion. . . . The people here go dressed in cotton stuff of a black colour, which in winter the poor have lined with wolf-skins and sheep-skins, and the rich with costly sables and martens. They wear black caps coming to a point like sugar-loaves. The men are short rather than tall. They wear their beard as we do, and especially at a certain time of the year.

"Their houses are built after our fashion with brick and cut stone, two or three stories high, with ceilings painted in various colours and patterns. There are no end of painters there; and one street in the city is entirely occupied by painters.

"The princes of that country to exhibit their pomp and grandeur have a great platform made, over which are stretched two canopies of silk embroidered with gold and silver, and with many pearls and other gems; and on this they and their friends take their places, and forty or fifty slaves take up the whole and carry them about the city for recreation. Ordinary noblemen go about in a simple open litter without ornament carried by four to six men.

"Their temples are made after the fashion of our churches with columns from end to end; and they are enormous things, fit to hold four or five thousand people. There are also in that city two remarkable statues, one of a man, the other of a woman, each of them forty feet in length and represented extended on the ground;[1] each figure is of one solid piece, and they are gilt all over. There are first-rate sculptors in stone there.

"They get their blocks of stone sometimes from a distance of two or three months' journey, conveying them on carts that have some forty very high wheels with iron tires; and these shall be drawn by five or six hundred horses or mules.

"There are other statues of smaller size that have six or seven heads and ten hands, each hand grasping a different article, as if (for example) one should hold a serpent, a second a bird, a third a flower, and so on.

"They have also certain monasteries where many men dwell leading the most holy life possible. For they have the doors of their chambers walled up so they can never get forth again as long as they live. People come every day with food for them.

"There are also no end of the same class who go about the town just like our friars.

"Their custom is, when anyone of their kin shall die, to wear white clothes for many days, that is to say of cotton cloth. Their clothes are made after the same fashion as ours, reaching to the ground, and with large sleeves like those of ours at Venice which we call *a gomedo*.[2]

[1] See preceding note, p. cciii.

[2] "Utrisque (viris et feminis) manicæ laxiores longioresque communes sunt, quales in Italiâ Venetorum esse solent" (*Trigautius*, b. i, c. 8).

"They have the art of printing in that country, and their books are printed. And as I wanted to be clear on the point whether their manner of printing was the same as our own, I took the Persian one day to see the printing office of M. Thomaso Giunti at San Giuliano: and when he saw the tin types and the screwpresses with which they print, he said that they seemed to him to be very much like the other.[1]

"Their city is fortified by a thick wall, filled with earth inside, so that four carriages can go abreast upon it. There are great towers on the walls and artillery planted as thickly as on the Grand Turk's. There is a great ditch which is dry, but can be filled with water at pleasure.

"They have a kind of oxen of great size, and which have long hair extremely fine and white.[2]

"The Cathayan people and pagans generally are prohibited from leaving their native country and going about the world as traders.

"On the other side of the desert north of Corassam as far as Samarcand, the *Iescilbas* or people of the green caps have sway. Those Green-caps are a certain race of Mahomedan Tartars[3] who wear conical caps of green felt, and give themselves that name to distinguish themselves from the followers of the *Sofi*, their deadly enemies, who are the rulers of Persia, who are also Mahomedans and wear red caps.[4] And these Green-caps and Red-caps are continually at most cruel war with one another on account of certain religious differences and frontier disputes. Among the cities that the Green-caps have under their rule are among others at present Bochara and Samarcand, each of which has a prince of its own.

"Those people have their peculiar sciences which they call respectively *Chimia*, that which we call alchemy, *Limia* or the science of attracting love, and *Simia*, or that of illusion.[5] They have no coined money, but every gentleman or merchant has his gold or silver made into small rods, and these are divided into small fragments for spending, and this is the practice of all the inhabitants of Campion and Succuir.

[1] The Hajji's observation must have been superficial, at least as regards the metal types. Printing with movable types (made of *terra cotta*) was invented in China by a smith named Pishing before the middle of the eleventh century, but the invention does not seem to have been followed up. Wood printing was known at least as early as A.D. 581; and about 904 engraving on stone for the press was introduced (*Julien* in *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. iv, tom. ix, 509, 513; *Chine Moderne*, pp. 626 *seqq.*).

[2] The Yak.

[3] Uzbeks.

[4] The *Kizil-básh*.

[5] *Kímía* (Ar.) Alchemy; *Símía* (Pers.) Enchantment or fascination. *Límía* is probably a factitious word made on the jingling principle spoken of in note at p. cxix.

D'Herbelot says, however, that *Simia* is that part of chemistry which refers to the preparation of metals and minerals, and that *Kimia Simia* is used to express chemistry in general. There is another *Simia* he adds, which has for its subject a sort of divination by names and numbers; the word being connected with *ism*, a name.

"On the public square at Campion every day there gather a number of charlatans who practise the art of *Simia*, and by means of it, in the middle of crowds of people, they will exhibit all sorts of wonders; for example they will take a man who accompanies them and cleave him through with a sword, or cut his arm off, and you'll see him all streaming with blood, and so forth."[1] (From the "*Espositione* of *M. Giov. Batt. Ramusio*, prefixed to the travels of Marco Polo, in the II vol. of the *Navigationi e Viaggi*," f. 14 *vers.* to f. 16 *vers.*)

NOTE XIX.

ACCOUNT OF CATHAY BY A TURKISH DERVISH, AS RELATED TO AUGER GISLEN DE BUSBECK.

(Circa 1560.)

"Now let me tell you what I heard about the city and country of CATHAY from a certain Turkish vagabond. He was one of that kind of sect whose devotion consists in wandering into the most distant countries, and in worshipping God in the loftiest mountains and in the wildest deserts. This fellow had rambled over well-nigh the whole Eastern World, and among other things he mentioned that he had come across the Portuguese. Then he was seized with a strong desire to see the city and kingdom of Cathay, and for that purpose attached himself to a company of merchants who were going thither. For it is their custom to join together in large numbers, and to travel to the frontiers of that empire in a company. There is no passage for a small party that way, or at least it is very unsafe; for there are a number of treacherous tribes upon the way whose attacks the travellers have to dread at every moment. When they have got some distance from the Persian frontier they come to the cities of SAMMARCAND, BORCHARA, TASCHAN, and other places occupied by the successors of Demirlan.[2] After these there are extensive deserts and inhabited countries, some occupied by savage and inhospitable tribes, others by people of more civilised character, but everywhere scantily supplied with food and forage, so that everyone has to take his victuals and other necessaries along with him, and this involves a large number of camels to carry the loads. Such large companies of men and beasts they call *caravans*. After a fatiguing journey of many months they came to a defile which forms, as it were, the barrier gate of Cathay. For a great part of that empire consists of inland country, and here there was an inclosing chain of rugged and precipitous mountains, affording no passage except through a narrow strait

[1] See *Ibn Batuta*, infra, p. 500.
[2] *Bokhara; Tashkand; Tamerlane.*

in which a garrison was stationed on the king's part.[1] There the question is put to the merchants, 'What they bring, whence they come, and how many of them are there?' The answer being given, the king's guards pass it by signal—by smoke if in daylight, by fire if by night—to the next watch-tower; they to the next, and so on, till in a few hours the message reaches the king at Cathay: a thing which would by any other communication require many days.[2] The king sends back his orders in the same manner and with equal rapidity, saying whether all shall be admitted, or only a part, or the whole put off. If they are allowed to enter they proceed under charge of certain leaders, finding halting-places arranged at proper distances where everything needed for food or clothing is to be had at reasonable rates, until they reach Cathay itself. On arriving there they have each to declare what they bring, and then they make a complimentary present to the king, as each thinks fit. He, however, is accustomed to pay for what he wants at a fair price.[3] The rest of their goods they sell or barter, a day being appointed for their return, up to which they have full liberty to do business. For the people of Cathay do not approve of the prolonged stay of foreigners among them, lest their indigenous manners should be corrupted by some foreign infection. And so the merchants are sent back stage by stage along the same road that they followed in coming.

"This wanderer stated that they were a people of extraordinary accomplishments, highly civilised and polite in their mode of living, and had a religion of their own, which was neither Christian, Jewish, nor Mahomedan, but except as regards ceremonies came nearest to the Jewish. For many centuries past the art of printing has been in use among them, and books printed with types, which he had seen there, sufficiently proved the fact. For this they made use of paper made from the slough and envelopes of silkworms, which was so thin that it bore the impression of the types on one side only, whilst the other side was left blank.[4]

"There were many taverns in that city. . . .[5] The odour of the perfume called musk, which is the exudation of a certain little animal about as big as a kid. Nothing fetched so great a price among them as

[1] *Supra*, p. ccii.

[2] *Infra*, p. 138-9.

[3] *Supra*, p. cv.

[4] This is well known as a characteristic of Chinese printing. Paper in China is made from bamboo, from the bark of mulberry, of a *hibiscus* (*Rosa Sinensis*), and of a tree called *chu* (*Broussonetia Papyrifera*). "All bark paper is strong and tough; it has rays crossing it, so that when torn you would think it was made of silk fibres. This is why it is called *Mien-chi* or silk paper" (Chinese author translated by *Julien*—see *Chine Moderne*, pp. 622 *seqq.*). Duhalde, however, does mention a kind of paper made from "the cods the silk-worms spin" (ext. in *Astley*, iv, p. 158).

[5] An unindicated hiatus in the original.

a lion; for this beast does not occur in those countries, and they look on it with immense admiration, and give any price for it.

"So much for the kingdom of Cathay, as I heard told by that vagabond; let him answer for its truth. For it might easily be that whilst my questions referred to Cathay, his answers referred to some other country thereabouts, and in fact that we were playing at cross purposes. But when I had heard so much, I thought I would ask if he had not brought back from his travels any curious kind of a root or fruit or pebble or what not? 'Nothing whatever,' he said, 'except this little root that I carry about with me, and if I am knocked up with fatigue or cold, by chewing and swallowing a tiny morsel of it, I feel quite warmed and stimulated'.[1] And so saying, he gave it me to taste, telling me to be careful to take but the smallest quantity. My doctor William (who was alive then) tasted it, and got his mouth into a state of inflammation from its burning quality. He declared it to be regular wolfsbane." (From *Busbequii Epistolæ.* Amsterdam, 1661, pp. 326-330.)

NOTE XX.

ON THE MAPS IN THIS WORK.

I. MAP OF ASIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

This is intended to elucidate the narrative of the fourteenth century travellers, from John of Monte Corvino to Ibn Batuta, as far as was possible without attempting greater detail than my time or knowledge would permit. The basis is a trace from Keith Johnstone's Map in the Royal Atlas; substituting for present political divisions the chief of those which existed at the period in question, and inserting (in general) only those names of places which occur in the narratives and notes of this collection. Before preparing the map, I had at different times consulted maps of the period by Klaproth (in *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*), D'Ohsson, and Sprüner (*Historical Atlas,* German), and at a later date the map attached to Pauthier's Marco Polo; but latterly none of these, except the last, have been within reach, and the map has in the main been compiled gradually along with the matter which it illustrates. The theory of the indications was to show all political divisions, and all names still extant, in *black;* obsolete names used by European writers in *red;* and obsolete names only used by Asiatics in *red* also, but with the slope of the letters *reversed.* I am afraid, however, that these minutiæ have sometimes been overlooked by myself.

[1] This was certainly *Jinseng* (*supra,* p. ccxvi).

II. CATALAN MAP OF 1375.

It occurred to me that an acceptable pendant to the map last noticed would be a copy of one showing the geography of the same period as it was conceived by the people of the time. The *Carta Catalana* of 1375, in the Imperial Library at Paris, as lithographed in vol. xiv, part ii, of the *Notices et Extraits*, with a description by MM. Buchon and Tastu, was the only model accessible; but at the same time it is probably the best that could have been taken for the purpose. The original, as shown in the lithographed facsimiles, is complicated and perplexed with many radiations of *roses des Vents* and other geometrical lines, with numerous rude drawings and long rubrics, and by the fact that to read half the names and inscriptions you have to turn the map upside down. All this, together with the character of the writing, renders the map as published difficult to appreciate without considerable study, and it is trusted that the trouble taken to present its geographical substance here in a more lucid and compact form will not have been thrown away.

Those sheets of the map which pertain to Asia have alone been copied. The scale is one-fourth that of the original. All the embellishments, geometrical lines, and long rubrics, have been omitted, preserving the essential points of the latter, where it has been possible to do so in few words. On the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, which are thickly studded with names in the original, only a few have been selected, but in the remainder of the map scarcely any have been intentionally omitted except a few on the Caspian. In decyphering the names the printed transcripts of the French editors have been consulted, but not servilely followed.[1]

It may be observed that in the original facsimiles the sheets do not fit to one another properly. This is especially the case with sheets III and IV, and is obvious even in my reduction, as may be seen in the fragment shown of the Arctic Sea, and in the faulty junction of the coast lines of the Peninsula of India. We find also a pair of duplicate names occurring in these two sheets (*Chabol* and *Camar*), besides other instances of apparent duplication in sheet IV. This is probably the result of inexpert compilation from different authorities, and I have seen the same thing in modern published maps of some pretension.

The date of the map has been fixed, on sufficient grounds I believe, to 1375; but the data from which it has been constructed are naturally not all of one period. Thus CATHAY is represented as the Empire of the Great Can HOLUBEIM; *i.e.*, not *Olug Beig*, as the French editors

[1] In the names extracted below there are I think scarcely any variations from the French readings, though corrections of the *original* have been suggested occasionally. But in Central Asia there are several open to amendment, as where they read *Fista* and *Evi* for *Sistā* and *Eri*, thus obscuring the otherwise obvious identification of the places *Seistan* and *Heri* or Herat.

say (a Great Khan not known to history), but *Khublai*, who died in 1294;[1] MEDEIA or the Middle Empire of the Tartars is shown as ruled by King CHABECH; *i.e.*, *Guebek* or *Kapak*, who reigned some time between 1310 and 1320; and SARRA or Kipchak is under the Lord JANIBECH; *i.e.*, *Janibeg*, the son of Mahomed Uzbek, who reigned 1342-56.

One of the aids in compiling this map was almost certainly the Portulano Mediceo, now in the Laurentian Library, or perhaps it would be more safe to say that both copied from some common source. That they did so to a certain extent will be evident from a comparison of the coasts of Arabia and Persia and the west coast of India with the names entered, as they are on this map and on the map from the Portulano engraved by Baldello Boni in the Atlas to his *Il Milione*.[2]

For Cathay and the countries adjoining it we can trace Marco Polo as one of the authorities, and perhaps Odoric as another. To the former certainly belong Calajan (*i.e. Carazan*), Vociam, Zardandan, Michem (*Mien*), Penta (*Pentam*), and many more names found here; to the latter perhaps Zayton and Fozo. Cincolam and Mingio are found in Odoric and not in Polo, but they are located here with a correctness which seems to imply independent knowledge.

Much cannot be said, however, for correctness of detail in Cathay. We have a good approximation to its general form and position in the map of Asia; Chanbalech is placed correctly at the northern extremity of the empire, and Cincolam and Caynam (*Hainan*) at the southern, whilst Zayton and Mingio (Ningpo) appropriately occupy intermediate positions. Vociam and Zardandan are rightly placed on the south-west frontier towards Michem (Ava), and Cansio (*Kancheu*) properly stands on the north-west frontier towards the desert. But in the rest of the details we have confusion or darkness. Many of the names in the interior can be recognised but doubtfully or not at all. I suspect, however, that most of them are from corrupt copies of Marco Polo. And it may be added that the representation of China and Cathay in the geography of Magini at the end of the sixteenth century is decidedly less correct in general position and almost as wild in details as this.

The 7548 islands ascribed to the Eastern Archipelago are certainly derived from Polo.[3]

As in the geographical ideas of Ibn Batuta, and it would seem of Abulfeda, one great river with its radiating branches extends all over Cathay.

The eastern peninsula of India is omitted altogether, or confused with

[1] Kublai is called *Quolibey* in Wadding's version of Pope Nicholas III's letter to the Khan of 1278 (*infra*, p. 166).

[2] Baldello's is not a perfect representation of the original, which contains half effaced traces of a good deal that he has not copied.

[3] Murray's Polo (ii, c. 4) has 7448 islands; Pauthier's (p. 250) 7459.

the Island of Java (probably Sumatra).[1] In the extreme south-east is a great Island of TAPROBANE. It exhibits a number of cities, the names of which seem to be imaginary, and it is stated in the rubric to be the remotest island of the east called by the Tartars GREAT KAULI. Kaoli was the Chinese and Tartar name for Corea,[2] and this great Taprobane is perhaps a jumble of Corea and Japan.

The great river which separates India from China, rising in the mountains of BALDASSIA *(Badakhshan)*, and flowing into the Bay of Bengal, appears to be a confusion between Indus and Ganges, a confusion still more elaborately developed in the map of Fra Mauro. BENGALA itself is placed with admirable correctness.

The width of the Great Desert of Central Asia is greatly overestimated, and this has the effect of shoving up KAMUL and other cities of Eastern Turkestan into immediate contact with Siberia and the Eastern Wolga regions.

In the extreme north-east of Asia we have the nations of Gog and Magog, shut up within mountains by Alexander the Great to await the latter days.[3]

The Orontes is represented as a branch diverging from Euphrates; and in this we are again reminded of a similar error of Ibn Batuta's.[4] The Tigris is connected with the Euphrates by a branch or canal (the traces of which seem really to exist) near Baghdad (BALDACH), but flows into the sea by a separate mouth. Another great river, a duplicate of Tigris, having no prototype in nature, but perhaps an amalgamation of the two Zabs and other rivers east of Tigris, flows from the seas of ARGIS and MARGA (Lakes Van and Urumia), and enters the Persian Gulf to the eastward.

[1] In the facsimile the name is written *Jana*. The same clerical error occurs in Jordanus (p. 30), and perhaps he was one of the authorities used. For near it we have also the Island of the Naked Folk which that friar mentions. In *Jana* also the map shows us the *Regio Feminarum*, which Polo, Conti, Jordanus, and Hiwen Thsang all concur in placing in the western part of the *Indian* Ocean. But a Chinese authority quoted by Pauthier places it in the immediate vicinity of Java (*Polo*, iii, ch. 33; *Conti*, p. 20; *Jordanus*, p. 44; *Vie de H. Thsang*, p. 208; *Pauthier's Polo*, p. 559).

[2] V. *infra*, pp. 257, 268.

[3] The name given to the mountains (*Caspis*) shows the curious jumble between the Wall of Darband and the Wall of China, between the Caucasian nations, the Tartars, and the Gog Magog of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse which was involved in this legend. It is very old, for it is found in the Pseudo-Callisthenes edited by Müller (pp. 139, 143). It seems that a prince of the Shut-Up Nations found his way out in the sixteenth century, but he had better have stayed where he was: "It is reported by certain writers that the King of Tabor came from those parts to seek Francis I of France and Charles V the Emperor, and other Christian princes, in order to gain them secretly over to Judaism. But by the command of Charles V at Mantua in 1540 *his temerity was punished in the fire*" (*Magini, Geografia*, Venet., 1598, f. 171, *v.*)

[4] *Infra*, p. 432.

The Oxus flows into the Caspian in the latitude of Urganj after passing that city (ORGANCI). There is no indication of the Aral.[1]

Notwithstanding these and many other errors the map is a remarkable production for the age. The general form of Asia is fairly conceived; the Peninsula of India is shown I believe for the first time with some correctness of form and direction. In these respects the map is greatly superior to the more ambitious work of Fra Mauro in the following century. The Catalan geographer was probably more of a practical man, and did not perplex himself and distort his geography with theories about the circular form of the inhabited earth. Unluckily, however, he seems to have allowed his topography towards the north and south to be compressed, by no theories indeed, but by the limits of his parchment!

The following is an orderly list of the names shown on our reduction of the map in some of its most interesting portions, with as many identifications as I have been able to suggest.[2]

IN SHEET II.

Countries North of the Black Sea.

"ROSSIA, BURGARIA, COMANIA, GATZARIA, ALLANIA."

R. Tiulo .	. The Dniester; ancient *Tyŕas*;[3] *Turlú* of the Mahomedans.
R. Lussom	. The Dnieper. Sharifuddin calls the Dnieper *Uzi*,[4] which is perhaps the name here *(L'Uzi)*.
R. Tanay .	. The *Don (Tanais)*.
Torachi .	. *Torshok* N.W. of Twer.
Rostaor .	. *Rostow*
Tifer .	. *Twer*
Perum .	. Novgorod? where there was a great idol called Perum.[5]
Baltachinta	. *Poltawa?* Timur returning from the sack of Moscow took guides to travel across the steppes by way of *Balchimkin (P. de la Croix*, ii, 365). That translator gives as explanation of the name "les Palus Meotides;" but this is probably one of his random shots.

[1] In the map of Marino Sanudo dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century, besides the Caspian, which he calls *M. Yrcanum*, we have a smaller sea in the position of the Aral called *M. Caspium*, and then yet another and still smaller into which the *Gyon* flows.

[2] A few of these identifications only are given by the French editors. M. Elie de la Primaudaie, in his *Etudes sur le Commerce au Moyen Age*, has identified nearly all the names on the Black Sea and Caspian Coasts. These I have not repeated here.

[3] "Nullo tardior amne Tyras" (*Ovid., Epist. ex Pont.*, iv, 10). For Turlu, see *Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 274.

[4] *Petis de la Croix*, ii, 360.

[5] *Gwagnini*, Sarmatia Europ. descripta, Moscovia, f, 8-9.

Branchicha .	Somewhere near Czernikov, where we hear of a great forest of *Branki (Magini)*. There was also a city *Bransko* in the same quarter.
Chiva . .	*Kiev.*
Canada . .	*Caminietz ?*
Calamit . .	Eupatoria ? on *Kalamita* Bay.
Cembaro . .	Balaclava (see p. 173).
Soldaya . .	*Sudak.*
CAFFA.	
Porto Pisano .	Taganrog.
Tana . .	Azov.
	Egypt.
Larissa . .	*El-Arish.*
Damiyat . .	*Damietta*
Casar Bochir .	*Abukir*
ALEXANDRIA.	
Chayre . .	*Cairo*
Babillonia .	Old Cairo (p. 387).
Bussi . .	*Bûsh*, near Beni Suef (see *Ibn Bat.* ii. 95),
Mijnere . .	*Minieh*
Ieuch (read Seuth) .	*Siût*
Chossa . .	*Kûs* (see p. 399, *note* 2).
Tegia . .	? near Luksor. Possibly should read *Begia*, a station of the Bejah tribes of the Red Sea desert who held the emerald mines of Berenice; see quotation from Masudi in Corrections below.
Ansee . .	*Esneh*
Lialeyse (read S—) .	*Silsilah*
Sohan . .	*Assuan*
Hurma . .	*Darmut ?*
DONCOLA . .	(Old Donkola). The Dominican Bartholomew of Tivoli was made Missionary Bishop of Donkola in 1330 (*Le Quien*, iii, 1414).
Coale . .	*Ghalwa* of Edrisi (i, 33).
Dobaha . .	Al-*Dabah*, above Donkola.
Sobaha . .	*Sobah*, the ruins of which are near Khartum ?
Ciutat Sioene .	From the ancients.
Insula Meroe .	
Ciutat de Nubia .	*Nuâbah* of *Edrisi*, i, 25.
Al-Bayadi .	Little Oasis ?
Desert de Gipte .	Lybian Desert.
	Coast of Red Sea.
Mns. of Barchium.	
Meda . .	Suakin ?

Lidebo . .	*Aidhāb.*
Chos . .	*Kosseir.*
Aydip . .	A double of Aidhab.
ELIIM . .	Exodus (xv, 27).
ESSIONGEBER .	(Deut. ii, 8 ; 1 Kings ix, 26).
Guidè . .	*Jiddah.*
Semin . .	*Zabīd ?*

Armenia, the Euphrates, and Interior Syria.

Poperti . .	*Baiburt.*
Savast . .	*Siwas (Sebaste).*
Scisia . .	*Sis* (p. 281).
Malmistra .	*Mississa (Mopsuestia).*
Layazo . .	*Aias* (p. 280).
G. of Caramela .	(Read *Cannamela)* G. of Scanderún. The castle Cannamella between Scanderun and Malmistra is mentioned by *Wilibrand of Oldenburg*, xi.
Malasia . .	*Malatia.*
Brisom . .	Castle of *Parshiam ?* see *Ritter*, x, 866, 868.
Benzab . .	*Membaj* or *Benbij ?*
Tira . .	(Read *Bīra*) *Bir*
Serug . .	*Seruj* or *Sarug*, S.W. of Urfa.
Domasch . .	*Damascus.*
Mt. Ermon .	*Hermon.*
„ Sanir. .	*Shenir* of Deuter. iii ; *Sanyr* of Friar Burchard iii, 7, 8, for the S. part of Hermon ; see also *Prairies d'Or*, iv, 87.
„ Jilahd .	*Gilead*
„ PISGA.	
„ *Abari* .	*Abarim*, see *Numb.* xxvii, 12, and *Deut.* xxxii, 49.
„ NEBO.	
„ de Rubeo .	?
Sea of Gamora .	Dead Sea.

IN SHEET II.

Country North of the Caspian.

EMPIRE OF SARRAY.

R. Edil . .	The *Athil* or Wolga.
COSTRAMA.	
Borgar . .	City of *Bolgar* (see p. 401).
Jorman . .	*Julman* of Rashid and *Masalak-al-absar*, supposed the country on the Kama, asserted to be called also R. *Cholma* (see *Not. et Extr.*, xiii, 274). The Maps still show a place on the Viatka, tributary of the Kama, called *Churmansk.*

Pascherit .	*Bashkird.*
Fachatim .	*Viatka ?*
Sebur .	*Sibir*, ancient city near Tobolsk.
City of Marmorea	Mercator and Hondius (10th Ed., 1630) and N. Sanson (1650) show *Jorman* on the south of the Kama R., *Pascherti* in the position of Ufa, the present head-quarter of the Bashkirs, *Sagatin* (= *Fachatim* of the text) at the head of the Ufa River, *Marmorea* on the Bielaya south of Ufa. Blaeu (1662) has these, similarly placed, except Jorman. He has, however, *Iurmen* as a tract between Astracan and the Iaik. I suspect these names in the main were mere traditions from old maps like the Catalana.
Mns of Sebur	Altai and Thian Shan.
Zizera .	The *Jazirah* or Island on the Wolga (nr. Zaritzin).
Berchimam	Probably the Upper City of Sarai.
City of Sarra	Or Sarai (see p. 231).
Agitarchan	*Astracan.*

Countries South of the Caspian.

"ARMENIA MAJOR, KINGDOM OF TAURIS AND CHALDÆA."

Three Churches	Echmiazin? or Uch Kilisi (see p. 301).
Malascorti	*Malasjerda.*
Pasalain .	Read *Rasalain*, the ancient Callirhoe, on the Khabur.
Zizera .	*Jazirah* on the Tigris.
Arbo .	*Harba* (see *Ibn Bat.*, ii, 132, and *J.R.G.S.* ix, 445).
C. of Baldach	*Baghdad.*
Tauris .	*Tabriz.*
Sodania .	*Sultania.*
Sea of Argis	L. Van.
Argis .	*Arjish.*
Capreri .	?
Sea of Marga	L. Urumia.
Marga .	*Maragha.*
Ormi .	*Urumia.*
Cremi .	*Karmisin* is mentioned by Ibn Khallikan as a place in Kurdistan. I cannot find any other reference to it (see *Quatremère's Rashid*, p. 266).
Cade .	*Hadith?* at the confluence of the Gr. Zab and Tigris (see *Assemani*, p. 752).
Chezi .	*Khuzistan.*
Rey .	*Rai.*
Siras .	*Shiraz.*
Abdeni .	*Abadan*, on Island in mouth of Tigris.

Bassora	*Basra.*
Taiwust	*Wasit?* called Madína*ta Wásit*, ("The Two Cities Wasit," see *Edrisi*, i, 367.)
	Coast of Persia and India.
Serans or Seam	Siraf? But the Mediceo has *Sustar, i.e.*, Shustar.
Ussn	*Husn Amârat?* (see Edri., i, 379). Any castle is *Husn.*
Creman	*Kirman.*
I. of Chis	*Kish.*
I. of Ormis	*Hormuz.*
Hormisium	Old *Hormuz* on the Continent.
Nocran	*Mekran.*
Chesimo	*Kij. Mediceo* has *Chechi.*
Damonela	*Daibul.*
Semenat	*Somnath.*
Goga	*Gogo.*
BAROCHE.	
Canbetum	*Cambay.*
Cocintaya	*Med.* has *Cocintana:* the *Kokan-Tana* of Ibn Batuta (iii, 335);[1] the city of Tana (see p. 57), capital of Konkan.
Paychinor	*Faknur* of Ibn Batuta (see p. 415); Bakanur, but out of place a little.
Chintabor	*Sandábúr*, Goa (see p. 444).
Nandor (Nanaor?)	*Honore? Med.* has *Niandor.*
Pescanor	Perhaps Barçelor.
Manganor	*Mangalore.*
Elly	*Hili* (see p. 451).
Columbo	*Kaulam*, but on the wrong side of the Peninsula.
Carocam	*Karikal?*
Setemelti	Seven Pagodas? (see p. lxxvi).
Mirapor	*Mailapúr;* Madras.
Butifilis	*Mutfili* of Polo (see p. 221); but by a misunderstanding the author puts St. Thomas's tomb here.
BENGALA	(See p. 465).
	Interior of India.
Bijder	*Bidr.*
Diogil	*Deogiri* or Daulatabad.
Jaleym	*Jálna?*
DILLI.	

[1] Where Elliot, quoting Rashid, has "Guzerat, which is a great country, in which are Cambay, Súmnáth, *Konkan*, *Tana*, and several other towns and cities;" and again: "Beyond Guzerat are *Konkan and Tana*," probably the original will be found to read as here, "*Konkan-Tana*" (p. 42; I quote an extract in *Pauthier's Polo*, p. 663, not having the passage in my own notes).

Neruala .	. *Anhilwara.*
Hocibelch	. ?
Bargelidoa	. ?
MOLTAN.	

III. SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE TRAVELS OF IBN BATUTA IN BENGAL.

This is little more than a diagram, for no accurate map of Bengal east of the old Brahmaputra has yet been published. Two or three of the positions wanted in the Silhet district are, however, given by Rennell's and other maps, and others have been inserted from the information quoted at pp. 516-174, to give an idea of the localities.

IV. MAP IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE JOURNEY OF GOES.

The following maps have been used or studied in the compilation of the map in question:—

1. Wood's and other British surveys Kabul and on the Oxus, as embodied in a map by Mr. John Walker (title and date missing in my copy).
2. Kiepert's large map of Asia, Weimar, 1864.
3. Tracing of part of a map of Central Asia, by Col. G. T. Walker, R.E. of the G. Trig. Survey of India.
4. Veniukhof's Sketch of the Bolor, as given in *Petermann*, for 1861 (plate 10).
5. Extract of Schlagintweit's General Map, as given in the same place.
6. Kashmir, in Petermann for 1861, p. 1.
7. Tracing of Gen. Court's Map (*Itineraire d'Afghanistan*), in vol. viii of the *J. As. Soc. Ben.*
8. Austin's Map of Balti, etc., in J. R. G. S. for 1864.
9. Tracing of a map by Masson, from his Travels.
10. Map of the Scene of the Umbeyla Campaign, from a Parliamentary Report.
11. Macartney's Map in Elphinstone's *Caubul.*
12. Arrowsmith's Map to Burnes's Travels.
13. Map in the *Russians in Central Asia* (by Stanford apparently).
14. Keith Johnstone's Map of India, extracted from his Royal Atlas.

I have also derived from Leech's Reports on the Passes of the Hindu Kush, and still more from Wood's Journey, names and indications that do not appear in any of the maps named; a chief object having been to make that part of the map which relates to the Hindu Kush and Badakhshan as complete as possible.

I have not been able to see a translation of Veniukhof's paper on the Bolor (referred to at p. 539 *infra*, excepting as regards some extracts from the journal of the anonymous German traveller, which have been kindly made for me by Mr. Moukhine, the Consul General of Russia in Sicily. Sir H. Rawlinson appears, however, to have completely demolished the claims of the German narrative to genuineness. We have seen such strange mystifications of a somewhat similar kind in our own day that

it would be rash perhaps to say that the journey, or a part of it, was never made, but till the matter be more thoroughly investigated, none of his statements can be built upon.[1] Even if the German's MS. prove entirely worthless, the Chinese itinerary referred to by Veniukhof should be of great value.

How uncertain is still the basis of any map connecting the regions on the different sides of the Bolor, Karakorum, and Thian Shan Ranges may be judged from the following statement of the longitudes assigned in the maps before me to some of the chief points, to which are added the data for the same as given by the Chinese missionary surveyors, and those of some of them deduced by Captain Montgomerie from the papers of his Múnshí Mahomed Hamid.

	Ilchi (Khoʻan).	Yarkand.	Kashgar.	Aksu.	Issikul (W. End).	Sirikul (W. End).
Chinese Tables .	80° 21′	76° 3′	73° 48′	78° 58′	78° 12′[2]	...
Veniukhof . .	...	76° 10′	73° 58′	...	...	73° 38′
Kiepert . .	79° 12′	74° 56′	72° 53′	78° 20′	77° 30′	73° 5′
Colonel Walker .	79° 13′	76° 24′	73° 58′	79° 40′	...	73° 30′
John Walker (*Wood*)	...	...	...	...	...	73° 33′
Schlagintweit .	78° 20′	73° 58′	71° 50′	76° 27′	74° 6′	71° 28′
Golobev . .	...	...	...	...	76° 17′	...
Montgomerie .	79° 0′	77° 30′	75° 20′	...	...	...
Greatest Differences	2° 1′	3° 32′	3° 30′	3° 13′	4° 6′	2° 10′

It will be seen that the geographers who deviate most widely from all the rest are the Schlagintweits, who carry the whole of Turkestan from 2° to 3° further west than the Chinese tables. I have not seen any statement of the grounds on which this great change is based. It is certainly a bold one, for it throws over not merely the Chinese tables entirely, but the positions assigned by the Russians, north of the Thian Shan, and by the British travellers on the Oxus. Our last intelligence affords no corroboration of this revolutionary map-making. On the contrary, Captain Montgomerie's data carry the position of Yarkand one degree more to the *east* than any previous map.[3] And it is not merely as regards calculations of longitude that the Schlagintweits reject the results of the British journeys on the Oxus. Captain Wood's latitude of Sirikul is treated with equal contempt; nor does that distinguished traveller seem to be considered competent even to take a compass bearing. For the

[1] After this had gone to press I received a copy of Sir H. Rawlinson's remarks on the German narrative, and as M. Khanikhof is stated to ave taken up the defence, the question will doubtless be thoroughly hiscussed. A few memoranda that occur to me on the subject will be d und at the end of this note.

fo [2] Only an approximate deduction from other data in the tables. I ke them as given in the *Russians in Central Asia*, p. 522-3.

[3] The map had been finished when I saw in the *Times* the account of my brother officer Captain Montgomerie's paper, read at the R. Geog. Society in May 1866. I have since re-cast the part affected by that information, and I have to thank him for his kind readiness in answering questions which I sent him. But I have not seen Capt. Montgomerie's full paper, or his map.

Upper Oxus, the river which he represents himself as having travelled along for many days, and which his map shows as flowing from north-east by east to south-west by south, is made by Schlagintweit to flow from south by east to north by west. And the lake itself which Wood imagined that he saw lying east and west, is made by Schlagintweit to lie south-east and north-west.

The chief difficulty found in adjusting the longitude of the cities of Chinese Turkestan, in accordance with Captain Montgomerie's approximate determination of Yarkand, arises from the impossibility of reconciling this with the *difference* between Ilchi and Yarkand in the Jesuit Tables. This amounts in those Tables to 4° 18′; whilst the collation of Montgomerie's position of Yarkand with the Jesuit position of Ilchi reduces it to 2° 51′, and with the position which the former's own data induced him to assign to Ilchi it comes down to 1° 30′. It had indeed long been pretty certain that the Jesuit position of Ilchi was too far east; and a communication, for which I have had to thank Captain Montgomerie since this went to press, reports later data obtained by Colonel Walker (who will no doubt publish them in detail) as fixing Ilchi approximatively to longitude 79° 25′ and latitude 37° 8′. This longitude I have adopted in my map, whilst in regard to Yarkand I have stretched Captain Montgomerie's data *westward* as far as their circumstances seemed to justify (perhaps further than he would admit), assigning to it a longitude of 77°. This is still 36′ *further east* than the assignment of any previous map, whilst it *reduces* the discrepancy from the Jesuit data in relation to Ilchi, though still leaving it inevitably large.

Next to this general uncertainty about the longitudes the great geographical puzzle about this region appears to be the identity of the main source of the Oxus. In addition to Wood's River, which he traced to the Sirikul Lake, most maps represent another, a longer and therefore perhaps greater, feeder from a more northern source, under the name of the River of Bolor or Wakhsh. Nor has the narrative of Wood's journey through the district of Wakhán yet displaced from our maps another position assigned to Wakhan or Vokhan upon this northern river.

Wood unluckily never treats these questions at all. Finding Wakhan upon the Panja, just where Macartney's map led him to expect it, he notices no other place of the name, nor does he allude to any other great branch of the river. And it may well be doubted if there is in truth any other Wakhan than that which Wood passed through.[1] The position

[1] Edrisi speaks of Wakhan as the region in which the Jihun rises, lying towards Tibet. Abdulrazzak speaks of Mirza Ibrahim during a campaign in Badakhshan as advancing into *Saqnán*, *Ghand* (which Quatremère proposes to read *Waghand* or Wakhan), and *Bamir*, the exact order of Shagnán, Wakhán, and Pamir, as reported by Wood. Macartney's map, drawn up from information most carefully, many years before

assigned to the northern Vokhan of the maps is due I believe to an entry in the Chinese tables. But it seems to be very doubtful if the Jesuit observers in person actually crossed the mountains.[1] This Northern Wakhan, if not a mere displacement, I suspect to represent *Wakhsh* or the Wakhshjird of the old Arab geographers.

The existence of a place called Bolor stands on better evidence; at least there is or has been a State so called, the chief inhabited place of which would appropriate the name in the talk of foreigners, according to a well-known Asiatic practice, whether rightly or not. It appears to be mentioned as a kingdom by Hiwen Thsang *(Pololo)*; it is spoken of by Polo as the name of a province; it appears as a geographical position in the tables of Nasiruddin, and reappears in the Chinese tables of the last century with exactly the same latitude. It is also mentioned in the *Tárikh Rashidi* of the sixteenth century;[2] and its prince appears as a tributary to China in the Chinese annals of some seventy years back.[3]

But is there a great Wakhsh branch of the Oxus coming from those regions, and if so where does it join the Panja or river of the Sirikul? To the first question I would answer in the affirmative. The very name *Wakhsh* appears to be that from which the classical and Chinese names of the combined stream *(Oxus,* and *Potsu* or *Fatsu)* are derived. It is also spoken of both by Hiwen Thsang and by Edrisi, and by the latter is described as a very great river, though he evidently regards the Panja of Wood as the chief source.

Hiwen Thsang on the other hand appears to have regarded the Wakhsh branch as the main Potsu or Oxus. For after describing the Lake of Pamir, apparently the Sirikul of Wood, he says: "This lake discharges to the westward; for a river issues from it which runs west to the eastern frontier of the kingdom of *Tamositieti*, and *then joins the River Potsu;* their waters flow westward and are discharged into the sea."[4]

The following extracts show what Edrisi says on the subject:

"The Jihun takes its rise in the country of WAKHAN[5] on the frontier

Wood's journey, gives Darwáz, Shagnán, Wakhan, exactly in Wood's order. Burnes, a few years before Wood, does the same. (*Edrisi*, i, 472; *Not. et Extraits*, xiv, 491.)

[1] Father Felix d'Arocha, President of the Mathematical Board at Peking, followed the Chinese armies in 1759 to Kashgar and Yarkand (*Ritter*, vii, 432).

[2] "*Malaur* is a country with few level spots. It has a circuit of four months' march. The eastern frontier borders on Kashgar and Yarkand; it has Badakhshan to the north, Kabul to the west, and Kashmir to the south," etc. (*Not. et Extraits*, xiv, 492).

[3] See *Pauthier's Polo*, p. 133.

[4] *Vie de H. T.*, p. 272.

[5] Jaubert has *Újún*, or rather (as his transcription of the Arabic shows) *Wajún*, an obvious misreading for *Wakhán*. I regret that I cannot show these corrections (without which it is useless to quote the French Edrisi) in Arabic letters, which would carry conviction of their fairness,

of BADAKHSHAN, and there it bears the name of *Khari-ab*.[1] It receives five considerable tributaries which come from the countries of KHUTL[2] and WAKSH. Then it becomes a river surpassing all the rivers in the world as regards volume, depth and breadth of channel.

The Khariab receives the waters of a river called *Akhsua* or *Mank*,[3] those of *Thán*[4] or *Balian*, of *Farghan* (or *Faughán*), of *Anjára* (or *Andijára*'), of WAKHSHAB with a great number of affluents coming from the mountains of BOTM : (it also receives) other rivers such as those of *Sághanián*,[5] and *Kawádián*,[6] which all join in the province of the latter name and discharge into the Jihun.

"The Wakhsh-ab takes its rise in the country of the Turks; after arriving in the country of Wakhsh it loses itself under a high mountain, where it may be crossed as over a bridge. The length of its subterranean course is not known ; finally, however, it issues from the mountain, runs along the frontier of the country of Balkh and reaches Tarmedh. The bridge of which we have spoken serves as a boundary between Khutl and Wakhshjird.

"The river having passed to Tarmedh flows on to Kilif, to Zam, to Amol, and finally discharges its waters into the Lake of Khwarizm (the Aral).

"Badakhshan is built on the west bank of the Khariab, the most considerable of the rivers that fall into the Jihun.[7] They bring to Badakhshan the musk of the regions of Tibet adjoining Wakhan. Badakhshan has on its frontier *Kanauj*, a dependency of India.[8]

"The two provinces which you reach first beyond the Jihun are Khutl and Wakhsh. Although distinct and separate provinces they are under the same government. They lie between the Khariab and the Wakhshab, the first of which rivers bathes the eastern part of Khutl, and the other the country of Wakhsh, of which we have spoken. . . . Khutl is a province

but at my distance from the press it gives too much trouble to the printer.

[1] This *Khari* is perhaps the *Icarus* of which Pliny speaks, on the authority of Varro (vi, 19).

[2] Jaubert throughout has *Jíl*, a name that seems totally unknown hereabouts (*Jíl* is another name for *Gílan*). There can be little doubt that it is misread for *Khutl* (sometimes called *Khutlán*) a province frequently mentioned as lying north of the Oxus towards Karategin. It is probably the *Kotulo* of Hiwen Thsang.

[3] Mank is afterwards described as a dependence of Jíl (Khutl).

[4] Afterwards apparently written Tha'lán (beginning with the fourth Arabic letter), and I believe a misreading for *Baghlán*.

[5] Apparently the Kafirnihan of the maps.

[6] Perhaps the Tupalak of the maps.

[7] This does not answer to the position of Fyzabad, the capital of Badakhshan, abandoned in Wood's time, but reoccupied by Mír Shah, the present chief.

[8] *Kanauj* is absurd. I suspect it should be read *Mastauj*.

everywhere very mountainous except near Wakhsh and the country of *Akjar* which borders on Mank, a dependency of Khutl."[1]

Further on, in giving a route from Sághánián *(Cheghánián)* to Wasjird *(Wakhshjird)* he mentions that the road comes upon the Wakhshab between nine miles, and thirty miles from the former place, and that the river has here a breadth of *three miles*. . . . "From Wakhshjird to the place where the Wakhshab loses itself under a mountain is one short day. . . .

"On the borders of Wakhsh and Khutl are Wakhán and Saknia, dependencies of the Turks' country. From Wakhán to Tibet is eighteen days. Wakhán possesses very rich silver mines, producing ore of excellent quality. Gold is found in the valleys when the torrents have been in flood.[2] . . . Musk and slaves are also exported. Saknia is a town in dependence on the Khizilji Turks. It is five days from Wakhán, and its territories border on the possessions of China."[3]

In spite of the obscurities of these passages we can gather that the feeder of the Oxus which Edrisi's authorities regarded as the main one came from Wakhán, a country lying in the direction of Tibet, but that it received somewhere before reaching Tarmedh another great branch called the Wakhshab, so great as to be reported in one part of its course to have a channel three miles wide, and which rose in the Turk's country, *i.e.* at least as far off as the main chain of the Bolor; also that between those two great branches lay the provinces of Wakhsh and Khutl.

But where do these two streams join? Wood, the most competent to have settled the question, *in his book*, as we have seen, takes no notice of the Wakhshab at all. Nor is there any distinct trace of it in Macartney's map, though a tributary of the Oxus which he represents under the name of the *Surkháb* or R. of Karategín, entering the main stream a short distance above its confluence with the Kokcha has by later geographers (*e.g.* by the author of the map to *Russians in Central Asia*) been expanded into identity with the great Bolor-Wakhsh branch. But as Wood in his journey from Kila'h-Chap to Jan-Kila'h and Sayad *twice* passed the mouth of this Surkhab, so good an observer would scarcely have omitted to notice the confluence of a rival Oxus.

The gallant seaman is still more slightingly treated by Kiepert in his map of Asia. That geographer denies entirely the identity of the river which Wood ascended for thirty miles (as has just been mentioned) from the Kokcha confluence at Kila'h-Chap to Sayad, with that river which

[1] *Mank* is perhaps the *Mungkien* (or Munkan) of Hiwen Thsang (see *Vie de H. T.*, pp. 269, 422).

[2] Wood mentions a torrent in Wakhan called *Zerzumen*, probably *Zar-Zamin*, "Gold-ground." He also says all the tributaries of the Oxus are fertile in gold (p. 382).

[3] This *Saknia* does not seem to be Shagnán of Wood, which is below Wakhán. It appears to correspond to the *Shikini* of Hiwen Thsang.

the same traveller had previously tracked from near the Ruby-Mines up to the Sirikul. The former river is conjured by Kiepert from the east to the west of the town of Sayad, and identified by him with the Bolor-Wakhsh River: the latter, under a new name, *Duwân*, due to the anonymous German, occupies quite a subordinate position, and is introduced into the Kokcha about half-way between Fyzabád and Kila'h-Chap; a clandestine union surely! at a spot within a few miles of which Wood passed twice without being aware of it, and within five and twenty miles of which he lived for several weeks. Veniukhof's treatment of this admirable traveller is equally violent, and we have already seen how he fares at the hands of the Schlagintweits. Surely this is geography run mad.

Perhaps Wood's own map suggests the real point of union, though without recognising its importance. In J. Walker's map of Wood's surveys we find the *Wagish* River indicated as entering the Oxus some twelve or thirteen miles to the *west* of Hazrat Imám, at a point of the river's course yet visited by no modern traveller. In my map I have assumed this to be the real Wakhshab, a hypothesis which has at least the advantage of not flying in the face of an honest and able traveller.

Another vexed question embraced in this field is the course of the main feeder of the Yarkand river. According to Moorcroft's information, probably derived from Izzetoollah' (see J.R.G.S., vol. i, p. 245), this rises in the north face of the Karakorum Pass, and flows in a northerly (north-westerly) direction to a point where it receives drainage from the (Eastern) Sarikul, and the Bolor Mountains, and then turns east (north-east) towards Yarkand. But, according to the best interpretation, I can put upon the Chinese Hydrography translated by Julien (*N. Ann. des Voyages*, 1846, iii, 23, *seqq.*), the river rising in Karakorum, which I take to be that there termed *Tingdsapuho*, only joins the stream from Karchu and Sarikul *below* Yarkand. In the map I have hypothetically adopted the latter view, but with no great confidence. I may add that both the authorities just cited illustrate the name given by Goës to the mountain between Sarikul and Yanghi-Hisar (Chechalith, no doubt misread for *Chechalich*),[1] the Chinese terming it *Tsitsikling*, and Moorcroft *Chechuklik* or "Place of Flowers".

Before concluding, I venture to contribute two or three remarks in aid of the discussion regarding the anonymous German Traveller.

Abdul Medjid, the British messenger in 1860, made *nineteen* long marches from Fyzabad to the Karakul. The German is only *eleven* days, less some days' halt, say only eight days, from Karakul to Badakhshan (Fyzabad).

The German represents the city just named as on the *south* side of

[1] See p. 563, *infra*.

the river on which it stands. We know from Wood that it is on the *north* side.

But on the other hand the German narrative, whether fictitious or no, contains indications of special sources of knowledge. For example, the name *Chakheraller*, which it applies to a mountain north of the Karakul, will be found in the Chinese Hydrography recently quoted, applied in the same way. The German speaks of the *Duvan*, by which the main Oxus of Wood seems meant, as crossed by a bridge to the north of Badakhshan. Wood tells us (p. 398) that it is bridged in that quarter. And the German speaks of the river of Vokhan passing underground at a spot on the frontier of the district of Vokhan, a remarkable coincidence with the statement of Edrisi quoted at p. ccxxxv.

I would suggest to any one trying to settle the question about this narrative a careful comparison of its indications with the map which Klaproth published of Central Asia. To that I have no access.

NOTE XXI.

TITLES OF SOME BOOKS QUOTED IN THIS WORK BY ABBREVIATED REFERENCES.

ABULPHARAGIUS, Historia Compend. Dynastiarum, etc., ab Ed. Pocockio. Oxon, 1663.

ACAD. means Mém. de l'Acad des Inscriptions.

ASSEMANI, Bibliotheca Orientalis. When no volume is specified the reference is to vol. iii, part ii, containing the account of the Nestorian Church.

ASTLEY. A new general collection of Voyages and Travels, etc. Printed for Thomas Astley. London, 4 vols., 1745-47.

BABER, Memoirs of the Emperor; by Leyden and Erskine. 1826.

BALDELLI BONI, Il Milione di M. Polo. Firenze, 1827.

BARBOSA (Lisbon ed.) Livro de Duarte Barbosa in Collecção de Noticias, etc., publicada pela Acad. Real das Sciencias Tomo II. Lisboa, 1812.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, see Early Travellers in Palestine.

BROWN'S VULGAR ERRORS. Bohn's Edition.

CHINE (ANCIENNE), Description Historique, etc., etc., par M. G. Pauthier. Paris, 1837 (*L'Univers Pittoresque*).

——— (MODERNE), par Pauthier et Bazin. Ditto, ditto, 1853.

CRAWFURD; Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and adjacent countries. London, 1856.

——— Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language. London, 1852.

D'Avezac. Notice sur les Anciens Voyages de Tartarie en général, et sur celui de Jean du Plan de Carpin en particulier. (In vol. iv of Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publié par la Soc. de Géographie. Paris, 1839).

Davis. The Chinese, new ed. in 3 vols., and a supply. volume, C. Knight. 1844.

Deguignes. Histoire des Huns.

Della Decima, see p. 280.

D'Ohsson, Hist. des Mongols. par Baron C.; La Haye et Amsterdam, 1834.

Early Travellers in Palestine, edited by T. Wright. Bohn's Antiq. Library.

Edrisi, La Geographie de, traduite, etc., par P. Amedée Jaubert. Paris, 1836-1840.

Elliot, Sir H. M. Biographical Index to the Historians of Muhamedan India, vol. i. Calcutta, 1849.

Gildemeister; Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis Loci et Opuscula Inedita. Bonn, 1838.

Jarric. See p. 530.

J.A.S.B. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J.R.A.S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J.R.G.S. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.

Johnson, Francis; Dict. Persian, Arabic, and English. 1852.

Jour. Asiat. Journal Asiatique.

Klaproth. Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie. Paris, 1824-25.

———— Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie, etc. Paris, 1826.

Künstmann, Prof. Friedrich (see p. 39).

Laprimaudaie, F. Elie de. Etudes sur le Commerce au Moyen Age. Paris, 1848.

Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde. 1847-1862.

Linschoten. Hist. de la Navigation de Jean Hugues de Linschot, Hollandois. 3ième ed. Amsterdam, 1638. Sometimes the Latin edition, Hagæ Com. 1599.

Ludolf. Historia Æthiopica, Francof. a.m., 1681. Commentarius, etc., 1691, and Suppt., 1693.

Mandeville's Travels, see Early Travellers in Palestine.

Martini. Martinii Atlas Sinensis. In Blaeu's Atlas, vol. x, and in Thévenot's Collection.

Mas'udi; Maçoudi, Les Prairies d'Or, Par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille. Paris, 1861 *seqq.*

Moor's Notices of the Indian Archipelago. Singapore, 1837.

Mosheim. Historia Tartarorum Ecclesiastica. Helmstadi, 1741. The book is *not* by Mosheim, as the preface informs you; but written under his instructions.

PAOLINO, Fra—— di S. Bartolomeo, etc., Viaggio alle Indie Orientali. Roma, 1796.

PEREGRINATORES MEDII ÆVI QUATUOR (Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, [Pseudo] Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg). Recensuit J. C. M. Laurent, Lipsiæ, 1864.

PIGAFETTA. Il Primo Viaggio intorno del Mondo. Milan, 1800.

PLANO CARPINI. In tom. iv of the Recueil de Voyages, etc. (see D'Avezac).

POLO, MARCO. When quoted simply, the reference is to the fourth edition of that by Hugh Murray.

———— PAUTHIER'S. Le Livre de Marco Polo, Par M. G. Pauthier, Paris, 1865.

———— BÜRCK'S. Leipzig, 1845.

———— See BALDELLI.

PAUTHIER; L'Inscription Syro-Chinoise de Si-ngan-fou, etc. Paris, 1858.

———— De L'Authenticité de l'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou, etc. Paris, 1857.

———— Histoire des Relations Politiques de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales. Paris, 1859.

———— See *Polo* and *Chine*.

QUATREMÈRE'S RASHID, see *Rashid*.

QUÉTIF and ECHARD, Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum. Paris, 1719.

RASHID. Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, par Raschid-el-din, traduite, etc., par M. Quatremère. Paris, 1836.

REINAUD; Relations des Voyages faits par les Arabes dans l'Inde et à la Chine, etc. Paris, 1845.

———— Relations Politiques et commerciales de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale, etc. Paris, 1863.

RELATIONS, etc., see *Reinaud*.

REMUSAT, Abel-, Melanges Asiatiques, Paris, 1825; and Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques, Paris, 1829.

RITTER. Erdkunde.

RITTER'S LECTURES. Gesch. der Erdkunde und der Entdeckungen .... herausgegeben von H. A. Daniel. Berlin, 1861.

RUBRUQUIS. In tom. iv of the Recueil de Voyages, etc. (see D'Avezac).

ST. MARTIN, Mémoires Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Armenie, etc. Paris, 1818-19.

ST. MARTIN ON LEBEAU. Hist. du Bas Empire (with notes and corrections by St. Martin). Paris, 1828.

SCHILTBERGER. Reisen des Johannes——aus München; Von K. F. Neumann. München, 1859.

SCHMIDT, I. J.; Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen, etc., verfasst Von Ssanang Sstzen Chungtaidschi. St. Petersburg, 1829.

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NOTE XXII.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

P. xxxvii, last line; Tzinista, *a name which no one has questioned to indicate China*. This is a mistake; for Baron Walckenaer maintains Tzinista to be Tenasserim (see *N. Ann. des Voyages*, vol. 53, 1832, p. 5).

P. xlviii, a little below middle; *Patricius*. This appears from Assemani to be the translated name of *Mar-Aba*, Patriarch of the Nestorian Church, from 536 to 552 (see ii, 412; iii, 75-76; iii, pt. ii, 406). The same author says that Cosmas, in his expositions of Scripture and his system of the World, closely follows two chief Nestorian Doctors, Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus (405).

P. l, and Note 3; *Taissan*. What renders the change of *Thiantsé* or some similar term into *Taissan* more probable than it seems at first sight, is the fact that Ssanang Ssetzen calls the title by which the Chinese Emperor, Yngtsong, ascended the throne for the second time (A.D. 1457) *Taissun*, the real title being *Thianshun*, "Favoured by Heaven" (see *Schmidt*, p. 293, and *Chine Ancienne*, p. 405).

P. lvi; *Antu*. With reference to this name, apparently indicating *Antioch*, it is curious to read in Mas'udi that, at the time of the Muslman conquest there remained of the original name of the city only the letters *Alif*, *Nún*, and *Tá* (*Ant* or *Anta*, see *Prairies d'Or*, iii, 409).

P. lxxviii. The facts stated in Sir H. Rawlinson's paper in vol. xxvii of the J.R.G.S., p. 185, seem to throw very great doubt upon the allegation that Hira could have been a haven for eastern trade at the time indicated, if *ever* it was so.

P. lxxxiii, and Note 2; *City of Siurhia;* see also p. cxxv, Note 1. Some clue to the origin of this name may perhaps lie in the circumstance that the Mongol Ssanang Ssetzen appears to give Daitu or Peking, as the capital of the Great Khan, the appellation of SIRO-*Khaghan*. The meaning of the title is not explained by Schmidt (see his work, p. 127).

P. ci, Note, near bottom; *Sornau.* Mr. Badger, in his notes on Varthema (p. 213), is not inclined to accept Mendez Pinto's authority, which he supposes to stand alone, for calling Siam *Sornau.* But I have recently found that the name *Sarnau* is used several times by Varthema's contemporary, Giovanni d'Empoli, in a connexion that points to Siam. In one passage he speaks of Pedir in Sumatra as being frequented by "Junks, which are the ships of Bengala, Pecu (*Pegu*), Martamam (*Martaban*), SARNAU, and Tanazzar" (*Tanasserim*). In another passage he couples it again with Tenasserim as a place which supplied the finest white Benzoin, Lac, etc. The Italian editor interprets the name as *Sirian,* but for this I see no ground (see Letters of D'Empoli in *Archivio Storico Italiano, Appendice,* tom. iii, pp. 54, 80; Firenze, 1845).

P. cxxxi, § 103; *Siege of Siangyangfu.* As I learn from Pauthier (*M. Polo,* pp. xiii, and 472 *seqq.*), it is a mistake to suppose that Marco was at this siege, which occurred before his arrival in China; and though most editions represent him as present, two of the best MSS. do not. There are difficulties about the presence of even the two elder Poli, but there is no call to discuss them here. For *Hukong* in this passage read *Hupê.*

P. clxxx; *These people have a great fondness for the emerald stone, etc.* So Mas'udi says one species of emerald from the country of the Bejah (Blemmyes?) was called *Bahri,* because so much prized by the Kings of Transmarine countries, such as Hind, Sind, Zinj, and Sín, who sought it diligently "*to set in their diadems*", etc. (*Prairies d'Or,* iii, 44).

P. 27, near bottom; *Odorici comes.* This phrase is from the book *De Orbis Situ,* quoted at p. cxli, *supra.*

P. 32, second paragraph. The Munich MS., No. 903, is of the edition of Henry of Glatz (see p. 21). It was written in 1422, brought from Ireland to Bavaria in 1529, and has been printed in vol. iii of the *Storia Univ. delle Missioni Francescane,* by P. da Civezza, alluded to at p. 39. These particulars I learn from the pamphlet noticed in the next note but one.

P. 33. The two following notes of MSS. of Odoric were accidentally omitted. I do not know in what language the second is, nor do I remember where I found the first, which I give as it is in my note-book.

29. "IMPERIAL LIBRARY at Vienna. Parchment MS., *Memorabilia quæ vidit Fr. Odoricus de Foro Julii Ord. Frat. Min. Scripta per Fr. Gul. de Solagna (Archiv. der Gesellschaft,* etc. iii, 618, 639)."

30. "CITY LIBRARY, Nuremburg. There is a volume in this library containing Polo, St. Brandan, Mandeville, *Odoric of Friuli,* and John Schildberger (*Catal. Bibl. Solg.,* i, No. 34, quoted in *Mürr, Hist. Diplom. de Martin Behaim,* p. 9)."

P. 39. Add to the Bibliography of Odoric:—

26. "*L'Itinerario del B. Odorico Mattiussi, Discorso con Appendici,*"

published in "*Stato del Ginnasio Arcivescovile di Udine alla fine dell' Anno Scolastico*, 1865. Udine Tip. Jacob e Colmenga".

For this pamphlet I am indebted to the kind attention of Dr. Vincenzo Joppi of Udine. It is a prize essay by a student of the seminary, and is a creditable performance, taking, however, the high clerical view of Odorico's saintship, and maintaining the notion that the Travels have been largely interpolated, which is a mistaken one.

P. 55, Note 3; *India Infra Terram.* Mas'udi mentions that at the time of the Mahomedan conquest the country about Basrah was called *Arz-ul-Hind*, "The Land of India" (*Prairies d'Or*, iv, 225).

P. 72, Note; *Malé of Cosmas*, etc. This is wrong. The Malé of Cosmas is a region (Malabar), not a sea-port.

P. 82, Note 2; *Tank into which offerings were cast.* Odoric's story is corroborated by the *Masálak-al-Absár*, which says that among the towns in the south of India conquered by Mahomed Tughlak (a few years after Odoric's visit) was one standing by a lake in the middle of which was an idol-temple which enjoyed a great reputation in that country, and into which the people used continually to cast their offerings. After the capture of the city the Sultan caused the lake to be drained and the wealth which he found accumulated in it sufficed to load two hundred elephants and several thousand oxen (*Not. et Extraits*, xiii, 220-221).

P. 84, Note 2; *Lambri.* The reference to Debarros should have been cited from Murray's Polo (pt. iii, ch. 14). And a circumstance noted there which I had overlooked shows that Lambri lay *south* of Daya, and not between Daya and Achin.

P. 92, Note 2. A modern authority states that the islands from Java to Timor "are separated from one another by narrow channels of unfathomable depth, through which the current from the Pacific, caused by the prevalence of easterly winds, rushes with great force" (*Windsor Earle* in J.R.G.S., xv, 359).

P. 105, Note 3. It is wrong to say that Ibn Batuta speaks of *Khánfú*. He speaks of *Khansá*, of which Khanfu was probably the port, though the names were interchanged by the Arabs.

P. 107, Note 1. *The Chinese goose.* A zoological friend, Mr. Henry Giglioli, attached to the Italian Expedition of circumnavigation, writes to me from Singapore (May 18th, 1866), that among a flock of "knobbed" geese in the Chinese quarter there he had seen one "with a well-developed membrane hanging under its beak". So that Odoric's account can be justified.

P. 109, Note 1, and p. 110; *The barrel of horn.* Hiwen Thsang describes a horn of some three feet in height as worn by the married women of *Himatala*, apparently a district of Upper Badakhshan (*Vie de H. T.*, p. 269).

P. 154, Note; *Melistorte* or *Millescorte.* The occurrence of the name

Malascorti (for *Malasjird*) in the Catalan Map, suggests that the title given to the Assassins' country may have been in some way confounded with that name.

P. 156, Note 2; *Musical Sounds from Sand in Motion.* To the examples of this noted here and at p. 398, I may add at least two more, making six in all. One is communicated by my friend Mr. C. R. Markham, who says:—"The musical sounds caused by moving sand, which astonished Odoric, are heard also in the deserts of the west coast of Peru. Mrs. Markham and I heard them when we halted amidst the *medanos* or hills of light sand in the Arequipa Desert." Another case was discovered by the late Hugh Miller in the Island of Eigg (see *Cruise of the Betsy*, quoted in *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1858, p. 405). See also Mr. Bollaert's notice of the *Bramador* or Rumbling Mountain of Tarapaca, which appears to be an instance distinct from Mr. Markham's (J.R.G.S., xxi, 104).

P. 179, Note; *Metropolitan Sees of the Nestorian Church.* The lists, as given by the original authors in Assemani's second volume (pp. 458-9) differ somewhat from these. I take the opportunity of presenting them here with some more precise geographical explanations.

The earlier list as given by Elias Metropolitan of Damascus (A.D. 893), is as follows:—

1. Province of the Patriarch (resident at Baghdad); 2. Jandisapúr; 3. Nisibis; 4. Mosul; 5. Bethgarma; 6. Damascus; 7. Rai; 8. Herat; 9. Armenia; 10. Kand (supposed *Samarkand*); 11. Fars; 12. Barda'a; 13. Halwán.

The later list as given by Amru, who wrote about 1349, runs thus:—

1. JANDISABUR [or Jandisháṕur, a city of Khuzistan built by Sapor I; identified by Rawlinson with the traces of a great city at Sháhábád between Dizfúl and Shuster (J.R.G.S., ix, 72)].

2. NISIBIN [Nisibis].

3. BASRAH.

4. MOSUL and ATHUR [or Nineveh].

5. ARBIL and HAZAH [*Chazene* and part of *Adiabene;* see p. 53].

6. BAJARMA, i.e., Beth-Garma [in the region of Ptolemy's *Garamæi*, north of Baghdad. The see is also called *Karkha* and *Beth-Seleucia*; and Assemani identifies it with "the ancient Seleucia Elymaidis adjoining the river Hedyphon or Hedypnus"; but here he goes strangely astray, some four hundred miles indeed. Rawlinson points out the true site as that called now Eski Baghdad, a little east of the Tigris, and below Dúr (J.R.G.S., x, 93-94). It was apparently the *Charcha* mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in the retreat of Jovian after Julian's death (*Ritter*, x, 157; *Am. Marc.*, xxv, 6).]

7. HALWAN [called also, according to Assem., *Halacha*, and believed to be the *Calah* of Gen. x, 11, and the *Halah* of the Captivity; eight

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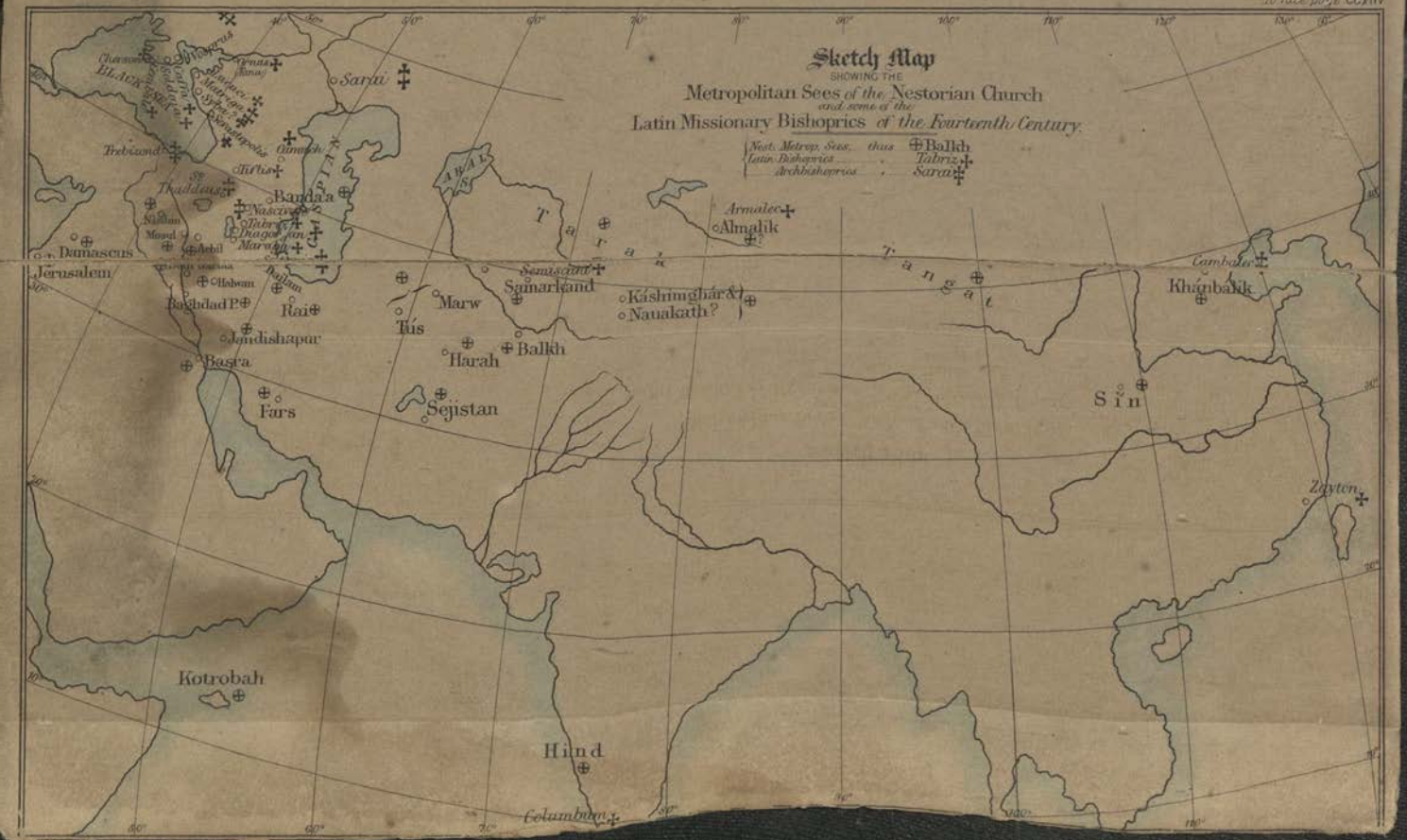


miles south of the modern Zoháb in the Province of Kirmanshah (see Rawlinson, as above, ix, 35). It was a hot-weather residence of the Khalifs].

8. FARS.

9. MARW.

10. HARAH [Herat].

11. KOTROBAH. [According to Edrisi this was an island inhabited by Christians, which by his description must have been near Socotra. As there is no island suiting the description but Socotra itself, and as Polo specifies that the latter island had an archbishop, there can be little doubt that Kotrobah is another name for Socotra].

12. SÍN [i.e., China. The see was probably at Singanfu].

13. HIND [i.e., India].

14. BARDA'A. [This city was the metropolis of the Province of Ar-Rán on the Kur. It is often mentioned in the History of Timur. Arrowsmith's Map to Burnes marks it on the R. Terter a considerable distance to the south-east of the modern Elisabetpol. See also J.R.G.S., vol. iii, p. 31].

15. DAMASHK [Damascus].

16. RAI and TABARISTAN [country E. of Tehran].

17. DAILAM [S.W. of the Caspian, the hill country above *Gilán*.]

18. SAMARKAND.

19. TARK [Turkish Tribes beyond Samarkand probably].

20. HALAHA [as we have already had Halwán, considered to be the same with Halaha, Assem. proposes to read *Balkh*].

21. SEJISTAN.

The remaining names are entered in the margin of the MS., viz. :—

22. JERUSALEM. [This became a metropol. see in 1200.]

23. KHANBALIK and AL FALIK [qu. *Almálik* ?]

24. TANGAT.

25. KASHIMGHAR and NAUAKATH. [The former name is probably intended for *Kashghar*, as Assemani in one place interprets it, though in the list at p. 179 he has given it in addition to Kashghar. *Nauakath* is found as the name of a place in Turkestan in Edrisi (ii, 217). Here it may possibly represent Yanghi-Hisar near Kashgar, or Yanghikand near Talas, the names of which are of like meaning. The provinces 24 and 25 were probably subdivisions of the former province of Tark.]

P. 185; *Ilchikdai* and *Tarmashirin Khan*. There is a Khan (dateless) between these two in D'Ohsson's list; probably of very brief reign. This, however, rather strengthens the argument.

P. 191; near bottom. The date 1232 for Burchard's visit to Palestine was taken from the Biographie Universelle. But the editor of *Peregrinatores Quatuor*, etc., shows that the journey occurred about 1283.

P. 205; end of note. The Syriac part of the inscription of Singanfu

(supra, p. xciii) is in vertical lines. (See Pauthier's work *L'Inscription Syro-Chinoise, etc.*)

P. 206; 4th para. of Note. The passage from Theophylactus alluded to has been omitted in the Introductory Essay; and indeed the relation between his *Ogor* and the Uigurs of Eastern Turkestan seems doubtful.

P. 241. *Trutius* or *Trucins.* The last is perhaps after all a correct reading. For Mendoza says the Generals of the Chinese orders of Monks were called in their language *Tricon.* I cannot find an elucidation of this word unless it be a corruption of *Ta-hoshang*, which is given as an appellation of the Superiors of the Bonzes (*Mendoza*, HAK. SOC., i, 56; *Astley*, iv, 209).

P. 263; *Taifu.* This is a genuine Chinese title; see Chine Ancienne, pp. 149, 150, 151, where it is translated "*grands fonctionnaires*" and "*grands dignitaires.*"

P. 268; Note 2; *Namking.* The note is right in its main purport, but not in the reference to M. Polo's *Nanghin*, which Pauthier shows to be *Ngan-king* on the left bank of the Kiang, capital of the existing province of Nganhoei.

P. 286, Note 2; *Raba.* This word must be the Arabic *Rahbah* "Amplum spatium loci; Area ampla" *(Freytag).* It is used by Ibn Jubair in his description of Palermo for "an esplanade" (*Jour. Asiat.*, Jan. 1846, p. 222).

P. 344; *The Pillars of Alexander.* In the Pseudo-Callisthenes, edited by Müller, we are told that Alexander got to Serice where the Seres produce silk, and there erected a stone pillar and wrote upon it: *Alexander, King of the Macedonians, got as far as this spot* (p. 102).

P. 370-371; *The Sons of Cain.* Mas'udi says there was a race of Indians descended from Cain in the country of *Kumâr* where the aloes-wood came from *(Prairies d'Or*, i, 72).

P. 372. There seems to be no doubt that the White Sea of Fra Mauro, and probably, therefore, that of Marignolli, is an exaggeration of the Russian Lake called BIELO OSERO, which does mean *White Lake*, and out of which flows the R. Szesna, an important feeder of the Wolga.

P. 389; *The Dead Sea seen from Mt. Zion.* This is remarked also by Mas'údí.

P. 399; Last para. of Note 2. In the MS. followed by Pauthier, Marco makes no such mistake as is here referred to. See Pauthier's edition. p. 703.

P. 416, Note 3; *Kakam.* It is quite possible that this word is only a corruption of the old Italian *Cocca*, a kind of ship. There has always been great interchange of words connected with navigation.

P. 433, Note 2; *Hannibal's Chemistry.* Another parallel is found in the Singhalese tradition of the destruction of the great Dam at Padivil by fire and *sour milk* (see *Tennent's Ceylon*, ii, 504).

P. 434, Note. The uncompleted Minaret is 82 feet in diameter. It was begun by 'Alá-ud-dín, the penultimate predecessor of Mubárik Sháh. (For this note, as for much other assistance, I have to thank my friend Col. R. Maclagan, R.E.)

P. 438, Note. I now have a copy of Lee's Ibn Batuta, and I find that the circumstance here alluded to as resting in my memory of that version arose only out of a difference of translation and reading. Compare the story of the man taught by the Jogis in Lee, p. 159 with the same in Defremery, iv, p. 35.

P. 439-443 ; Note A, *On the Indian coins mentioned by Ibn Batuta.* Shortly after this note had been printed I saw from the *Athenæum* (February 3d, 1866) that Mr. Edward Thomas, the eminent Indian numismatologist, had been treating of the Bengal coinage of this period before the Royal Asiatic Society, and on my application to him for certain information, he was kind enough to send me a copy of a pamphlet containing his paper (" *The Initial Coinage of Bengal*) as well as of some former papers of his on the coinage of the Patan Sovereigns of Hindustan.

It appears to me that these papers fairly confirm from numismatic history the conclusions arrived at in Note A from the passages in Ibn Batuta and the *Masálak-al-Absár.*

The chief points, as far as that note is concerned, to be gathered from Mr. Thomas's researches are these :

(1.) That the capital coins of Delhi, from the time of Altamsh (A.D. 1211-1236) to the accession of Mahomed Tughlak (A.D. 1325) were a gold and silver piece of equal weight, approximating to a standard of 175 grains Troy[1] (properly 100 *Ratis*).

[1] These coins appear to have been officially termed respectively *Sikkah* and *Fizzat*; but both seem eventually to have had the popular name of *Tankah*.

The word *Sikkah* just mentioned, involves a curious history.

Originally it appears to mean a *die*; then it applies to the coin struck, as here. In this application (in the form of Sicca Rupees), it still has a ghostly existence at the India office. Going off in another direction at an early date, the word gave a name to the *Zecca*, or *Cecca*, or Mint, of the Italian Republics; thence to the *Zecchino* or *Cecchino* which issued therefrom. And in this shape the word travelled back to the East, where the term *Chickeen* or *Chick* survived to our own day as a comprehensive Anglo-Indian expression for the sum of Four Rupees.

We see how much the commerce and marine of Italy must have owed to Saracen example in the fact that so many of the cardinal institutions of these departments of affairs drew names from Arabic originals ; *e.g.*— The Mint (*Zecca*, as above), the Arsenal (*Darsena*), the Custom-House (*Dovana, Dogana*), the Factory (*Fondaco*, see p. 355), the Warehouse (*Magazzino* from *Makhzan*), the Admiral (from *Amir*), the Broker (*Sensale* from *Simsár*), the Caulker (*Calafato* from *Kilá'at*), to say nothing of the *Cantaro* and the *Rotolo*. It has been doubted whether *Darsena* is Arabic origin. I see, however, that Mas'udi uses *Dár Sinát* (House Craftsman's work) in speaking of the Greek Arsenal at Rhodes (*Prairies d'Or*, ii, 423 ; iii, 67). And at p. 284 *infra*, a note speaks hesitatingly [illegible]

(2.) That Mahomed Tughlak in the first year of his reign remodelled the currency, issuing gold pieces under the official name of *dînâr*, weighing two hundred grains, and silver pieces under the name of *'adalî*, weighing one hundred and forty grains.

(3.) That the coinage of silver at least was gradually and increasingly debased till A.D. 1330, when Mahomed developed his notable scheme of a forced currency consisting entirely of copper tokens (alluded to at p. 291 *infra*). This threw everything into confusion, and it was not till six years later that any sustained issues of ordinary coin recommenced.[1]

(4.) From this time the old standard (175 grains) of Mahomed's predecessors was readopted for gold, and was preserved to the time of Sher Shah. It does not appear that the old standard was resumed for silver. For though Mr. Thomas alludes to one example of a coin of A.H. 734 (A.D. 1334, and therefore previous to the resumption of a systematic coinage) as containing 168 grains of pure silver, his examples show in the reign of Mahomed's successor Firuz Shah the gold coin of 175 grain standard running parallel with continued issues of the silver (or professedly silver) coin of 140 grains.

(5.) During this time in Bengal the local coinage of silver retained an approximation at least to the old standard of 175 grains, though from about 1336 this seems to descend to a standard of 166. But one gold coin of Bengal *of this period* is quoted in the papers. It is a piece of inferior execution weighing 158 *grs.*

(6.) The old standard silver tankah of 175 grains represented 64 of a coin or value called *kani*, or *gani*.

In applying these facts to the interpretation of Ibn Batuta I conceive that the coin which he calls *Tangah* was the 175 grain gold piece, and not the new dinar of 200 grains; and that what he calls *dinar* was the old 175 grain silver piece, and not the new *'adali* of 140 grains, *i.e.* it was the coin of which the modern rupee is the legitimate representative and nearly the exact equivalent.[2]

the derivation of dogana from *Diwán*. But in Amari's *Diplomi Arabi* the word *Diwán* frequently occurs as the equivalent of Dogana (*op. cit.*, pp. 76, 88, 90, 91).

[1] It is said (July 1866) that the Italian Government is about to issue copper tokens to represent the different silver coins current in the kingdom (*Absit omen!*)

[2] I considered that the passages referred to in Note A showed sufficiently the sense in which Ibn Batuta uses the terms *tangah* and *dinar*, and also that the tangah was equal to ten dinars. But as there seems some doubt about this I will here quote all the passages in which the terms are used so as to be of any value.

(I.) Tangah *always means with Ibn Batuta a gold coin. Sometimes he calls it a gold dinar.*

1. Locality, *Dehli*. "The weight of the tangah in dinars of maghrib is two dinars and a half" (i, 293).

2. Locality, *Sind*. "The lak is 100,000 dinars, and this is equal to

This, as regards the silver coin, seems tolerably clear from a comparison of Ibn Batuta's statement (as rendered by Defrémery) that "a silver dinar (in Bengal) was worth eight dirhems, and their dirhem was exactly equivalent to *the* dirhem of silver," with the statement of the *Masálak-al-Absár* that "the silver tangah of India was equivalent to eight of the dirhems called *Hashtkání (eight-káni)*, these hashtkani dirhems being of the same weight with the dirhems of Egypt and Syria."[1] For it was the 175 grain piece that represented 64 kánis (and was therefore equivalent to 8 *hashtkanis)* and not the 140 grain piece.[2]

10,000 dinars in gold of India, and the dinar of India is equal to 2½ dinars of gold of Maghrib" (iii, 106).

3. Locality, *Dehli*. "1000 tangahs = 2500 dinars of Maghrib" (iii, 187).

4. Locality, *Dehli*. "2000 tangahs of gold" (iii, 264).

5. Locality, *Dehli*. Ibn Batuta receives 6233 *tangahs* as the equivalent of 67,000 – 6700 *dinars* (iii, 426).

6. Locality, *Dehli*. The tangah = 2½ dinars of Maghrib (*Ibid.*)

7. Locality, *Bengal*. The dinar of gold = 2½ dinars of Maghrib (iv, 212).

(II.) Dinár, *though sometimes applied by Ibn Batuta to an Indian gold coin, as we have just seen, is the only name he uses for the standard Indian silver coin*. Sometimes the term used is *Dinár Diráham*, which Defrémery in some instances renders "Dinars of Silver", and in others "Dinars in Dirhems". Sometimes the term used is *Dinánir fizzat* (see ii, 373).

8. Locality, *Shiraz*. 10,000 dinars of silver changed into gold of Maghrib would be 2500 dinars of gold (ii, 65).

9. Locality, *Dehli*. 100 dinars of silver = 25 dinars of gold, presumably of Maghrib (ii, 76).

10. Locality, *Upper India*. 100 dinars = 25 dinars in gold of Maghrib (ii, 374).

11. Locality, *Upper India*. "1000 dinars, the change of which in gold of Maghrib is equal to 250 dinars" (ii, 401).

12. Locality, *Sind*. Passage about the lak, quoted under No. 2.

13. From *Dehli*. Mah. Tughlak sends Burhanuddin of Ságharj a present of 40,000 *dinars* (iii, 255). Masalak-al-Absár says 40,000 *tangahs*.

14. Loc., *Dehli*. Mahom. Tughlak sends the Khalif's son on arrival 400,000 *dinars* (iii, 262); and assigns Ibn Batuta a salary of 12,000 *dinars* (iii, 398). These are evidently silver coins.

15. Locality, *Bengal*. Passage about the dinar being worth 8 dirhems, quoted in text (iv, 210).

No. 2 asserts in reference to Sind that the gold dinar was equal to 10 silver dinars.

Nos. 9, 10, 11, show that the silver dinar of Dehli was worth one-fourth of the gold dinar of Maghrib.

Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, show that the tangah of India was a gold coin equal to 2½ gold dinars of Maghrib, and that Ibn Batuta asserts this equally in reference to Sind, Dehli, and Bengal. And, from the combination of these last two deductions, again the gold tangah = ten silver dinars.

[1] Mr. Thomas warns me that the passage from Ibn Batuta about the dirhem of silver is very obscure; and indeed he has interpreted it in his pamphlet on the Bengal coinage in quite a different sense. But the passage from the Masálak-al-Absar appears to be free from obscurity, and to have substantially the same meaning as the version of Defrémery; which is surely an argument of some weight in favour of the latter.

[2] Yet the existence of the latter piece perhaps explains the alternative statement (alluded to at p. 440) that the silver dinar of India was equivalent to 6 dirhems only. The 140 grain piece would in fact be equivalent to 6·4.

Mr. Thomas has also considered the question, to which I was necessarily led as to the relative values of gold and silver at that day in India. His conclusions are in the same direction to which my remarks (at p. 442) point in the words, "it is very conceivable that the relative value at Delhi should have been ten to one, or even less," but they go much further, for he estimates it at eight to one.

It seems probable that ten to one or thereabouts was the normal relation in the civilised kingdoms of Asia during the thirteenth century, but it is reasonable to suppose that the enormous plunder of gold in the Dekkan during the reign of Mahomed Tughlak himself and his immediate predecessors must for a time at least have diminished the relative value of gold considerably.[1]

[1] Some illustration of the popular view of this influx of gold is given at p. 442. Another anecdote bearing on the subject is quoted at p. ccxliii (*supra*). And the *Masálak-al-Absár* says that Mahomed Bin Yusuf Thakafi found in the province of Sind 40 *bahar* of gold, each *bahar* equal to 333 *mann*, i.e., in all some 333,000 pounds of gold.

Mr. Thomas seems to be of opinion that 8 to 1 was about the *normal* relation of gold to silver in Asia during the time of Mahomed Tughlak and the preceding age, and he quotes in support of this the statement of Marco Polo, which I have referred to in a different view at p. 442, that gold in Caraian (part of Yunan) bore that relation to silver. But this was a remote province immediately adjoining still more secluded regions producing gold in which the exchange went down to 6 and 5 to 1. I understand Polo as mentioning the exchange of even 8 to 1 as something remarkable.

The relation between the two metals has followed no constant progression. American silver raised the value of gold in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries, whilst recent gold discoveries are now lowering it again. Minor influences of like kind no doubt acted before. Such authorities as I have been able to refer to say that in the time of the early Roman Empire the relation was 12½ to 1; under the Lower Empire, about the time of Justinian, a little more than 14 to 1; in the early Mahomedan times it varied from 13⅓ to 15 to 1. In the "dark ages" of Europe it sunk in some countries as low as 10 to 1; in the time of Charles the Bald in France (843-877) it was 12 to 1. In Florence in 1356 it was 12 to 1; in England about the same time 12 to 1; and this seems to have been the prevailing relation till the American discoveries took effect. But it seems improbable that 8 to 1 could have been maintained *for many years* as the relation in India and other kingdoms of Asia whilst the relation in Europe was so different. The former relation was maintained I believe in Japan to our own day, but then there was a wall of iron round the kingdom.

Supposing, as I do, that Ibn Batuta's tangah and dinar were the old standard gold and silver coins of 175 grs. each, then the fact that the tangah was worth 10 dinars is in my view an indication of what *had been* at least the relative value of the two metals. And the statement of the *Tárikh-i-Wassaf* (see pp. 116, 442) that the gold *balísh* was worth ten times the silver *balísh* comes in to confirm this.

It has occurred to me as just possible that the changes made by Mahomed Tughlak in the coinage may have had reference to the depreciation of gold owing to the "Great Dekkan Prize-money" of that age. Thus, previous to his time, we have the gold and silver coins of equal weight and bearing (according to the view which has been explained) a

Pp. 443-444. I find that memory misled me here as to Lee's interpretations. He appears (by writing *Goa* for *Kawé* or *Káwa)* to identify the latter name with the modern *Goa*, not with Gogo, and he attempts no identification of Kuka.

I may add to the remarks on Sandabur that the place is mentioned by Mas'udi, thus: "Crocodiles abound in the *ajwán* or bays formed by the Indian Sea, such as the Bay of SANDABURA in the Indian kingdom of *Bághrah*." I cannot discover what *Bághrah* represents *(Prairies d'Or*, i, 207).

P. 452. *Eli or Hili.* We have perhaps another trace of this city in the *Elima* of the Ravenna Geographer, which he puts in juxtaposition with *Nilcinna (Berlin* ed., 1860, p. 42).

P. 458. Mr. Thomas in one of his pamphlets referred to above *(Coins of the Patan Sultans, etc.*, p. 137) gives the maund of that day as consisting of forty sirs of twenty-four tolas each. Taking these tolas even at the present rate of 180 grains (and they were probably less, see *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, p. 10) this would give the maund of that day as equivalent only to 24.680 lbs. instead of 28.8 as deduced from the data quoted at p. 458.

With regard to Bengal cheapness I may add that Hamilton, writing of the end of the seventeenth century, says that an acquaintance of his bought at Sundiva (an island near Chittagong) 580 lbs. of rice for a rupee, eight geese for the same money, and sixty good tame poultry for the same *(New Account of the East Indies*, ed. 1744, ii, 23).

P. 459 *Note* 2. *Bengal divided into Lakhnaoti Sunarganw and Chatganw.* The last, as appears from a quotation by Mr. Thomas

nominal ratio of 10 to 1. Mahomed on coming to the throne finds that in consequence of the great influx of gold the relative value of that metal has fallen greatly, say to something like 7 to 1, which as a local result where great treasure in gold had suddenly poured in, is, I suppose, conceivable. He issues a coinage which shall apply to this new ratio, and yet preserve the relation of the pieces as 10 to 1. This accounts for his 200 gr. gold and 140 gr. silver pieces. Some years later, after the disastrous result of his copper tokens, the value of gold has risen, and he reverts to the old gold standard of 175 grs., leaving (as far as I can gather) the silver piece at its reduced weight. At the exchange of ten silver pieces for one of gold this now represents a relative value of 8 to 1. Bengal, meanwhile, has not shared in the plunder of the south, and there the old relations remain, nominally at least, unaffected. This is a mere speculation, and probably an airy one. Indeed, I find that Mr. Thomas is disposed to think that the object of Mahomed Tughlak's innovations was to ensure a double system of exchange rates, reviving the ancient local weight of 80 Ratis (140 grs.), and respecting the Hindu ideal of division by 4, with which was to be associated the Mahomedan preference for decimals.

Thus the 64 gani silver piece of 175 gr. was reduced to a 50 gani piece of 140 gr., 10 of which went to the current 175 gr. gold Tangah, while the new 200 gr. gold Dinar was intended to exchange against sixteen 50 gani pieces.

(Initial Coinage, p. 65), should be *Satganw,* a much more probable division. This has been loosely indicated in the sketch map to Ibn Batuta's Bengal travels.

P. 459 *Note* 3, and p. 460 *Note. Early Sovereigns of Bengal.* The light thrown by Mr. Thomas on the history of these sovereigns from his numismatic and other researches corrects in various points the authorities (loose in this matter) followed by Stewart. Following the former, we have as the first Sultan mentioned by Ibn Batuta[1]

1. NASIR-UD-DÍN MAHMUD, called also *Baghrá Khan*, the son of the Emperor Balban. From A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282). It is not known how or when his reign terminated.

2. RUKN-UD-DIN KAI-KAUS—Supposed doubtfully to be a son of the preceding, being known only from coins dating A.H. 691-695 (A.D. 1292-1296).

3. SHAMS-UD-DIN FIRUZ, son of Násiruddin, reigning at Laknaoti, probably from A.H. 702 (A.D. 1302) and up to 722-3 (1322-23).

4. SHAHAB-UD-DIN BUGHRAH SHAH, son of the preceding, expelled after a brief reign in A.H. 724 (1324), by

5. GHIAS-UD-DIN BAHADUR SHAH, surnamed according to Ibn Batuta *Búrah*, "meaning in the language of India *Black*" (?), another son of Shamsuddin. It is a difficulty about this prince that coins of his are found of A.H. 710-12 (possibly, Mr. Thomas thinks, from "originally imperfect die-rendering" for 720-722), and certainly of the latter dates. On the application of Shahabuddin, Tughlak Shah intervened, and carried Bahádur Búrah captive to Dehli. Mahomed Tughlak on his accession restored him to power, but some years later was displeased with him, and marched an army against him. The Bengal prince was beaten, killed, and *skinned*, circa 733 (A.D. 1332).

It was on this occasion apparently that Mahomed left *Kadr Khán* in charge of Laknaoti, and *Tátár Khan*, surnamed *Bahram Khan*, an adopted son of his father Tughlak Shah, in charge of Sunarganw. On the death of Bahrám Khan (737 or 739),

6. FAKHRUDDÍN MUBARAK his *silah-dar* ("armour-bearer") took possession of the government and proclaimed independence. He retained his hold on Sunárganw and its dependencies, as his coins show, till 751 (A.D. 1350). Meanwhile

7. ALI SHAH, erroneously styled by Stewart's authors (as at p. 460) *Ali Mubarak*, on the death of Kadr Khan (circa 742) assumed sovereignty in Western Bengal under the title of *Ala-ud-dín*. After 746 (the last date of his coinage) he was assassinated by Hájji Iliyás.

8. IHKTIYAR-UD-DÍN *Ghazi Shah*, whose coins show him reigning at Sunarganw 751-753 (A.D. 1350-51) appears to have been a son of Fakhr

[1] Several governors of Bengal before this had assumed royal titles and declared independence.

uddin. At the latter date he is displaced by Hajji Iliyas under the name of

9. SHAMS-UD-DÍN ILIYAS SHAH. This chief had coined money at Firuzabád (at or near Pandua) as early as 740; about 746-7 (1345-6) he had killed and succeeded 'Alá-uddin in Laknaoti, and now he conquered Sunarganw, so that he appears to have ruled all Bengal. His reign extends to the end of 759 (1358). We are not concerned to follow these sovereigns further.

P. 467, *Note* 1. *Javaku* is a term applied to the Malays generally, in the Singhalese Chronicles. See *Turnour's Epitome*, p. 45.

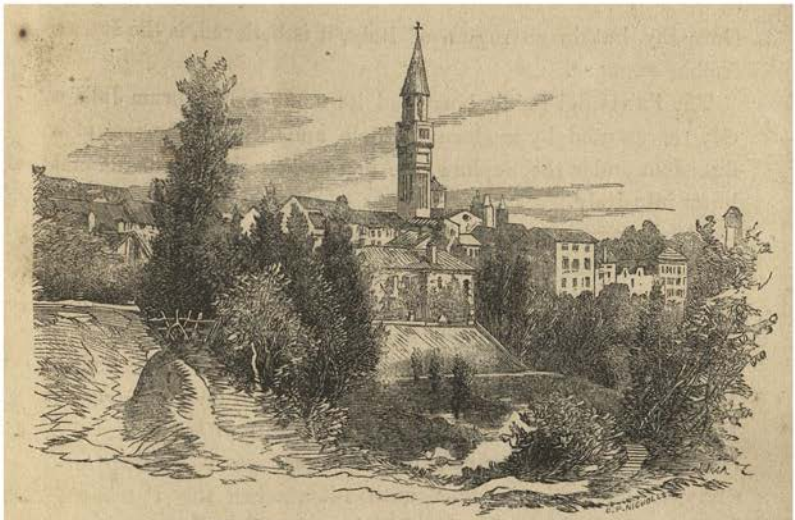
P. 487. *Offerings for the Shaikh Abu Ishak of Kazerún.* This shaikh was a sort of patron saint of the mariners in the India and China trade, who made vows of offerings to his shrine when in trouble at sea, and agents were employed at the different ports to board the vessels as they entered, and claim the amounts vowed, which generally came to large sums. Applicants to the shrine for charity also used to receive circular notes payable by parties who had vowed. When the recipient of such a note met anyone owing an offering to the shrine he received the amount on presenting his bill endorsed with a discharge (*Ibn Batuta*, ii, 90-91).

P. 541, Note; *Talikhan.* There were in fact *three* places so called; that in Badakhshan, that in Khorasán, and a third in Dailam, the hill-country adjoining Kazbin. This *last* is the duplicate of Nasiruddin's Tables and not that in Khorasan. (See *Quatremère's Rashid*, pp. 214, 278).

P. 562. *Tangi-Badakhshan.* This precise expression is used in the *Akbar-Namah* as quoted by Quatremère (*Not. et Extr.* xiv, Pt. i, 222).

I.

ODORIC OF PORDENONE.



View of Pordenone from near the Railway Station.

ODORIC OF PORDENONE.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTICES.

THE first place in this collection has been given to the narrative of Odoric of Pordenone,-a Beatus or semi-saint of the Roman Church, not as the first in time, nor perhaps in value, but as on the whole the most curious and as that which was the original nucleus of the volume.

Odoric was a native of Friuli, a country which was perhaps better known to travellers before there was a railway through it. Few now, in passing from Trieste to Venice, or from Venice to Vienna, think it worth while to break their journey for the sake of seeing such places as Pordenone, Udine, or Cividale; and thus those interesting cities, though on or near a great thoroughfare, still keep a rare old-world flavour and simplicity.

This border land had in old times closer relations to Germany than to Italy. It has again close relations of a certain kind to

Germany, but in no region of Italy, it is believed, is the Italian feeling stronger.

The Patria del Friuli borrowed its name from Forum Julii, a city represented by modern Cividale, and became the seat of a dukedom under the nephew of Alboin when the Lombards first burst into Italy.

Charlemagne extinguished the Lombard dukes, and from Friuli for a time was governed the Eastern March of the Frankish empire. In the end of the ninth century or thereabouts, the administration of the province fell into the hands of the Patriarchs of Aquileia, whose seat had been at Cividale since 737; and in 1029 the Emperor Conrad II formally conferred on the Patriarch Poppo the Duchy of Friuli and the Marquisate of Istria.

This ecclesiastical principality continued to exist, with territory of fluctuating extent, until 1420, when the Patriarch, engaging in war with Venice, lost his temporal dominion, and Friuli became subject to the Republic. It was remarkable as perhaps the only Italian state, excluding Sicily, which possessed a genuine Parliament. This consisted of three Estates, assembling in one house.

Friuli divides naturally into three zones. The first and widest is a great level, subsiding near the Adriatic into swamp, elsewhere well cultivated and fairly productive, but without irrigation, and far behind the wealth of the Lombard plain, excepting towards the west, where water lies nearer the surface, the streams have a more perennial character, and there is seen an almost tropical luxuriance of vegetation.

The second zone consists of undulating hills, dotted with white villages, and covered with fine grass carefully reserved for the scythe. The brilliant verdure of these undulating meadows, as seen under a July sun, was alike surprising and delightful. The third zone is that of the mountain country.

The dialect of the Friuli country is a Romance one, said to be very distinct from the Venetian, and to come very near to Provençal. Many of the local names are alleged to be quite French in character, and I remember one, *Martignac*, which struck me particularly. It may be only a fancy that this quasi-French idiom

may sometimes be traced through the thin veil of Odoric's Latin.

The native district of Odoric was Pordenone, in that richer part of the Friulian plain which lies towards the river Livenza. Pordenone itself, called in Latin, I know not of what antiquity, Portus Naonis, is a quaint but thriving little city of some seven thousand inhabitants, standing on the banks of the Nonicello, a tributary of the Livenza, and by which boats ascend from the sea to the town. The beautiful gardens which environ it, and the very fine campanile which rises beside the cathedral, group into a singularly pleasing picture, even as seen by a railway traveller.

Odoric is said to have sprung from one of the garrison established in this district by Ottokar, King of Bohemia, to whom the territory had passed from his cousin Udalric, Duke of Carinthia and Lord of Pordenone.[1] A curious confirmation of this tradition is found in the manuscript from which we print the Latin text of his travels, for in it he is designated "*Frater Odericus* Boëmus." The name of his family is alleged to have been Mattiussi,[2] and the place of his birth was Villa Nuova, a hamlet of cottages dispersed among vineyards and mulberry trees, about a mile and a half from the town.

A substantial two-storied cottage is still shown at Villa Nuova as the house in which Odoric was born; and in the half-open arcade which forms a part of the lower story, a rude old fresco, representing the friar holding forth the crucifix, much defaced by the contact of firewood and farming gear, is evidence at least

[1] "*De reliquiis seminis eorum quos olim Rex Otakerus apud Portum Naonis ad custodiam deputavit.*" This is quoted from an anonymous chronicler of Laybach, in *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Aquilejensis*, etc., Argentinæ, 1740, p. 866. Ottokar succeeded to the throne of Bohemia in 1254; Rudolf of Hapsburgh was chosen emperor in 1262; their wars about the Austrian provinces held by Ottokar, including part of Friuli, terminated in 1279 in the rout and death of Ottokar. See also *Venni*, p. 3.

[2] This name does not seem to appear in print before the work of Gabelli in 1639. Zeno quotes as authority for it a MS. work on the Patriarchs of Aquileia by Jac. Valvasone (*Dissertaz. Vossiane*, 1751, ii, 297). It is also given by Asquini in his *Life of Odoric*, on the authority of a MS. of Lugrezio Treo, author of *Sacra Monumenta Prov. Forojulii*, 1724.

of the antiquity of the tradition. Even the room is pointed out in which the traveller and saint was born! and the bed, a vast and ponderous expanse of timber, looked as if it also might have officiated at the auspicious event. The parish priest asserted that the house had passed through only a second transfer since it quitted the family of Mattiussi.

Traditional Birthplace of Odoric.

The name Odorico is the same that occurs north of the Alps as Ulric, and it is found in various shapes besides, such as Udalric, Vodaric, etc. It would seem to have been common in this region of the world, for it turns up frequently in old Friulan lists, and was borne by Aquileian patriarchs and Carinthian dukes. And it is said to be still common about Pordenone, both as surname and Christian name. Our friar, therefore, might come by it in many ways, but perhaps he got it actually from the patron saint of his parish church, for that is saint Udalric. One of the old Franciscan writers calls our traveller *Ludovicus* Odoricus,[1] but it seems likely that this was a mistake.

The date of his birth is assigned to 1286, whilst the Patriarch Raymond della Torre was reigning in Friuli. In naming this date later writers appear to have followed Gabelli, who published

[1] Bartholomew Albizzi of Pisa, in the work cited below, *ed. Mediolan.* 1510, f. cxxiiii.

a life of Odoric in 1639. Asquini, another biographer in the last century, quotes as authority for it "*Osuald. Ravenn.*,"[1] a reference respecting the age or value of which I have no knowledge. Judging, however, from the effigies of Odoric on his tomb at Udine, I should have guessed the date of his birth to stand a dozen years earlier than that mentioned.

The authorities for the circumstances of Odoric's life, exclusive of such as can be gathered from the story of his travels, are the annalists or hagiologists of his order. Whether the man whom they describe after the regular saint-model of the middle ages answers in any degree to the author of the travels, as he indicates his own likeness however faintly, appears to me most questionable. The contemporary notices of him, except the local records of the miracles which were said to have followed his death, are very brief.

It is alleged that Odoric is treated of in a catalogue of Franciscan saints, written only five years after his death;[2] but I find no quotation from this work, and the earliest notice of him that I can discover (apart from the exceptions just specified) is in the chronicle of his German contemporary, John of Winterthur, who seems to have written about 1348-50, and whose reference shows that he was already acquainted with the Itinerary.[3] His travels, alleged missionary work, and miracles are also briefly spoken of by Bartholomew Albizzi, of Pisa, in his treatise concerning the *Conformity of the Life of St. Francis to the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, from which the passages are quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[4] This work was written, according to

[1] *Vita e Viaggi del B. Odorico*, etc., Udine, 1737.

[2] *Sbaralea, Supp. et Castigatio ad* Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci, etc. Romæ, 1806, p. 443.

[3] After giving a notice of the martyrdom at Tana, and some other circumstances related by our author, the chronicler adds: *Hæc testatur Sanctus Odoricus de Padua oriundus, qui peragratis cunctis regionibus orientalibus et incolumis ad terram nativam reversus, hæc et alia mira et stupenda illic visa et audita ab eo, rogatus et compulsus a suis confratribus minoribus in scripturam redegit; opusculum valde solatiosum et delectabile, de hujusmodi raris et a seculo quasi inauditis, relinquens.*" (*Joan. Vitodurani Chron.* in *Eccard Corp. Historicum*, i, 1894).

[4] *De Conformitate*, etc., bk. i, pa. 2, conf. 8.

Professor Kunstmann, about 1380, fifty years after Odoric's death, but the author was fully entitled to be termed a contemporary, for one of his works, cited by Wadding, was dated as early as 1347, and at his death in 1401 he is said to have been over a century old.[1]

According to the ecclesiastical biographers, however, having in early years taken on him the vows of the Franciscans, and joined their convent in Udine, he speedily became eminent for ascetic sanctity, living on bread and water, going barefoot, scourging himself severely, and wearing ever next his skin hair-cloth or iron mail. His humility refused promotion, and with the leave of his superior he retired for a long time into the wilds to pass a solitary life. A local reputation for sanctity and miracles is ascribed to him before his wanderings began.[2]

On these he started sometime between 1316 and 1318 (inclusive), and from them he returned shortly before the spring of 1330. That he was in Western India soon after 1321, that he spent three of the years between 1322 and 1328 in Northern China, and that he died in January 1331, are all the chronological facts that we know, or can positively deduce, from his narrative, and contemporary evidence.[3]

I shall not here give any detailed view of his travels; the particulars of these, with the fullest explanations that I can provide, will be found in the ensuing text and notes. Suffice it to say that his route lay by Constantinople to Trebizond; thence to Erzerum, Tabriz, and Soltania; and that in all probability he spent a considerable part of the time previous to 1322 in the Houses of his Order in those cities. From Soltania he passed to Kashan and Yezd, and thence turning by Persepolis he followed a somewhat devious route, probably by Shiraz, and perhaps a part of Kurdistan, to Baghdad. From Baghdad he wandered to the

[1] *Cave, Script. Eccles.*, App., p. 48; *Wadding*, vol. vii.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, January 14th; *Wadding*, vol. vi, under 1331; *Liruti, Notizie delle Vite ed opere scritte da' Letterati di Friuli.* Venez., 1760, i, 274 *et seq.*

[3] D'Avezac, in the very valuable dissertation prefixed to Carpini's account of the Tartars, says that Odoric reached Trebizond in 1317, and Tana in 1322; but I do not trace the authority for such precision.

Persian Gulf, and at Hormuz embarked for Tana in Salsette. Here, or from Surat, where Jordanus had deposited them, he gathered the bones of the four brethren who had suffered there in 1321, and carried them with him on his voyage eastward. He went on to Malabar, touching at Pandarani, Cranganor, and Kulam, and proceeded thence to Ceylon and the shrine of St. Thomas at Mailapoor, the modern Madras. From this he sailed tediously to Sumatra, visiting various parts of the coast of that island, Java, probably Southern or Eastern Borneo, Champa, and Canton. Hence he travelled to the great ports of Fokien, and from Fucheu across the mountains to Hangcheufu and Nanking. Embarking on the Great Canal at Yangcheufu, he proceeded by it to Cambalec or Peking, and there remained for three years, attached, it may be presumed, to one of the churches founded by Archbishop John of Montecorvino, now in extreme old age. Turning westward at length through Tenduc (the Ortu country of our maps), and Shensi, to Tibet and its capital Lhassa, we there lose all indication of his further route, and can only conjecture on very slight hints, added to general probabilities, that his homeward journey led him by Kabul, Khorasan, and the south of the Caspian, to Tabriz, and thence to Venice by the way he had followed thirteen or fourteen years before, when outward bound.

The companion of Odoric on a part, at least, of these long journeys was Friar James, an Irishman, as appears from a record in the public books of Udine, showing that on the 5th April after Odoric's death a present of two marks was paid to the Irish friar "*Socio Beati Fratris Odorici, amore Dei et Odorici.*"[1]

The assertion of Wadding and the other biographers that Odoric had sowed everywhere the seed of the Gospel, and had baptised more than 20,000 Saracens, would appear to rest on a basis of pure imagination only. No hint of such a thing appears in his travels, nor indeed any indication of his having acted as a Missionary at all; though probably in the years he spent at Cambalec, and perhaps also in Armenia, he may have taken part in the missionary duties of his brethren. In his contemporary

[1] *Venni*, p. 27.

Jordanus the spirit of the missionary breaks out strongly and clearly, showing his heart in the work. Odoric's narrative again gives one decidedly the impression of a man of little refinement, with a very strong taste for roving and seeing strange countries, but not much for preaching and asceticism. *Qui peregrinantur raro sanctificantur*, says Thomas a-Kempis. And one wonders what odd chance picked out Odoric as the wanderer to be accredited with such exceptional sanctity. "*Molto diverso il guiderdon dall' opre!*" Had the simple and hardly bestead Jordanus of Séverac, or that zealous patriarch John of Montecorvino striving for the faith at the world's end to the age of fourscore years, been made a saint of, one could have understood it better.

Miracles also, and miraculous experiences, are assigned to the friar by his biographers, of which no trace will be found in his own story. Thus we are told that as he was on his way back from Tartary, commissioned by the Great Khan to call more brethren to the work of preaching to that monarch's subjects (a commission which seems again to be purely imaginary) he was met by the Great Enemy,[1] who reviled him, and taunted him with the bootlessness of his errand, seeing that he was fated never to return. The assailant was repelled by the sign of the cross, but his words proved true.

So bowed and changed was Odoric by the hardships and starvation that he had endured in his years of wandering, say the biographers, that his nearest of kin could scarcely be brought to recognise him.[2]

It was after visiting them no doubt that he betook himself to the House of his Order attached to St. Anthony's at Padua, and there in the month of May, 1330, he related his story, which was taken down and done into homely Latin by William of Solagna, a brother of the Order; Friar Marchesinus of Bassano also afterwards lending a hand in the redaction, and adding at least one interesting anecdote from his recollection of Odoric's stories.

[1] *Wadding*, l. c. "Sub formâ mulieris gravidæ!" says Mark of Lisbon, quoted in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

[2] *Wadding*; *Petrus Rodulphius, Hist. Seraphicæ Religionis*, Ven., 1586, p. 125.

Whether the traveller had not already written or dictated a brief sketch of his journeys will be spoken of below.

From Padua he is said to have proceeded to Pisa in order to take ship for the Papal Court at Avignon, that he might make his report of the affairs of the church in the far East, and ask recruits for the missions in Cathay. At Pisa he was sorely troubled by what he heard of the mischief wrought in the fraternity by the schisms of Caesenas and Corbarius,[1] and became all the more anxious to prosecute his voyage. But he fell into serious illness, and being warned in a dream by St. Francis to "return to his nest," he caused himself to be transported back to his own province.

There at Udine, he took to his bed, to rise no more. Having confessed, on the priest's pronouncing the absolution Odoric is related to have said: "Do thine office, reverend Father, for I desire like a humble child to submit to the keys of the church; but know that the Lord hath signified to me that he hath pardoned all my sins." And so he died on the 14th January, 1331.[2]

The friars of the convent were about to bury him the same day privately, contrary to the custom of the country. But when this became known in the city, Conrad Bernardiggi, the Gastald or chief magistrate of Udine, who had a great regard for Odoric, interfered to prevent such a hurried interment, and appointed a solemn funeral for the next day. This was attended by all the

[1] Petrus Rainalduccius de Vico Corbario was a Minorite venerated for his age, learning, and piety, who to the great scandal of his order let himself be set up at Rome as Antipope by the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. In 1330 he asked pardon of Pope John with a halter on his neck. Michael Caesenas was the general of the order, who absconded from Avignon to take part with the emperor (*Wadding*).

[2] This is the date given by the postscripts to Odoric's narrative, and all the subsequent accounts. Wadding adds, "On a *Monday*, about the ninth hour." The 14th January 1331 might mean in modern style 14th January 1332, especially as the postscript to the narrative in the extracts published by the Bollandists specifies "*Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis*," which I believe indicates properly the year commencing on Lady Day. But it seems not to be so. For the date assigned fell on a Monday in 1331, and, moreover, the order by the Patriarch for an inquiry into the miracles is dated May 1331, which is not open to ambiguity.

dignitaries, and created a public excitement. The people began to push forward to kiss the hands and feet of the dead friar, or to snatch a morsel of his clothing. Rumours of miracles rose and spread like wildfire. A noble dame, the Patriarch's sister, who had long suffered from a shrunken arm, declared aloud that she had received instant relief on touching the body. The whole town then rushed to the convent church. Lucky were those who could put but a finger on the friar's gown, whilst those who had such a happy chance grasped at his hair and beard; just as I have seen the Bengalis snatch at the whiskers of a dead tiger, and from like motives. One virago made a desperate attempt to snip off the saint's ear with her scissars, but miraculously the scissars would not close! The public voice urged that such wonder-working matter should be kept longer available, and the interment was deferred for two days. The third day the body was buried in the church, but only to be taken up again on the day following. For the excitement had now spread far beyond the walls of Udine. The country gentlemen from the castles of the district with their wives and families began to throng in. Then came the nobles and burgesses of the neighbouring cities; the nuns of Cividale and Aquileia followed, walking two and two in procession; and, at last, the stream arrived from the remoter parts of Friuli, and from Carniola, and crowds continued to flock in, day and night, scourging themselves, and chaunting the praises of God and his servant Odoric. The great lady of the country, Beatrice of Bavaria, Countess Dowager and Regent of Goritz, came with a vast cortège; the Patriarch himself, Pagano della Torre, was present, and superintended the transfer of the body to another and more splendid coffin. The sanctity of the friar was now fully recognised, and the notion was at last taken up by his own community, who employed an eminent preacher to declaim to the people the history and pious deeds of this brother, whom it is most likely they had till now regarded only as an eccentric, much addicted to drawing the longbow about the Grand Cham and the Cannibal Islands.[1]

[1] *Wadding; Documenti per la Storia del Friuli, raccolti dall' Abbate G. Bianchi*, Udine, 1844-5, ii, 471.

The Patriarch, or the Municipality (for they supplied the funds), then gave orders for the construction of a noble shrine;[1] whilst three discreet persons, the Canon Melioranzi, Maffeo Cassini, and the notary Guecelli or Guccelli, were commissioned to investigate and compile the miracles ascribed to the deceased.

Seventy such miracles are alleged to have been authenticated;[2] and indeed so says the heading of the notary's report of the commission (which is extant), though, (like the cotton reels of Manchester which profess to contain two hundred yards of thread), as a matter of fact it only enumerates twenty-seven. The miracles are all much alike, and substantially in this strain: "A. B. was very ill, and vowed a lump of wax to Odoric, and began immediately to mend, and is firmly convinced that it was all owing to Odoric."

Two alleged miracles which unfortunately have not found a place in this authenticated report, but only in recorded tradition, stand out from the rest as singular or startling.

In one case, Friar Michael, a preacher and doctor of theology at Venice, having suffered for seven years from a fistula in the throat, betook himself to Friar James, the Irish comrade of Odoric's travels, and from him got a letter of introduction to his defunct and sainted friend, begging him to do what was needful for the divine. This proved immediately effectual.[3]

[1] Records extant in the last century showed that the cost of the shrine, and of the formalities attending the miracle-commission, was defrayed by the city. (See *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, 1789, vol. ii, pp. 124-129.)

[2] There is a MS. copy, which I saw, in the Library at San Daniele in Friuli, a curious and valuable collection bequeathed by Archbishop Fontanini to the place of his birth; a place where the books enjoy almost undisturbed repose in a delicious atmosphere. The Report, however, is printed in the Roman *blue book* noticed further on. The heading runs: "*Hic inferius sunt scripta et annotata amplius quam septuaginta miracula quæ Deus operatus est per B. Odoricum,*" etc. It would appear that the notary got tired of recording such matter, and perhaps trusted that no one would count them! Indeed he says in a document which is printed in Hakluyt as a postscript to Odoric's narrative: "*Scripsi sicut potui bona fide et fratribus minoribus exemplum dedi;* sed non de omnibus *quia sunt* innumerabilia, et mihi difficilia ad scribendum;"—in fact "what no fellow could do."

[3] *Asquini, Vita e Viaggi*, p. 206.

In the other case, it is asserted that a friar six days in his grave was raised to life by the power of the saint, in answer to the prayers of a sister.[1]

The official detail of the miracles was sent to Guido Candidus (Bianchi?) Bishop of Udine, then at the Papal court, in order that the name of Odoric might be enrolled among the saints; but nothing was effected at that time, owing it is said to the death of the prelate.[2] Nor, perhaps, had Pope John any great zeal towards the exaltation of members of an order which had bred such thorns in his side as Corbarius, Cesena, and Occam.

In the very year of Odoric's death, we find recorded the bequest by a certain woman of Vercelli of a legacy to the altar of the Beatus at Udine; whilst a long chain of incidental notices of bequests, of repairs to his chapel, of celebrations of his festival, etc., show that his memory has been continuously preserved as sacred in Udine since his death.[3]

But for four centuries his claim to the honours of beatification rested only on popular acclamation sanctioned by the Aquileian patriarch. It was not till 1755 that the question was formally discussed by the Roman court, whether the cult rendered to Odoric from time immemorial should be solemnly sanctioned by the Pontiff.

I have inspected the record of the process which then took place, a very curious ecclesiastical *Blue-book* of more than one hundred and twenty folio pages. The discussion is entitled "*Positio super dubio an sententia lata per Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Ordinarium Utinensem super cultu ab immemorabili tempore prædicto Beato præstito, sive casu excepto a decretis sanc. mem. Urbani Papæ VIII sit confirmanda in casu*, etc. The first part is entitled *Informatio super dubio*, etc. This alleges the grounds and maintains the validity of the Bishop's judgment, traces the worship of the Friar from the time of his death, and

[1] "Quem vidit suscitatum F. Henricus Generalis Minister, ut mihi Magistro Bartholomæo dixit ipse ore tenus" (*Barth. Pisanus* in *op. sup. citat.*; from the *Acta Sanctorum*). This legend was commemorated in an inscription which stood in the convent church at Pordenone, but dating only from 1591. (MS. copy of Gabelli's Panegyric on Odoric at S. Daniele.)

[2] *Asquini*, p. 199.

[3] Roman documents cited below.

gives a long list of those who have borne testimony to his virtues. This is followed by a *Summarium super dubio*, etc., which is a sort of collection of *pièces justificatives* in which every creditable mention of Odoric is cited at length, with the whole detail of his alleged posthumous miracles, and the official report of a visitation of his shrine by Daniel Patriarch of Aquileia in 1749. The next document in the series consists of *Animadversiones R. P. D. Promotoris Fidei super dubio*, etc., being, in fact, the counterpleading of the official vulgarly termed the Devil's Advocate. He raises objections to the beatification, hints that Odoric and his sanctity were scarcely other than mythical, and almost sneers at the marvels of the Itinerary. In fact, this R. P. D. is worse than a profane Lutheran in the way he treats the Beatus. There is then a *Responsio super dubio*, etc., which disposes of these gibes; and though the book in question does not contain the Pope's decision, we know that it was issued by Clement XIII, July 2nd, 1755, fully sanctioning the beatification of Odoric.[1]

In May 1332, the monument, which had been commissioned by the authorities of Udine from Philip de' Santi at Venice, was completed, and a solemn transfer of the body was celebrated by the Patriarch. The shrine consisted of a handsome sarcophagus of oriental alabaster, adorned with small reliefs and statuettes, and elevated on dwarf columns of white marble.[2]

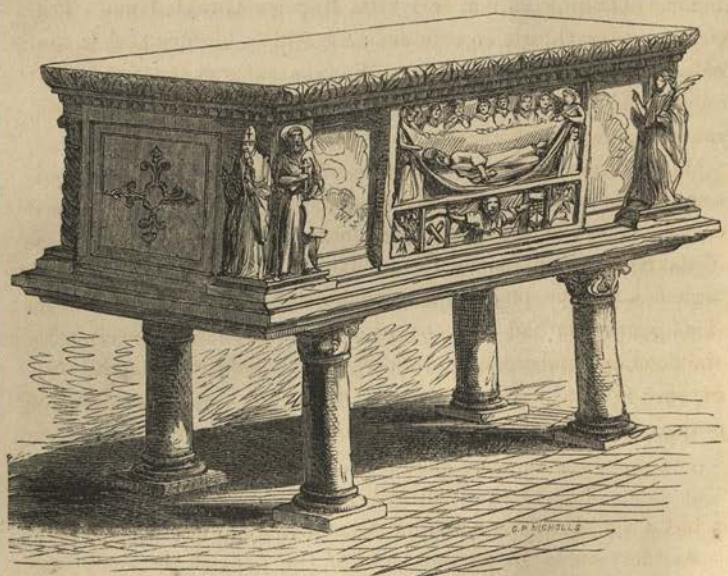
In 1735, when the church of the Franciscans in Udine was "repaired and beautified," a new chapel was erected for Odoric, and a second solemn translation accomplished.[3] But he was not yet to lie quiet. In 1770 the Franciscans were compelled to remove to a house which had belonged to a suppressed Society of

[1] The copy of the process in question which I examined was kindly shown me by Count Pietro Montereale of Pordenone. The Pope's decision is given by Venni, p. 32. Authorities do not seem precisely to agree as to what constitutes beatification; an article in the *English Cyclopædia*, however, may be referred to for an explanation in what respects it falls short of canonisation. The word *canonisation* is indeed used in the Papal decision of 1755, but in terms it only sanctions the worship rendered to Odoric from time immemorial.

[2] According to the process just quoted this elevation of the body above the ground was one of the honours paid to a beatified or canonised person.

[3] *Venni*, p. 29.

Carmelites near the Aquileian gate, their own buildings being given up for a public hospital. In their removal they carried with them all their reliques, including the body of Odoric, which was accompanied in solemn procession by all the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, headed by the lieutenant of the Venetian Republic, to its new resting place in the church of the "Beato Vergine del Carmelo."[1] The Franciscan Convent was also suppressed in the days of the first Napoleon, and the church was then made over to parochial use. Odoric still lies there, but shorn of his sepulchral glories. Whether to facilitate the removal, or by accident during that operation, the sarcophagus



The Sarcophagus as it stood in the last century.

was broken up, and never again put together as such. Portions have, however, been built into an altar dedicated to Odoric, and within this his coffin is deposited.[2]

[1] It is now called both the "Carmine" and "San Pietro."

[2] The information as to the past in this paragraph has been kindly supplied by Dr. Vincenzo Joppi of Udine.

The altar of Odoric is the second on the left as you enter the church.

I could hear nothing of the other reliques, such as fragments of an iron girdle, portraits, etc., which existed in the last century, before the removal of the convent. But the body is there still, and is still exposed, on every fourth recurrence of his festival, to the eyes of the congregation. Had I but known this when at Udine, perhaps my Protestant eyes also might have been permitted (for a consideration), to behold the very *corpus beatum* whose hands had presented the Grand Cham with a trencher full of apples, and whose stout heart carried him chaunting the *Credo* through the Valley Perilous! It is perfect, they say, except one leg, which was frittered away in reliques; Pordenone obtaining a tibia, and Villa Nuova an ankle-bone. The virtues of the Odorician reliques were still in high esteem in the last century, if they be not now. Venni assures us that in his day *Polvere del B. Odorico* was (like the James's powders of our youth) potent in fevers, and in demand as far as Florence.

Odoric seems to have been the subject of a good deal of bad verse in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the chief perpetrators being, in the latter age, John Baptist Gabelli, priest of Villa Nuova, and in the former Girolamo Monteniani or Montignac, a zealous devotee, and syndic of the convent in Udine. This gentleman had the convent copy of the Friar's travels, with the documents about his miracles, etc., re-transcribed at his own expense in 1542. His hymns to Odoric are chiefly composed of prayers for his own unbounded comfort and prosperity.

"Da nunc Alme tuis, da mihi jugiter
Pacem, Divitias, Sæcula Nestoris!"

is but a sample of the demands he makes upon his local *divus*.[1]

As there seems to be no doubt of the date of the sculptures

It bears the following inscription, whatever may be the meaning thereof:

"Altare hoc omnipotenti Deo
In honore B. Odorici Conf. erectum
Privilegio quotidiano perpetuo ac libero
Pro omnibus defunctis ad quoscumque sacerdotes,
Vigore brevis Benedicti P. xiv. die iv. Oct. mdccli insignitum
Atque a Ministro Gen. Ordinis die x. Maii mdccliii designatum."

[1] Some of these verses, including that here quoted, are given in the *Vita e Viaggi* of Asquini.

which originally formed part of the sarcophagus, we have in them representations of our traveller erected in the year following that of his death, and executed by no incompetent hand. There are, or were, no less than three effigies of him upon the sarcophagus, and at least two of these remain upon the altar where his body now lies.[1] One of these represents him preaching to a crowd of Indians; in the other, he is being lowered into the tomb by the hands of the Patriarch, the Gastald, and the Brethren of the Order. In these two the heads are fairly like each other; both presenting a bluff, benevolent, Socratic countenance, but they are certainly suggestive of sixty years rather than forty-six.

Another statuette stands in the church of his native parish of Villanuova. It is of higher style than the sculptures at Udine, but of so much later date that it can have no authority as a likeness. The work was ascribed by the parish priest to an artist called Pilacorte, who carved the doorway of the Duomo at Pordenone.[2] It stands above the altar, paired with a corresponding statuette of St. Udalric Bishop of Augsburg, patron of the church. There are some splendid fresco heads of prophets and apostles overhead, remains of the work of John Antony Sacchiense, called Pordenone, which once covered the choir.

In the early part of the last century, there were extant other old effigies of Friar Odoric. One, in an altar piece which stood in the sacristy of the convent church, was said to have been painted only twenty-four years after his death.[3] And Venni says there was a portrait of him in the Loggia of the Parliament of Friuli.[4]

Engravings of him, of course, can have no value except as they approach the old sculptures. There is one good vigorous wood-

[1] Possibly the third, but if so it escaped my notice. Unluckily my visit to Udine was on a local festival, when a constant succession of masses was going on in the church, and I had barely time to make the sketch given further on between two of them.

[2] John Antony Pilacorte was a native of Spilembergo in Friuli. Many of his works exist in the churches of Pordenone; and the font as well as the doorway of the Cathedral is his work. The latter bears the date 1511. There is no Friulan sculptor known by name of earlier date than 1428. (*Maniago, Storia delle belle Arti Friulane,* Udine 1823, pp. 158-9, 201).

[3] *Asquini,* p. 214.

[4] *Venni,* p. 29.

cut in the old Italian style, purporting to be the *Vera B. Odorici Effigies*, in the *Historia Seraphicae Religionis* of Petrus Rodulphius.[1] And Gabelli is said to have published a print of the "very old image of the Beatus preaching to the Indians and other barbarians, which is found in the church of S. Udalric at Villanuova."[2] This would seem to be different from the work of Pilacorte. Gabelli's works will be noted below; but I have not succeeded in finding any of them, nor do I know which has this engraving.

Some of the Franciscan authors assert that Odoric, besides his itinerary, left behind him various sermons and epistles,[3] but if so, no one seems to know anything about them. Wadding, in the *Annales Minorum*, also repeatedly quotes as the work of Odoric a chronicle extending from the beginning of the world to the death of Pope John XXII;[4] forgetting, it would seem, that the pope survived the saint three years. Indeed, the notion that the work was written by Odoric seems to have been altogether unfounded. This chronicle is the manuscript cited in the account of Jordanus[5] as *Liber de Ætatibus*, formerly at Rome, but now in the Bibl. Impériale at Paris. From it Wadding derived the interesting letters of Montecorvino, Jordanus, and Andrew Bishop of Zaiton, which are given in the present collection: Sbaralea considers that the real author of the book was probably another Minorite, John of Udine, otherwise of Mortiliano, who died in Friuli in 1363, and who wrote a work called *Pantheon*, supposed to be lost.[6]

Very recently another work has been published in Germany as Odoric's,[7] on the authority of the closing paragraph of the manuscript from which it is printed: "*Istud scripsit Frater Odoricus de*

[1] Venice, 1586, p. 125.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, l. c.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, l. c.

[4] See *Annales Minorum*, tom. vi and vii, *passim*.

[5] See Preface to English Jordanus, p. v.

[6] In the work cited above (at p. 5), p. 443.

[7] See *Peregrinatores Medii Ævi Quatuor*, Lipsiæ, J. C. Heinrichs, 1864; edited by J. C. Laurent, and containing Itineraries in the Holy Land by Burchardus de Mte. Sion, Ricold of Monte Croce, this Pseudo-Odoric, and Wilbrand of Oldenburg.

Foro Julii cum reneasset de partibus infidelium ad suam provinciam, Anno Domini M°CCC°XXX° *temporibus Domini Johannis Papae XXII.*" This is a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the Berlin library, entitled *De Terrâ Sanctâ*, consisting of short chapters, containing a detailed itinerary in Palestine with the distances, etc., and is of very little interest. It ends with a chapter on "Machomet" of a short denunciatory kind. I do not believe the book to be Odoric's.[1] It is, of course, *possible* that he returned from the East through Palestine, as we are ignorant of his route from Tibet westward. But there is no hint whatever of his having visited that country, either in his own narrative, or in the biographies. And there is not the slightest likeness in the manner of the two books.

The numbers of manuscripts of Odoric's narrative that have come down to us from the fourteenth century show how speedily his work was spread abroad, and how popular it must have been. In the next century it is easy to trace the use made of his narrative in the great map of Fra Mauro at Venice.

Liruti speaks of Odoric's "love of letters and science," whilst Meinert calls him "one of the most learned of his Order"[2]—the Order that had produced, in one little country only, such men as Occam, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon! These statements are even more preposterous than the very opposite view expressed by the editors of that meritorious collection called *Astley's Voyages*, when they say of Odoric's narrative in the unpleasant tone of the last century, "This is a most superficial relation, and full of lies. . . . In short, it seems plain from the names of places and other circumstances that he never was in those countries (China and Tartary), but imposed on the public the few informations he had from others, mixed with the many fictions of his own." Whilst in the Index to the work he fares as ill, his name being thus entered: "Oderic, Friar, Travels of, IV, 620 a. *A great Liar. Ibid.*"

It is evident however, from the formal affidavit which Odoric

[1] There is a MS. of "*Oderici de F. Julii Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ,*" also in the Basle Public Library. (*Hœnel, Catalogi Libr. MSS.*, etc., p. 545.)

[2] In his Essay on Marignolli; see Introduction to that Traveller's notices in this collection.

was called on to append to his narrative, as well as from the tenor of the apologies of his ecclesiastical biographers, that many of his tales were considered to try the faith of readers, even of his own time, and of his own cloth since. Thus Henry of Glatz in the note appended to his transcript of Odoric, declares that if he had not heard such great things of Odoric's perfections and sanctity, he could scarcely have credited some of his stories.[1] Wadding, with scepticism scarcely disguised, says that much in the book will seem incredible, unless the holy character of the narrator find belief or force it.[2] And Asquini is reduced to plead that so saintly a man would never have told what was untrue, much less have taken his oath to it as Odoric has done![3]

It is true indeed that our friar is not merely undiscriminating in the acceptance of what he has heard, but also sometimes looser in his statements of what he relates, or professes to relate, from actual experience, than other travellers of his day such as Jordanus and Marignolli. But this seems to come rather from the fact that Odoric is a man of inferior refinement, both morally and intellectually, than that he introduces wilful figments; whilst the notes attached to his narrative will prove I trust how certainly they are the footsteps of a genuine traveller that we are following. And in judging him we must not forget the disadvantages under which his story labours in coming to us by dictation, or mainly so, and that a dictation accomplished in illness,[4] and taken down by a friar of probably still less literature than his own.[5]

I must, however, after the examination of a considerable number of versions and MSS., entirely reject the notion put forward so positively by Tiraboschi,[6] and accepted by later

[1] In *Acta Sanctorum.*

[2] "*Nisi fidem extruat vel extorqueat sanctitas auctoris.*"

[3] *Vita e Viaggi*, p. 13.

[4] "*Dum jaceret infirmus,*" says Wadding after some older writer.

[5] It is singular that the narratives of Marco Polo, Odoric, Nicolo Conti, and Ibn Batuta, the four most remarkable Asiatic itineraries of the middle ages, should all have come down to us under the disadvantages of dictation.

[6] See *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Modena, 1789, v, pp. 124-129.

writers, that Odoric's narrative has been largely interpolated with lying wonders by medieval editors and copyists. Though there are great differences of expression in the various MSS., and some unaccountable ones of fact, the *substance* of all the chief MSS. is the same, and especially in regard to the principal difficulties; whilst some of the stories that Tiraboschi brands as interpolations and fictions, are indeed the very seals of truth.[1]

It may be well here to point out a few of those passages which stamp Odoric as a genuine and original traveller. He is then the first European who distinctly and undoubtedly mentions the name of Sumatra. He also (though on this the variety of readings may cast a shade of doubt) mentions the Rejang of the same island, a people not known to Europe otherwise for centuries after his time. The cannibalism and community of wives which he attributes to certain races in that island do certainly belong to it, or to islands closely adjoining. And it is to be remembered that Odoric travelled with neither the scepticism of a man of science nor the experience of a man of the world. His good faith is indicated if his stories are those really current about the places which he visited. His description of sago in the Archipelago is not free from errors, but they are the errors of an eyewitness. His mention of the annoyance from leeches in the forests of Ceylon, and of a two-headed

[1] I am excluding here those few Italian MSS. which are classified below as the fourth type of versions of Odoric. Some remarks will be made on them separately.

One of the examples of interpolation adduced by Tiraboschi is Odoric's account of the Tulsi trees before the doors of the Hindus, a passage, apparently, a little obscured by the misapprehension of the scribe. Another is the statement about the king of Champa's having fourteen thousand elephants, the printed version in Ramusio giving only fourteen. But here it is certain that it is the Ramusian version which has dropt the M, and not the others, which have interpolated it. The region in question is the very metropolis of elephants, and for Odoric to have said that the king kept *fourteen* elephants would have been a ludicrous bathos.

On the other hand the real difficulties of Odoric's story are the accounts of the Islands of Nicoverra and Dondin, and the Passage through the Terrible Valley, with, perhaps, one or two more. The former of these are found in *all* the versions of Odoric, and the latter in all but the truncated narrative which we call here the *Minor Ramusian*.

bird in that island, are shown to be the notes of a real visitor; so is his whole account of southern China. His notices of the custom of fishing with cormorants, of the habits of letting the finger-nails grow long, and of compressing the women's feet, as well as of the division of the Khan's empire into twelve provinces, with four chief Vizirs, are peculiar to him, I believe, among all the European travellers of the age. Polo mentions none of them. The names which he assigns to the Chinese post-stations, and to the provincial Boards of Administration; the technical Turki term which he uses for a sack of rice, &c., &c., are all tokens of the reality of his experience.

No two versions or MSS. that I have compared are exactly alike, and in all there are considerable differences of expression, difficult to account for unless we suppose that the practice in multiplying copies of such works was not to attempt verbal transcription, but merely to read over a clause, and then write down its gist in such language as came uppermost. Yet why should a practice have applied to the transcription of these narratives different from that which applied to the multiplication of the classics?

But apart from the slighter differences of expression and the accidental omissions which may be supposed thus to arise, the various versions of Odoric's story appear to divide themselves into *four* distinct types.

The first type is probably that which comes nearest to Odoric's actual dictation, or would do so if we had really good MSS. of it. It is represented by the Latin MS. in St. Mark's library (No. 26 of the list below), and by the copious extracts which are given in the Acta Sanctorum from another MS. transcribed at Avignon the year after Odoric's death, by Henry of Glatz, a Bohemian Franciscan. These copies make no mention of William of Solagna, but have two postscripts appended. The first, written by Friar Marchesino of Bassano, adds as a supplementary story, from his own recollection of Odoric's conversation, an anecdote[1]

[1] There is a freshness and simple picturesqueness about this little story which suggests the notion that perhaps Odoric was a higher style of man than we see him through the penmanship of William de Solagna; and that the tone of the latter scribe may have deteriorated the rest of the narrative.

which the other versions introduce as part of the dictated narrative. The second postscript relates briefly the circumstances of the traveller's death.

The second type is that from which Venni published, and is that of the best existing MSS. both Latin and Italian, so far as I have seen them. It differs from the first in the points just noticed, and ends with a postscript, in which William of Solagna declares himself to have been the amanuensis of the traveller, whilst he, or some other, also records Odoric's death.

The third type is that of the MSS. in the British Museum (Nos. 1 and 2 below), of which one was published and translated by Hakluyt. These MSS. also contain the postscript of W. of Solagna, but they differ a great deal from those of the two preceding types in expression, often substituting passages of more diffuse phraseology, which are in fact glosses on the narrative, but are often quite erroneous in the turn they give to the meaning.

The fourth type is that which appears in what is quoted hereafter as the *Minor Ramusian* version. For Ramusio, or the editor who took up his work after his death,[1] without preface or explanation gives two versions of Odoric's narrative, the second being much shorter than the first, and exhibiting some remarkable differences from it, whilst at the same time it contains some additional touches which carry with them a strong stamp of genuineness. I know of only two copies partaking of this type besides that printed in Ramusio, the original of which seems not to have been traced. These two are both at Florence, one a truncated copy in the Riccardian library, and the other in the Palatine; both in Italian. This last has some remarkable differences from the version of Ramusio, and is much fuller in the latter part, as if completed from a version of the first type.

The extracts given below from Latin copies of the first three types, and from a most careful Italian MS. at Venice, will

[1] Ramusio himself died in 1557, after having published only the first (1550) and third (1556) volumes of his *Navigationi*. The second volume came out under the editorship of the printer, Thomas Giunti, in 1559, but Odoric did not appear therein till the publication of the second edition in 1574. (*D'Avezac* in *Rec. de Voyages*, iv.)

illustrate what has been said of their variations in expression, though it is difficult to select one passage which shall well show the peculiarities of each.

From the version of Henry de Glatz in the ACTA SANCTORUM.

"Deinde magnas duos sportas accepit plenas quæ mensæ superfuerant fragmentorum, et apertâ portâ nos in quoddam viridarium introduxit. Erat autem in eo monticulus quidam plenus arboribus amœnis; acceptoque uno tintinnabulo cœpit pulsare. Ad cujus sonitum mox animalia multa et diversa de illo monticulo descenderunt, sicut essent simiæ, cati . . . . et plura alia, et quædam quæ faciem hominis videbantur habere. Et cum videremus de bestiis usque ad tria millia circa ipsum ordinate convenisse, ille paropsides posuit, (et) illis sportis secundum naturæ suæ . . . distribuit illis cibum. Et cum comedissent iterum cymbalum pulsans, animalia ad loca propria remeabant. Ego autem multum ridens illi seni dixi: Edissere mihi quid ista significat," etc.

From Venni's published Text in ELOGIO STORICO DEL B. ODORICO.

"Tunc ergo duos magnos mastellos accepit plenos hiis quæ superfuerant mensâ; et aperiens cujusdam vindarii portam in ipsum intravimus. In hoc viridario est monticulus quidam plenus arboribus amœnis. Accepit ergo timpanum quemdam quem pulsare cœpit; ad cujus sonum multa animalia varia et diversa de hoc monticulo descenderunt, sicut sunt simiæ gattimaymones et multa alia animalia quæ faciem habebant humanam, quæ erant circa tria millia. Quæ circa se aptaverunt ad se invicem ordinata. Dum autem sic circa ipsum ordinata manerent, parossides posuit ante illa et sicut competebat eis comedere dabat. Quæ dum comedissent cymbalum pulsare cœpit; et sic ad sua loca reversa sunt. Tunc multum ridere cœpi, dicens: Dicas quid hoc indicare vellit?" etc.

From Manuscript in British Museum (No. 2 below).

"Tunc accepit ille religiosus duo magna vasa fragmentis

From Italian MS. in the St. Mark's Library (No. 1. below).

"Et allotta tolse duo grandi bigonci di quello che gl' era

quæ superaverant de mensâ repleta, et duxit me ad unam cujusdam viridarii parvam portam. Quam cum clave aperiens viridarium intravimus illo simul. In illo autem viridario erat unus monticulus amœnis herbis et arboribus plenus. Sub quo dum ad invicem staremus, ipse unum cimbalum accepit et illum incepit percutere et pulsare. Ad cujus sonitum multa animalia varia et diversa, aliqua ut simiæ, aliqua ut cati et maymones, et aliqua faciem hominis habentia, de illo monticulo descenderunt. Et dum sic staremus animalia illa bene ccciii millia se circa ipsum aptaverunt ad invicem ordinata. Quibus sic circum ipsum ordinatis et positis ipse paropsides ante ea posuit et ut competebat comedere eis dabat. Et cum comedissent cymbalum suum iterum percussit et omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus quæ essent animalia ista, quasi ridendo multum inquisivi," etc.

avanzato da desinare, et aperse la porta d'uno giardino per la quale noi entramo in quello giardino. Et in quello era un monticello pieno d'alberi dilettevoli. Et stando cosi et egli tolse uno cembalo e cominciollo a sonare. Al suono del quale molti e diversi animali di quello monticello discesono, fatti a modo di simie ghatti maimoni e molti altri animali et quali avenno faccia d'uomo. Et essendo venuti cosi questi animali ch'erano apresso di iii^{m}, et ordinatamente s'acconciorono intorno a costui, et essendo cosi intorno costui egli mise le scodelle dinanzi di loro, e davagli mangiare come si conveni. Et quando ebbono mangiati egli cominciò a sonare il cembalo, et tutti ritornavano agli lor luoghi. Et io vedendo cosi queste cose cominciai a ridere dicendo: Dimmi che vuole dimostrare questo?" etc.

The differences exhibited by the Italian copies of the *fourth* type are much more perplexing. Many of these differences either show marked character which looks genuine, or contain true information not contained in the other versions, so that I am strongly inclined to believe that the basis of this type of narrative has been a genuine document, and very possibly one written by Odoric himself, prior to the dictation of his longer story at Padua. But it bears also traces of having passed through ignorant hands which have misrendered the narrative put into

them. In a note below I give examples of what is meant under each of the characteristics that have been named.[1]

The greatest difficulty in the whole of Odoric's narrative lies in his account of the Islands of Nicoverra and Dondin, and the manner in which these are introduced in the longer versions of his story.

In the minor version of Ramusio no mention is made of Malabar or Maabar, though many particulars regarding the continent of India, which in the longer versions are connected with those two countries, are in the shorter embraced in the account of Tana.

Moreover the Minor Ramusian mentions intermediately between India and China only the islands of Nicoverra and Dondin, whereas the longer versions speak in detail of Sumatra, Java, Thalamasin (certainly a part of the Archipelago), and Champa. After Champa China should naturally follow; but here come in quite anomalously Nicoverra and Dondin, and between them *Ceylon*, which does not appear at all in the Minor Ramusian.

The only probable suggestion I can offer in explanation of this

[1] I. *Statements and peculiarities in the* MINOR RAMUSIAN *Version of Odoric that have a look of genuine character, whether true or not.* 1. The assertion that Odoric commenced his travels in 1318. 2. The repeated oaths (*per lo vero Iddio*) to the truth of the statements. 3. The story of a convent of loose women at Erzrum. 4. The Description of the Sandy Sea. 5. Description of a Marriage at Baghdad, and of another at Tana in India. 6. Comparison of the crowds in China to those in Venice on Ascension Day, etc.

II. *Statements of true or probable circumstances, not found in the Latin copies.* 1. Says nothing of going abroad for love of souls, but merely that he went with leave of his superiors. 2. Mentions mines of copper [and silver] near Trebizond. 3. Mentions that snow covers two-thirds of Ararat and renders it inaccessible. 4. Mentions Minorite convent at Tauris. 5. [Mentions crossing Fiume Rosso (Araxes) before reaching Tauris.] 6. Locates the Wise Men of the East at Sabba instead of at Kashan, as the other copies do. 7. [The Sumpit or Blow-pipe in the Eastern Archipelago], etc.

III. *Instances of ignorant alteration or interpolation.* 1. Emperor of *Constantinople* substituted for Emperor of Trebizond, near the beginning. 2. Raisins of Yezd called very *big*, instead of very *little*, as in the other copies. 3. Houses in China said to be eight or ten stories high. 4. Assertion that he *saw* the plant called the Tartar Lamb, etc.

The references in brackets are to the copy in the Palatine Library at Florence.

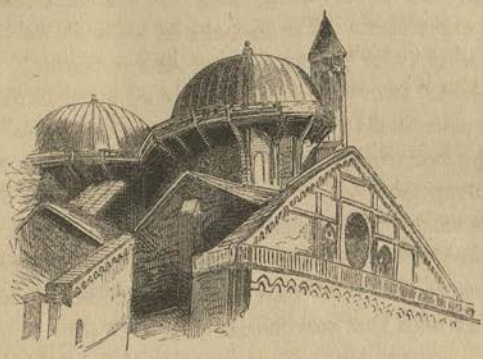
state of things is that the original incomplete sketch which forms the substance of the Minor Ramusian, whether written or dictated by Odoric, was handed over to the amanuenses to aid them in the redaction of the longer narrative, and that they interpolated this part about Nicoverra, &c., where they thought most convenient.

This notion is somewhat strengthened by the following circumstance. Under Malabar, in the longer narrative, the practise of Suttee is thus mentioned: "If the dead man had a wife, they burn her alive with him, saying that she should abide with her husband in the other world." And again the same version, in concluding the account of Champa, says: "When a married man dies in this country his body is burnt, and his wife is burnt alive along with him; for they say that she should go with her husband, to keep him company in another world." And this is immediately followed by the account of Nicoverra.

Now a reference to the translation will show that the passage about Suttee in Champa comes in inappropriately, after the author had apparently done with that country. And I do not think we have any reason to believe that Suttee was practised in Champa or Cambodia, countries whose Indian religion seems to have been Buddhism and not Brahmanism.[1] The last extract, therefore, I conceive, may have been merely a portion of the shorter narrative relating to India Proper, which was accidentally interpolated into the longer narrative along with the account of Nicoverra and Dondin. And its appearance confirms in some degree my suggestion as to the fact of this interpolation. Other and minor difficulties or exaggerations are, I dare say, to be accounted for by accidents of dictation, and must not be judged too hardly. For instance, the narrative says that Odoric saw at Champa a tortoise as big as the dome of St. Anthony's at Padua. The Friar, be it remembered, was in the convent of St. Anthony, when he dictated the story; perhaps lying ill as some of his biographers assert. He tells William de Solagna that he

[1] I find, however, since writing the above, that the *Sommario de' Regni* in Ramusio ascribes the practice of suttee to the people of Cambodia. (*Ramusio*, i, 336.)

saw *a very big tortoise*. 'How big?' quoth Gulielmo all agape; 'Was it as big as the dome yonder?' "Well, yes,' says the sick traveller, perhaps without turning to look, and certainly without making a very accurate comparison, 'I dare say it might be.' And down it goes in regular narration: "*Vidi ibi testudinem majorem revolutione trulli eglesiae Sancti Antonii de Padua.*"



Domes of St. Anthony's at Padua.

Odoric's credit was not benefited by the liberties which Sir John Mandeville took with his narrative. Because ignorance formerly accused Herodotus and Marco Polo of multiplying falsehoods, the fashion of "rehabilitation" would extend itself too widely, and try to cover also such writers as Ferdinand Mendez Pinto and Mandeville. No one, of course, could regard Mandeville as throughout writing *bonâ fide*; but he has been treated by respectable authorities as if he had really travelled in the far East. Now the fact is that the substance of his travels to the Indies and Cathay is entirely stolen from Odoric, though largely amplified with fables from Pliny and other ancients, as well as from his own imagination, and garnished with his own wonderfully clear astronomical notions.

These *coincidences* were so obvious to former ages that Mandeville is, I think, said to have been termed on his tomb, *Odorici Comes*, whilst the MS. of Odoric in the library of Mentz Cathedral entitles the latter, "*Socius Militis Mendavill.*" Sir Thomas Herbert, too, calls Odoric "travelling companion of our Sir John."

I subjoin in a note details which will give an idea of the extent of these wholesale robberies.[1] Naturally Mandeville has often misunderstood what he appropriates, and that in a way which shows that he never travelled in the countries spoken of; of this many instances might be given if it were worth while. He is crafty enough now and then to suggest the probability of his having travelled in company with Odoric, and having thus shared his experiences. For instance he says, in describing the Perilous Valley (which loses nothing in his telling), that there were with him "two worthy men, Friars of Lombardy, who said that if any man would enter they would go in with us." (p. 269).

Indeed his borrowings are so large, and date from a time so nearly contemporary with Odoric, that his *readings* of the proper names have some positive value for collation, and have occasionally suggested amendments of the text, which in some instances have afterwards been confirmed by superior MSS. of Odoric, and in others still need that corroboration.[2]

[1] The following passages of Odoric are appropriated bodily by Mandeville. 1. The notice of Trebizond, and that of the body of Athanasius there. (*Mand.*, p. 202.) 2. The account of Erzrum (p. 203). 3. About Ararat, and including the difficult name of Sobissacalo (*ib.*). 4. Notices of Cassan and the Three Kings; of the Sandy Sea; of Comum or Cornaa and its ruins; and the land of Job (p. 205). 5. Of the Tower of Babel, and the dress of the men and women of Chaldæa (p. 206). 6. Of Ships without nails (with the addition of the legend of the loadstone rocks) (p. 211). 7. Notice of Thana (called Chana) *ib.* 8. All about Malabar, and the pepper, &c., with fictions added (p. 213-14). 9. The odd passage of Odoric, about the women drinking and shaving, is repeated (p. 215). 10. Notice of Mabar; but giving the city of St. Thomas the name of Calamy (the Calamina of ecclesiastical tradition) which is not used by Odoric (*ib.*). 11. Voyage to Lamori, &c.; Notices of Sumatra, Java, Sago-making, &c. (218-223). 12. Notice of Champa, with Odoric's stories of shoals of fish, of 14,000 elephants, &c., and fictions of his own added (p. 224-5). 13. The accounts of Nicoverra, Ceylon, and Dondin, and *all out of place* just as in Odoric (p. 226-8). 14. The whole account of Manzi and Cathay, &c., &c. It might be worth while if I had time and space to try to trace all the originals which Mandeville stole from. I suspect the knight would come out of the process almost in his buff. A large part is taken from Haiton, and something from Plano Carpini. It *might* even prove on examination that his minute account of the Holy Land, the best part of his book, is stolen likewise. (The preceding references are to Bohn's edition of Mandeville.)

[2] Thus I first got the true name of the city *Chilenfu* (see § 34 of Odoric) instead of Chileso, Chilerapha, &c., from Mandeville, though I

The MSS of Odoric's travels scattered over Europe are numerous, as has already been mentioned. A list of those which I have seen or found notices of, with such particulars as I have been able to collect, is added here. But I suspect that it is very imperfect.[1]

Latin MSS. of Odoric's Itinerary.

1. British Museum. (Royal Colln., xiv, c. 13). A handsome folio on parchment, very clean and clearly written. From the collation of a large part of it I think there can be no doubt that this was the MS. from which Hakluyt printed Odoric's narrative. There are but one or two slight variations in proper names, which may well have been misprints or mistranscriptions. The volume contains much besides Odoric's work, which is entitled "*Itinerarium Fratris Odorici Ordinis Fratrum minorum de Mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.*"

2. British Museum. (Arundel Colln., xiii. f. 38 b.) "*Itinerarium Fr. Odorici de Ordine Minorum de Mirabilibus Indiæ.*" A small 4to., in pale ink, and much discoloured. In the earlier part the agreement with the preceding MS. is pretty close; afterwards the variations are greater. The two MSS. have, however, a great general conformity and marked peculiarities common to both. "These two MSS. are pronounced on good authority to be of the earlier half of the fourteenth century, and most probably a short time after the death of the author." (*Major's* Preface to *Herberstein*). However that may be, they

have since found it in MSS. of Odoric. And the Cornaa which Mandeville has instead of Comum (see § 3) has suggested another reading and identification.

Old Purchas's judgment of the relative claims of the two travellers is most unjust. Mandeville he calls next to Polo, "if next...the greatest Asian traveller that ever the World had"; whilst he has nought but ill to say of "Odericus, a Friar and Traveller, in whom perhaps some Friar hath travelled with him at least in this author [*i.e.*, Mandeville], whose age was before him, and therefore could not cite anything out of him" [the reverse of the truth]. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, iii, 65, 127.

[1] The sources quoted by Haenel and Pertz, from whom I have derived notices of several MSS., are sometimes old; and the MSS. may not always have survived in the libraries indicated.

afford a version which has been in some manner and degree tampered with. I have examined this MS. and had a transcript before me.

3. BRITISH MUSEUM. (Cotton Colln. Otho. D. 1.) I only know this by a note kindly sent me by Mr. Major, and can say no more of it.

4. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Cambridge. (No. 407.) An 8vo. on vellum of the commencement of the 15th century, containing also the Journey of Rubruquis and other matter. (See notice in D'Avezac's Edition of Rubruquis; *Rec. de Voyages*, iv, p. 209). There is perhaps another MS. of Odoric in Corpus. For Asquini in his life of Odoric says that the old MS. of his narrative, which formerly existed in the Convent at Udine, was sold in his own day to an English gentleman passing through Friuli, by the heirs of a priest to whom it had been lent, and he understood that it was preserved in St. Benet's College, Cambridge. The MS. in question, however, only dated from 1448 (see *Venni*, p. 38).

5. GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, Cambridge. (No. 162.) A volume containing *Odoricus de Ritibus Orientalium*, with Pipino's version of Marco Polo, and other works relating to Asia. (See Cat. of MSS. of Gon. and Caius Coll., by the Rev. J. J. Smith, M.A., Camb., 1849.)

6. BODLEIAN, Oxford. (Digby MSS., K. D. 11). A square 12mo, considered by Mr. Coxe of the Bodleian to date from soon after the middle of the 14th century. It contains a tract *De Angelis, &c.*, ODORIC'S ITINERARY, and sundry more. The Odoric is in a hand full of contractions, and is headed, *Incipit Itinerarium Fri's Odorici de Ordine Minor' approbatum sub manu notorii publici de mirabilibus Indie.* It has then this preface: "Noverint universi quorum interest quod quidam frater Ordinis Minorum Odoricus nomine, Provinciae Paduanae, volens accedere ad praesentiam Summi Pontificis Dni Johannis Papae XXII, monitu angelico ad locum et conventum unde exierat regressus est; eo quod infra decendium fuerat moriturus, prout idem angelus sibi enunciavit. In suo igitur regressu scripsit modum martirii quatuor fr^m^ minorum et alia quae audivit mirabilia in partibus orientis in (?)

infidelis diversarum nationum et specialiter Indiarum hoc modo." It seems to be of the second type.

7. BODLEIAN, Oxford. (Digby MSS., K. D., 166.) A small folio, considered to be of about the same date as No. 6. It contains several geometrical tracts, poems, The ITINERARY of ODORIC, An Epistle of Satan to the Universal Church, etc., etc., ending with a *Rhythmica Defensio Uxorum Sacerdotalium.* This copy seems to be nearly the same as the last, but I found both too cramp for effective comparison. There is a preface nearly the same as that just cited, but the postscript about the death of Odoric is omitted.

8. LIBRARY OF SIR T. PHILLIPPS at Middlehill. (1789, 650). A parchment MS. of the fourteenth century, containing the Itinerary of Odoric, preceded by Palladius Rutilius Taurus Æmilianus on Agriculture (see *Haenel, Catalogi Libr. MSS. qui in Bibliothecis Galliæ Helvetiæ Belgii, etc., asservantur, p.* 859).

9. BIBL. IMPÉRIALE, Paris. (*Fonds Latin*, No. 2584.) This is the MS. which I have printed in the Appendix to this collection. It is careful, and generally gives the proper names in a good form. It is the only one I know of that calls Odoric "*Boemus.*"

10. BIBL. IMPÉRIALE, Paris. (*Fonds Latin*, No. 3195.) One or two passages in the transcript of the preceding, which was made for me, have been corrected from this copy. I believe it is one of what I have called the *first type*, after Henry of Glatz.

11. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Strasburg. (A. vi, 7.) "*Oderici Ord. Minorum Itinerarium, A.* 1340" (see *G. H. Pertz, Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, vol. viii, p. 461).

12. DITTO, DITTO. Another (paper) MS. of the fourteenth century. "*Incipit peregrinacio Fr. Odorici de Ord. Minorum. In nomine Patris,*" etc. (*Ib.* p. 466).

13. BIBLIOTH. PUBLIQUE, Strasburg. A volume containing with *Vita Romoaldi, Hist. de Alexandro Magno*, and other matter, "*Relatio Oderici de Terris ignotis*" (see *Haenel*, as above, p. 462).

14. PALATINE LIBRARY, Vienna. (Codd. Ascet., No. dcxv.) This MS. contains a manifold collection. No. 23 is the Itinerary of Odoric (see *Codd. MSS. Theolog. Biblioth. Palat. Vindobonensis, etc.*, by *Michael Denis*, vol. i, part ii, col. 2352).

15. Royal Library, Berlin. No. 141 under *Theologici* is a 4to, containing the Journey in the Holy Land, ascribed to Odoric (*vid. sup.*, p. 17); Detmar and Burchard on the Holy Land; *Odorici Itinerarius*, commencing *Licet multa*, etc., and much besides (*Pertz* as above, p. 846).

16 and 17. Royal Library, Munich. (Codd. Lat., No. 903 and another.) From a note kindly sent by Prof. Kunstmann. No further particulars.

18 and 19. Metropolitan Library (*Dom-Capitel*) at Prague. For these two, see *Pertz*, *Archiv*, as above, ix 474, *seq.*

20. Bohemian Museum at Prague. A parchment MS., "*Oderici fratris Itinerarium in Orientem*" (*Ibid.* p. 478).

21. Metropolitan Library at Mentz. No. 52. This commences with "*Incipit Itinerarius fidelis fratris Oderici socii Militis Mendavill per Indiam; licet hic prius et alter posterius peregrinationem suam descripsit.*" The volume also contains Friar Pipino's Latin version of Polo, the Itinerary of Ricold of Montecroce, and *Itinerarius Nobilis Viri Dni Wilhelmi Beldensele* (Boldensel). (From *Recensus Codicum Antiq. tam MSS. quam impressorum Moguntiæ in Rmi. Capituli Metropol. Biblioth. latitantium*, Pars, I. In *Sylloge* I *Variorum Diplomatariorum*, etc., by "Val. Fred. de Gudenus." Frankfurt, 1728, p. 381.)

22. City Library, Bremen. A parchment 4to, containing the History of the Three Kings; the Chron. of the Counts of Mark, and in an Italian hand of the fourteenth century the Itinerary headed: "*Ista infrascripta sunt mirabilia quæ vidit frater Odoricus de Foro Julii Ordinis Fratrum Minorum ultra mare*", etc. (*Pertz*, as above, vol. vii, p. 691).

23. Episcopal Seminary, Eichstadt. (Membr. fol. N. 50.) Contains, with other matters, *Odorici Itinerarium de Mirabilibus Mundi* (*Id.*, vol. ix, p. 559).

24. Wolfenbüttel Library. (Weiss MSS., No. 40.) The volume contains Marco Polo, Odoric, Ricold of Montecroce, and William of Boldensel. (See *Peregrinatores Medii Ævi Quatuor*, etc., quoted *ante* p. 17).

25. Ambrosian Library at Milan. I noted this from the Catalogue, but have no other particulars.

26. St. Mark's Library at Venice. (MSS. Lat., Class xiv, Cod. xliii.) This MS. is described (as No. lxxii) in the printed Catalogue *raisonné* called *Biblioteca Manoscritta di Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti*, Venez., 1771. It is of the fourteenth century, and probably early, but is not very carefully written. I have had a transcript of it in preparing this translation, but it has not proved so useful as I expected.

27. Caval. Cicogna's Library, at Venice. This is one of those used by Venni in printing his text, of which there were two. The other also is preserved at Venice or in Friuli, but I cannot give the place, having unluckily lost a note by Signr. Cicogna on the subject. Signr. Cicogna's, if it is, as I believe, that which belonged to Liruti, was transcribed in 1401 by Filippo, notary and student in Padua. (See work by Liruti, quoted at p. 6.)

28. Capitular Library, at Udine. A paper MS. of the early part of the 15th century. Dr. Joppi, of Udine, in a note mentioning this, says it is pretty correct, and apparently somewhat like that used by Venni in his notes as "*Udinese*" (but, I gather, not the same). There is an Italian version attached to it, transcribed about the same time.

Italian MSS. of Odoric.

1. St. Mark's Library, Venice. (Cl. vi., Cod. 102.) Paper 8vo, and certainly of the 14th century. It is described in a work called "*Codd. MSS. Bibliothecæ Nanianæ a Jacobo Morellio relati*, Venet., 1771," in high terms of praise for its "*diligenza e pulitezza di stilo.*" I can speak as to the former; it is the most careful and intelligently executed copy of Odoric that I have seen. I have examined the MS. and used a transcript of it in preparing this work.

2. St. Mark's Library, Venice. (Cl. vi., Cod. 208.) Paper 4to. Not earlier than the 16th century. The volume contains other matter, including Polo, Alonzo Cadamosto, voyages of Vasco de Gama and Columbus. It is noticed in Marsden's Polo, p. lxii. I have examined it, but made no use of it.

3. Riccardiana, at Florence. (No. 683.) Small 4to., containing many other pieces. This is one of the peculiar type

which I have classed with Ramusio's Minor version. It seemed to me, as far as I went through it, to be the same as the next on the list, but it is truncated, going no further than the sons and daughters of the King of Champa (see § 23). This MS. is mentioned by Brunet in his article on Odoric, and is noticed in Lami's "*Catalogus Codd. MSS. qui in Bibl. Riccard. Florentiæ adservantur*", Liburni, 1756, p. 203.

4. PALATINE, at Florence. (E. 5, 9, 6, 7). A thin square 8vo, containing only Odoric and a short narrative about three monks who visited the Terrestrial Paradise. According to the MS. Catalogue by G. Molini it is of the 14th century. It is written somewhat carelessly, and in a most barbarous style, but has remarkable peculiarities. The earlier part coincides with the Minor Ramusian (not minutely), and traces of the same basis appear throughout, but also many things that are in no other copy that I know of. For this reason it has been thought desirable to print it.

5. BIBL. LUCCHESINI, at Lucca. Paper MS. of the fifteenth century, which also contains Polo. Both in the Venetian dialect. (From *Lazari's* ed. of Polo, Venezia 1847, p. 452.)

6. CAPIT. LIBRARY, Udine. See No. 28 Latin MSS. above.

French MSS. of Odoric.

1, 2, 3. BIBL. IMPERIALE. (Nos. 7500 C., 8392, and 1103 Suppl. Français). The version of John le Long, of Ypres, made in the middle of the 14th century. The first MS. is a collection containing Haiton, Ricold, Odoric, Boldensel, and the Archbishop of Soltania's *Livre du Grant Caan.* The second is a magnificent volume on vellum, with many miniatures, containing Polo and Mandeville in addition to the preceding. (*Davezac.*)

4. BRITISH MUSEUM. (Cotton Coll. Otho D. 2.) This was a collection similar to those in the Paris Library, but it suffered in the fire of the last century, and only a fragment remains.

5. CITY LIBRARY, Berne. This is a collection similar to the Paris MS. No. 8392, and is also highly embellished.

I add what I have been able to collect as to the Bibliography of Odoric's narrative, and other works specially devoted

to him. Of the more comprehensive ecclesiastical biographies containing notices of Odoric, I mention only a few of the chief.

1. The FIRST PRINTED EDITION of the Itinerary was published by Pontico Virunio, of Belluno, in 4to, at Pesaro in 1513, under the title of *Odorichus de Rebus Incognitis*. It was printed by Girolamo Soncino, who had presses also at Rimini, Fano, and Orthona ad Mare, from a MS. which Pontico obtained from one Francesco Olivieri of Jesi. It is in the vernacular, in what Zeno calls *lingua inculta e rozza*, and which Pontico considered to be Odoric's own language (*Apostolo Zeno, Dissertazioni Vossiane*, Venez. 1751, ii, p. 257). I have not, I regret to say, been able to find a copy of this work. I suppose it is of extreme rarity.

2. In 1529 was printed at Paris for John St. Denys a small folio in black letter with some woodcuts, containing the collection indicated above as French MS. No. 7500 c., under the title of "*L'hystoire Merveilleuse Plaisante et Recreative du Grand Empereur de Tartarie, Seigneur des Tartres, nommé le Grand Can*," &c. In this, Odoric's work (in French) occupies from f. 53 text to f. 66. It is thus described in the title: "*Le cinquiesme contient comment ung aultre religieux des freres Mineurs alla oultre mer pour prescher les infidelles et fut jusques en la terre du Prebstre-Jan ou il vit plusieurs aultres choses fort admirables et dignes de grant memoire comme il racompte ci-dedans.*" There are two other editions in small 4to. (*Davezac;* and Bibliog. in "*Chine Moderne*," by Pauthier and Bazin.) I have not seen it.

3. *Ramusio, Navigazioni e Viaggi.* Odoric first came out in the *second* edition of the second volume, which appeared in 1574. There are two versions given without any prefatory matter or explanation. The first and longest of these is almost certainly a translation from the MS. used by Venni in his edition as *Udinese*. The coincidence of peculiarities in proper names and other particulars shows this. The second is probably an original old Italian text, and is of a peculiar type, as has been set forth fully in a preceding page.

4. "*Historiarum Seraphicæ Religionis*, etc., *A. F. Petro Rodulphio*

Tossinianensi Con. Fran. Venetiis, 1586." At p. 125 of this work there is a life of Odoric, with a wood-cut portrait (see *ante* p. 17).

5. The second volume of *the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc., *by Richard Hakluit, Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ Church in Oxford. Imprinted at London by George Bishop, Ralph Newberie, and Robert Barker.* Anno 1599.

This contains a Latin text of Odoric (p. 39), printed as I apprehend from No. 1 Latin MS. mentioned above, and also at p. 53 a quaint English translation from the same copy, but omitting the martyrdom of the Friars at Tana.

6. "*Panegyris de B. Odorico de Portu Naonis Ord. Min. Convent. S. Francisci, Auct. Jo. Bapt. Gabello, cum esset in ecclesia S. Udalrici de Villa Nova in diœcesi Concordiensi Servus.* Utini apud Lorium 1627." 4to. (From *Bibliografia del Friuli, da Giuseppe Valentinelli*, (the learned Librarian of St. Mark's) Venezia, 1861, p. 384).

7. I know not if the last mentioned work be a previous edition of one published at Udine in 1635, which contains a Hymn to the Beato by the same Gabelli, and also a copy of the old Anthem and collect used on the 14th January, which used to hang in the Convent Church at Udine, over against the sarcophagus of Odoric (*Acta Sanctorum* and *Liruti* in work noted below). I have seen a MS copy of these at San Daniele. The hymn is in Iambic dimeter, a dismal flat of forty stanzas.

8. "*Vita del Beato, etc., dell' Ordine de' Minori di San Francesco, con li sacri miracoli, descritta dal M. R. B. F. Marco da Lisbona, nella seconda parte delle Chroniche—il cui corpo si conserva nella Chiesa de' RR. PP. Minori Convent. di S. Francesco dentro della città di Udine.* In Udine 1639, appresso Nicolo Schiratti, con licenza de' Superiori." I saw this at San Daniele. It is a small pamphlet of 24 pp. 12mo, by a native of Pordenone, and has a very rude cut of Odoric preaching.

Valentinelli has a work, apparently the same, under date 1634 (*See the work cited above*).

9. Giambattista Gabello, Vita del B. Odorico Matthiuzzi.

Udine, Schiratti, 1639. (From *Valentinelli*, U.S.) Possibly the same as No. 8, but the title does not correspond.

10. The *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists under xiv January. This gives copious extracts from the MS. of the Itinerary transcribed by the monk Henry of Glatz at Avignon in the year of Odoric's death, with a postscript added at Prague in 1340. Sprengel has said, and others have repeated, to account for the omissions in the narrative, that Henry of Glatz wrote it down *from memory*. There is no foundation for this, however. The Bollandists say expressly that they extract only such passages as show the zeal and magnanimity of Odoric in propagating the Faith (not that the extracts do show this). And the writer says nothing about writing from memory. He only says that when at Avignon he heard Odoric's story related at greater length. (See the postscript quoted at the end of the Latin text in Appendix.

11. The *Annales Minorum* of Luke Wadding, an Irish Franciscan—1st edition, in 8 vols. folio, 1625-1654; 2nd edition, in 19 vols., Rome, 1731-65—contain several pages devoted to Odoric, under the year 1331.

12. "*Vita e Viaggi del B. Odorico da Udine, descritti da Don Basilio Asquini, Bernabita, e dedicata alli MM. RR. PP. Guardiano e Religiosi tutti del Ven. Convento di San Francesco della stessa Città.* In Udine 1737 nella Stamperia di Giambattista Murero." Small 8vo. Examined in St. Mark's Library. It is a respectable book; there is a poor engraving of the Beato.

13. "*Compendio della Vita, Virtu, Morte, e' Miracoli del B. Odorico da Udine.* Udine, 1758, Murero" (*Valentinelli*, U.S.)

14. The Discussion before the Papal Court concerning the sanction demanded for the Beatification of Odoric, as fully noticed at p. 12. Romæ, 1755. Ex Typographia Rev. Cameræ Apostolicæ. Pp. 21, 70, 9, 25, altogether 125 pp. folio.

15. "*Notizie delle Vite ed Opere scritte da' Letterati del Friuli; Raccolte da Gian Giuseppe Liruti Signor di Villa fredda*, Venezia, 1760." Vol. i, pp. 274-290 contains notices of Odoric's life, etc., of some interest.

16. "*Elogio Storico alle Gesta del Beato Odorico &c. con la Storia da lui dettata de' suoi Viaggi Asiatici. Illustrata da un Religioso dell' ordine stesso, e presentata agli amatori delle antichità.* In Venezia 1761 presso Antonio Zatta." 4to; with a (very poor) map, a handsome frontispiece of Odoric baptising converts, and a plate of the tomb at Udine as it stood in the last century. The editor was Padre GIUSEPPE VENNI, and we have already had frequent occasion to refer to his work, for a copy of which I have been indebted to the kindness of my friend Mr. Perry, Consul-general at Venice.

The text is taken from a MS. which belonged to Liruti (I believe that numbered 27 above), and on the whole it seems to me the best Latin copy to which I have had access. Varied readings are given from a second MS. which was then in the convent at Udine, and which I have before mentioned as that from which Ramusio appears to have translated his larger version of Odoric's travels. There is a large appendix of illustrative notes, but they are washy and in general valueless. The most useful part of the work is the ample and laborious collection of notices of Odoric's life and posthumous history.

17. *Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, 2da ed., Modena, 1789, vol. v, pp. 124-129, has some useful references about Odoric, and some remarks upon his travels, which are of much less value.

18. Mathias Christian Sprengel: "*Geschichte der Wichtigsten Geographischen Entdeckungen*, &c., 2d ed., Halle, 1792." This very interesting little book has some pages (340-359) devoted to Odoric. It is printed with desperate inaccuracy.

19. "*Sacrum Rituum Congregatio, Eminent. et Reverend. D. Cardinal. Somalia Præfecto et Ponenti Utinensi seu Ord. Minorum S. Francisci approbat lectiones proprias in officio B. Odorici Matthiussi instant. Rev. Episc. Utin.* Romæ, 1822. Ex typ. Cameræ Apostolicæ." Pp. 16, folio (*Valentinelli*, U.S.)

20. "*Ragguaglio Breve della Vita del B. Odorico Mattiuzzi.* Udine, Murero, 1824." 16mo. (*Valentinelli*, U.S.)

21, 22, 23. Macfarlane's *Romance of Travel* (C. Knight, 1846); and *Maritime and Inland Discovery*, vol. i (by Mr. Cooley) both

contain some account of Odoric's travels. So, I believe, does Mr. Hugh Murray's *Asia*, but I have not as yet seen it.

24. "*Historische Politische Blättern von Phillips' und Görres.*" This Roman Catholic periodical, published at Munich, contains (1856-1859) a series of Papers on the Eastern Missions in the Middle Ages, of great interest, written by Professor Frederic Kunstmann of Munich; and I desire to acknowledge the advantage I have had from their perusal since becoming acquainted with them. More than once Professor Kunstmann has earned from the present editor that benediction which is due to those *qui ante nos nostra dixerint*, but his remarks and indications have been often useful even when I have differed from his conclusions. The following is a list of the papers which I was able to obtain through Professor Kunstmann's own courtesy.

1. *Die Mission in Meliapor und Tana*, Bd. 37, p. 25.
2. *Die Mission in Columbo*, *ib.*, p. 135.
3. *Die Mission in China*, *ib.*, p. 225, and Bd. 43, p. 677.
4. *Der Missions-Bericht des Odericus von Pordenone*, Bd. 38, p. 507.
5. *Der Reisebericht des Johannes Marignola*, *ib.*, pp. 701 and 793. Besides a separate pamphlet—"*Die Kenntniss Indiens im funfzehnten Jahrhunderte*, München, 1863."

25. "*Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane, del P. Marcellino da Civezza*, Roma, 1860." This is quoted by Professor Kunstmann in the last-named pamphlet. I have not been able to see it; attempts to procure it through a Turinese and through a Roman bookseller having equally failed.

After what has been said about the variations in the different copies of Odoric, it will be obvious that before preparing a translation, it becomes necessary (on the principle of catching your hare before cooking it) to ascertain the text which is to be translated. The determination *verbatim* of a standard text is not possible under the circumstances, but fortunately a large proportion of the variations disappear in translation, as they are not variations in sense. As regards the variations in proper names, in most cases it is possible to deduce from the facts which reading is nearest the truth, though often considerable study has

been necessary to ascertain their real indications. Among the variations in other matters, the editor has exercised his judgment in selecting what seemed to be the most probable readings. And where it seemed a pity to omit additional particulars that were curious or interesting, though depending on doubtful or exceptional authority, these have been interpolated into the translation within brackets.

A translation however thus formed requires what the French call "justificative pieces," that the editor's authority for everything may be traced, and that he may not be thought to have developed a new Odoric out of his "moral consciousness." It seemed therefore indispensable to print a Latin text with notes of the collations made.

I had wished to print this text from the copy of Henry of Glatz, the only type of the four already discriminated which never has been printed in full; and a transcript of the Paris MS. (No. 10 above), which was understood to be of this type, was commissioned. By some mistake, or for some unexplained reason, the transcript was made from the *other* Paris MS. (No. 9 above), and I have therefore been obliged to print this as my Latin text; for the Farsetti MS. in St. Mark's (No. 26) is not correct enough for the purpose, and there were stronger reasons against using the Arundel MS. (No. 2), the only other one available to me which is not already in print. It did not suit the object to print an Italian text only, or the St. Mark's MS. (Italian No. 1 above) would have been unexceptionable.

To the Latin text, however, I have added the Italian of the Florence Palatine MS. In introducing this version, I feel tempted to borrow a formula from a late venerable personage, who presented a newly married lady to his friends as selected "not for her looks, as they saw, but because she was good." The MS. is indeed in the basest style, and has neither looks nor goodness to recommend it. But it is eminently *curious*, as containing so many remarkable passages which appear in no other copy of Odoric, and when one is trying to dispose of Odoric once for all it seems worthy of print. The most notable passages in which the *Minor Ramusian* deviates from this, as well

as from the Latin copies, are brought forward in the notes to this version. In printing it, what seemed mere vulgarisms of spelling, such as *rengno* for *regno*, *pripristeli* for *pipistrelli*, have not been followed.

In the comparison of the Latin copies a word by word collation has been out of the question, but it has been intended to record all important variations of proper names, all important variations of sense, and such variations of mere expression as there seemed any sufficient reason for noting.

The subdivision of the narrative into chapters is in all the MSS. very various, irregular and capricious. I have made a new division, assigning short headings in my translation, and for reasons of obvious convenience have extended this also to the Latin and Italian texts. It is to be understood, therefore, that the marginal headings of chapters in these are interpolations, and no part of the originals.

It remains only to add a statement of the copies, printed or MSS., which have been used in these collations, with the abbreviations by which they are respectively referred to in the notes.

Indication of Copy.	*No. in List at p. 29 seq.*	*Abbreviations.*
Paris Latin MS. No. 2584 Bibl. Imp.	No. 9.	(The Printed Text.)
Venice Latin MS. formerly in Farsetti Collection	No. 26.	Far.
British Museum Latin MS. in Arundel Collection	No. 2.	Mus.
Paris Latin MS. No. 3195	No. 10.	Par. 2 (only one or two collations from this).
Venice Italian MS. St. Mark's	Ital. No. 1.	Mar.
Florence Italian MS. in Palatine Library	Ital. No. 4.	Pal.
Hakluyt's printed Latin Text		Hak.
Venni's printed Latin Text		Ven.
Venni's printed collation of Udine MS.		Ut.
Ramusio's Italian version (the Longer)		Ram.
Ditto ditto (the Lesser)		Min. Ram.

THE EASTERN PARTS OF THE WORLD DESCRIBED,

BY

FRIAR ODORIC THE BOHEMIAN, OF FRIULI, IN THE PROVINCE OF SAINT ANTHONY.

---

1. What the Friar saw at Trebizond and in the Greater Armenia.

ALBEIT many other stories of sundry kinds concerning the customs and peculiarities of different parts of this world have been related by a variety of persons, yet would I have you to know that I also, Friar Odoric of Friuli, can truly rehearse many great marvels which I did hear and see when, according to my wish, I crossed the sea and visited the countries of the unbelievers in order to win some harvest of souls [and this I did with the leave of my superiors, who have power to grant it by the rules of our Order.][1]

[Wherefore I purpose to relate briefly and compendiously under sundry chapters of this little work a multitude of the things which I have seen and heard in the East and the North and the South. Of all I purpose not to speak, though I shall be the first to tell of many which will seem to a number of people past belief. NOR, indeed, could I myself have believed these things, had I not heard them with my own ears or seen the like myself. Fourteen years and a half, in the habit of Francis, that blessed confessor of

[1] BOLL.

Christ, I sojourned in those parts of the world. And now being at Padua, I have here compiled this little work at the request of the reverend Friar Guidotto, the minister of the province of Saint Anthony. If, then, the studious reader shall find anything good in it, let him ascribe that to the divine bounty and not to my poor skill. And if he find anything too hard for belief, and wherein he judgeth me to stray from truth, let him remark thereon with a student's charity, and not with insolent bitterness and spiteful snarling.][1]

First, then, [going with the galleys from Venice][2] I crossed over the Greater Sea,[3] and so passed to TREBIZOND, which was of old called Pontus. This city is situated passing well, and is a haven[4] for the Persians, Medes, and all the people on the further side of the sea. And in this country I saw a very pretty sight [which I am the more bold to tell, because many persons with whom I have spoken in Venice assure me that they have seen the like].[5] I beheld a certain man taking about with him more than four thou-

[1] FAR.

[2] MIN. RAM., which also specifies April 1318 as the time of his departure. Giov. da Uzzano in the next century says the galleys for Romania and Trebizond used to leave Venice between the 8th and 20th of July. (*Della Decima*, iv, 104.)

[3] *Mare Majus*, as the Euxine was usually called by the Franks in Odoric's time and long after. It is so called (M. Maggiore) by Marco Polo in the preceding century, by Haiton the Armenian, by Barbaro in the following century, and even (Mer Majour) by Vincent Le Blanc at the beginning of the seventeenth. Carpini and Ricold Montecroce have Mare *Magnum*; Rubruquis, "the Sea of Pontus, commonly called Mare Majus," the former name also being given by Edrisi in the shape of *Buntus*.

The title *Greater* was no doubt given at Constantinople with reference to the Propontis, as several have suggested. Marsden aptly quotes the like title given by the Hebrews to the Mediterranean.

Mandeville, like Jordanus, uses Mare *Maurum*; μαῦρος having in Byzantine and modern Greek the sense of *Black*; and this we find already in plain Latin used by Paschal of Vittoria, and indeed by Jordanus himself (Mare *Nigrum*).

[4] *Scala*, which appears still to be the technical word for a trading port in those seas, as well as in Italy.

[5] MIN. RAM.

sand partridges. For as the man went along the ground, the partridges followed him flying in the air. These partridges he was then taking to a certain castle which is called ZEGANA,[1] distant three days' journey from Trebizond, [where they dig copper and crystal].[2] And the way with these partridges was this, that whenever the man wanted to lie down or go to sleep, they all gathered about him like chickens about a hen. And in this manner he took them along to Trebizond, to the palace of the emperor;[3] and he, when they were thus brought before him, took as many partridges as he desired; but the rest of them the man led back to the place whence he had first brought them.[4]

In this same city (of Trebizond) is deposited the body of Athanasius, over one of the gates of the city; of him, that is, that made the creed which beginneth Quicumque vult

[1] *Ziganah* is twelve leagues from Trebizond on the road to Erzrum, and gives name to a pass called the Ziganah Dagh. Clavijo, on the *third day* from Trebizond encamped near a "castle called Sigana, on the top of a high rock, and belonging to a Greek knight" (Curzon's *Armenia*, pp. 31, 173, 175; Brant's Map in *J. R. Geog. Soc.*, vi; *Journ. Asiat.*, 1st series, ix, 228; Markham's *Clavijo*, HAK. SOC., p. 65). Some of the old popular Italian versions of Marco Polo have this partridge story interpolated therein.

[2] PAL. has "silver and crystal". The whole of the Valley of the Karsput River south of Ziganah abounds in ores of copper and lead. There are also silver-mines, as mentioned by Polo. (*Brant*, u.s., p. 221.)

[3] Alexius II, of the house called "Grand-Comnenus," reigned at this time (1297-1330) independently and prosperously over the long strip of coast called the empire of Trebizond. This state endured till 1461. (*Finlay's H. of Greece* (Medieval) *and of the Emp. of Trebizond*, 1851.)

[4] This is one of the stories which have been accounted most absurd in Odoric's narrative. Yet the accurate Tournefort, after telling how the peasants in Scio keep tame partridges which are sent out to feed every day like flocks of sheep under the charge of a public keeper, to whose whistle they come readily, goes on to say: "I have seen a man in Provence in the neighbourhood of Grasse, who used to take whole flocks of partridges out to the fields, and made them come to his call; he would take hold of them, put them in his bosom, and then send them off again to feed with the others." *Voyage du Levant* (Lyon, 1727), ii, 79. Precisely the same account of the partridges at Scio is given at an earlier date in *Busbequii Epist.*, Amsterd., 1660, p. 164.

salvus esse.[1] Departing thence, I came into Armenia the Greater, to a certain city which is called ARZIRON,[2] which in time long past was a fine and most wealthy city, and it would have been so unto this day but for the Tartars and the Saracens, who have done it much damage. It aboundeth greatly in bread and flesh, and many other kinds of victual, but not in wine or fruits. For the city is mighty cold, and folk say that it is the highest city that is at this day inhabited on the whole face of the earth. But it hath most excellent water, the reason whereof seems to be that the springs of this water are derived from the River Euphrates, which floweth at about one day's journey from the city.[3] And this city is just midway to Tauris.[4]

[1] I find no confirmation of this. Venni says the Acta Sanctorum contain no allusion to the story. The body of Athanasius was buried at Alexandria, but afterwards transferred to Constantinople and laid in a church bearing his name. On the capture of the city the relics were said to have been carried to Venice and solemnly placed in the church of Sta. Croce della Giudecca. (*Venni*, 87.)

Can this have to do with Odoric's statement? "Over one of the principal gates (of Trebizond) is a long inscription, which refers to a Christian bishop and one of the emperors of Constantinople. It is evidently not in its original position." (*Brant.*, u. s., p. 189.)

[2] Erzrum, corrupted from Arzan-al-Rum, or Roman Arzan, was taken with pillage and havoc by the Tartars in 1241. Even in Tournefort's time the Franks commonly pronounced the name Erzeron. Though not the highest city, even of the old world, it stands at a height of some 7,000 feet above the sea, and is noted for the severity of its winters, insomuch that a late Italian traveller calls it the Siberia of the Ottoman Empire. In 1855-56 the centigrade thermometer sunk to 35° below 0°. Sir J. Sheil saw a heavy snowstorm at Erzrum in July. "The weather as a general rule," says Curzon, "may be considered as on the way from bad to worse." Fruit does not grow, but great quantities of "victual," *i. e.*, of corn and meal, are brought from more genial regions, as it is the place where the great caravans between Persia and Turkey recruit their stores. (*Curzon*, pp. 36, 51, 115, 117, 141; Lady Shiel's *Glimpses of Life, etc., in Persia;* De' Bianchi, *V. in Armenia*, etc., 1863; *Tournefort*, iii, 126.) The Franciscans at this time had a convent at Erzrum, in the custodia of K[illegible]

[3] "The town ..... is on a sort of peninsula formed by the sources of Euphrates. The first of these flows at a day's journey from the city." (*Tournefort*, iii, 114.)

[4] MIN. RAM., and PAL. insert here a strange and unseemly story which is in none of the Latin copies.

Departing from it, I came to a certain hill which is called SARBISACALO;[1] and in that country is the mountain whereon is Noah's Ark. And I would fain have ascended it, if my companions would have waited for me. But the folk of the country told us that no one ever could ascend the mountain, for this, as it is said, hath seemed not to be the pleasure of the Most High.[2]

2. Concerning the City of Tauris and the City of Soldania, where dwelleth the Persian Emperor.

From that country I passed to TAURIS, a great city and a royal, which anciently was called Susis, and was the city of the King Ahasuerus.[3] In it they say the Arbor Secco existeth in a mosque, that is to say, in a church of the

[1] This puzzling name occurs also in Balducci Pegolotti's detail of stages on the road to Tauris, under the form of *Sermessacalo*. I can only suggest that these Italian corruptions contain the name of the station of *Hassan-Kala'a*, some twenty-four miles from Erzrum, near where the roads to Kars and Tabriz separate, perhaps under some such form as *Serai-Hassan-Kala'a*. It was once a considerable place, and the site of one of the Genoese castles which protected the road from Trebizond. There are also hot springs at the place. (*Brant.*, u. s., p. 230.) The name *may* however contain the Armenian *Surp* or *Surpazan*, holy.

[2] MIN. RAM. "For the mountain is most holy, and moreover is inaccessible on account of the deep snow that covers at least two-thirds of it." On Ararat, see note to *Jordanus*, p. 3. Rubruquis gives a curious popular reason why no one should ascend the mountain (p. 387). Haiton says that though nobody dares mount because of the snow, yet something black appears on the top which is vulgarly called Noah's Ark. The usual Mussulman tradition places the grounding of the Ark not on Armenian Ararat, but on the Jibul Judi in Kurdistan, whence Benj. of Tudela says "Omar Ben Khatab removed the Ark from the summit and made a mosque of it" (p. 93). Sir H. Rawlinson considers Judi to be much higher than Demawend, and as Demawend is believed to be fully 4,000 feet higher than Ararat, the claims of Judi to be the mountain of the Ark are very intelligible. (See President's Address in *Jour. R. Geog. Soc.*, xxix, p. clxx.)

[3] "And on the way I passed the Red River, where Alexander routed Darius the King of Asia; and in that city we have two convents." *Pal.* It is correct that the Franciscans had two convents in Tauris (*Wadding*). Respecting the Red River (*Fiume Rosso*), see note to Pegolotti *infra*. *Tauris* (*Tabriz*) was the capital of more than one dynasty, and

Saracens.[1] And this is a nobler city and a better for merchandise than any other which at this day existeth in the world. For there is not on the face of the earth any kind of

throughout the middle ages a chief point of contact and trade between the Latin and Oriental worlds. It has been identified not only with Shushan of Esther, and the Achmetha of the Apocrypha, but with the northern Ecbatana and half a dozen other ancient cities of fame. Rawlinson, however, considers it not to be older than the third century (*Chardin*, Amsterd., 1735, i, 258; *Journ. Asiat.*, S. ii, iv, 117; *J. R. G. S.*, x, 109). There are now no traces of magnificence at Tabriz, though it was still in splendour in the seventeenth century (see note in Jordanus, p. 7). Tauris was made the See of a Roman bishop (William de Gigiis) in 1329, and a successor is traced as late as the following century (*Le Quien*).

[1] The Arbor Secco is repeatedly spoken of by Marco Polo, especially as existing in north-east Persia. Marsden (p. 111) identifies it with the *chínár* or plane tree, observing that "the epithet seems to imply nothing more than this; that when the form of the fruit promises an edible nut, the stranger who gathers it is disappointed on finding no perceptible contents, or only a dry and tasteless seed." This is accepted by later commentators; but none explain the evident interest with which Marco refers to it, or why the *Christians* should be specified as giving it this peculiar name. It is clear that the tree was the subject of some Christian legend. This I have not met with in full, but the following passage from Mandeville throws some light upon it. At Mamre, he says, "there is an oak tree which the Saracens call *Dirpe*, which is of Abraham's time, and people call it the *Dry tree*. They say that it has been there since the beginning of the world, and that it was once green, and bore leaves till the time that our Lord died on the cross, and then it died...and there is a prophecy that a lord, a prince of the west side of the world, shall win the Land of Promise, *i.e.*, the Holy Land, with the help of the Christians, and he shall cause mass to be performed under that dry tree, and then the tree shall become green, and bear both fruit and leaves" (p. 162).

The *Arbor Secco* is sprinkled about Central Asia by Fra Mauro, in his celebrated map, now in the Sala dello Scudo at Venice.

Clavijo, in the beginning of the next century mentions the *Arbor Secco* at Tauris, as still standing in the street "near an open space", and tells a story (in which there is some hiatus) about it in connection with a certain bishop who came to convert the city.

The stories of the dry tree were perhaps spun out of the words of the Vulgate in Ezekiel xvii, 24, "*Humiliavi lignum sublime et exaltavi lignum humile; et siccavi lignum viride,* et frondere feci lignum aridum."

Polo it will be remembered gives a topographical sense to *Arbor Secco* in Persia. Lazari, the late Venetian editor, ingeniously suggests that he may have meant *Elborz-Kuh*, Mount Elborz, near which his Arbor Secco certainly lay.

provision, or any species of goods, but you will find great store thereof at Tauris. It is admirable for situation, and so opulent a city that you would scarcely believe the things to be found there; for the whole world, almost, hath dealings with that city for merchandise. And the Christians will tell you that the emperor[1] there hath more revenue from that one city than the king of France hath from his whole realm. Near that city is a mountain of salt, which furnisheth great store of salt for the whole place. And of this salt taketh every man as much as he listeth, and payeth nothing to any man.[2] In that city, also, there dwell many Christians of every description, but the Saracens have the rule over them in all things. And there are many things else to be said of that city, but it would take too long to relate them.

Departing from this city of Tauris, I travelled for ten days, and reached a certain city called SOLDANIA,[3] in which dwelleth the emperor of the Persians in the summer season.

[1] The "Emperor of Persia" at this time was Abusaid Bahádur Khán, the last of the Mongol dynasty who had real power.

[2] I do not find recent mention of this salt mine. But Ricold de Montecroce, in entering Persia from this side, speaks with wonder of its mountains of salt, which had to be quarried like stone and broken with iron tools; whilst the Arabian geographer Bakui notices specifically at Tabriz "a mountain of salt, which is extracted in blocks," and Chardin also speaks of an important salt mine close to the city. (*Peregrin. Quat.*, p. 122; *Notices et Extraits*, ii, 477; *Chardin*, i, 258.)

[3] Sultâniah was built as a royal residence by Oljaïtu, son of Argon, the eighth of the Mongol Khans of Persia, in 1305. Long after the destruction of the city by Timur, indeed into the seventeenth century, the tomb of Oljaïtu was still magnificent, and especially noted for its colossal gates of damasked steel. The city was reoccupied by some of the Persian kings in the sixteenth century, till Shah Abbas transferred the seat of government to Ispahan. The ruins were of vast extent in Chardin's time. The present Persian dynasty has again adopted Sultâniah as a summer residence. Pope John XXII set up an archbishopric at Sultâniah in 1318, in favour of Francis of Perugia, a Dominican, and the series of archbishops is traced down to 1425. (*Desguignes*, iv, 277, 279; Barbaro in *Ramus.*, ii, 105; *Chardin*, i, 271; *Le Quien*, iii, 1359-1368; De Sacy in *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, vi, 503 *seq.*)

But in the winter he goeth to a certain other place [called Axam][1] which is on the sea called the Sea of Bacuc.[2] This city (of Soldania) is a great one, and a cool place, with an excellent supply of water, and many costly wares are brought thither for sale.[3]

3. Concerning the City of the Magi; also of the Sea of Sand, and of the Land of Huz.

Departing from this city with a caravan, that is to say with a certain company, I proceeded in the direction of Upper India, and after travelling that way for many days I halted at the city of the three Magi, which is called CASSAN, a royal city and of great repute.[4] But the Tartars have

[1] BOLL.

[2] The Caspian was very generally called so in the middle ages, from Baku, the chief port on the western shore. The archives of Genoa contain a curious document relating how, in 1374, one Lucchinus Tarigus of that city, with certain comrades as penniless as himself, started from Caffa with a *fusta* or light galley, which they took up the Don, and dragged sixty miles overland to the Edil (Wolga), and so descended to the *Sea of Bacu*, which they scoured, taking many prizes and much plunder, with which they returned, abandoning their vessel. On their way back, however, the heroes of this surpassing feat of buccaneering were taken and stript of much of their gains. (Gräberg de Hemso, *Annali di Geog. e di Stattist.*, ii, 290.)

The Bollandist version says the winter quarter of the Emperor on the sea was called *Axam*. The usual winter resort of the Il-Khans was the plain of Moghan, on the Caspian, near the mouth of the Kur, which had been the quarter to which the hosts of their predecessors used to retire after their annual ravages. Axam (Asham?) might however be Aujan, not far from Tabriz, which was often the spring and winter camp of the later Il-Khans, the Hujan of Clavijo, and where Gazan Khan built a fine city (*D'Ohsson*, v, 277; Quatremère's *Rashid*, p. 21-23). But in that case the mention of the sea of Baku is a mistake. If not, it may perhaps be *Actam*, which is several times mentioned in the life of Timur, as a place on the plain of Moghan where he used to pitch, especially for great hunting matches. (*Chereffeddin*, by Petis de la Croix, ii, 390; iii, 208, 398; *D'Ohsson*, iv, 151, 483.)

[3] "And in it there is a House of the Preaching Friars and likewise one of the Minor Friars." PAL.

[4] Instead of this, PAL. has: "I came to the city of SABA, the place whence the three Magi came."

greatly destroyed it. It is a city which aboundeth greatly in bread and wine, and in many other good things. From this city to Jerusalem, (whither the Magi found their way, not surely by human strength but by Divine strength working by miracle, seeing how quickly they went), is a good fifty days' journey. And there be many other things with regard to that city which it boots not much to rehearse.[1]

Passing thence I travelled to a certain city called IEST,[2]

[1] Kashan, a city of Persia, still tolerably flourishing, standing about halfway between Ispahan and Tehran, and also about halfway between Sultaniah and Yezd, long noted for its brocades and velvets, and also for its scorpions.

Sir T. Herbert alludes to the story of the Magi coming from Kashan, but as he quotes Odoric I suspect his knowledge was derived from him only. For it is remarkable that in the Palatine and Minor Ramusian versions of Odoric, it is at SABA, and not at Kashan that he speaks of the Magi. And this agrees with Marco Polo, who places at *Sava* the origin and sepulchres of the three kings. One he says was King of Sava, another of Ava, the third of the castle of the fire-worshippers. Both Saba and Ava still exist between Sultania and Kashan, or at least their names and remains do. They retain no traditions now about the kings.

Herbert observes that various authors have brought the Magi from Babylon, Shushan, Hormuz, and Ceylon, to which we may add that Armenian tradition brings them from Lake Van, Haiton the Armenian from Chinese Tartary, and John de' Marignolli from the Indian Archipelago. It was impossible to *bring* the wise men of the East from Europe, so they were *taken* there after death, surely by the strangest fable ever invented!

It is most likely that the location of the wise men at Saba in Persia rose out of a misapplication of Psalm lxxii, 10: "*The Kings of Tarshish and the Isles shall bring presents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts.*" And it was probably through some mistake in dictation that all the versions of Odoric but the two mentioned refer the Magi to Kashan instead of Saba (*Chardin*, i, 297, 300, 301; *Herbert's Travels*; *Haiton*, ch. ii; *Assemanni*, p. 750; *Abbott* in *J. R. G. S.*, xxv, p. 6).

[2] Yezd, occupying an oasis in the great Persian desert, is mentioned by Barbaro in the following century as a most industrious place, flourishing by its silk and cotton manufactures, and supplying with these a large part of Asia. These manufactures still continue. Many important caravan routes converge at Yezd, whilst the desert has given it security, and thus it has become a considerable mart.

The figs, pomegranates, grapes, and melons of the oasis are noted. The small raisins, not very much larger than Greek currants, are well known in India, into which they are largely imported under the name of *Kishmis;*

[which is the furthest city of Persia towards India],[1] from which the Sea of Sand is but one day distant. Now that sea is a wondrous thing, and right perilous. [And there were none of us who desired to enter on that sea. For it is all of dry sand without the slightest moisture. And it shifteth as the sea doth when in storm, now hither, now thither, and as it shifteth it maketh waves in like manner as the sea doth; so that countless people travelling thereon have been overwhelmed and drowned and buried in those sands. For when blown about and buffeted by the winds, they are raised into hills, now in this place, now in that, according as the wind chanceth to blow].[2] In this city of Iest there is very great store of victuals and all other good things that you can mention; but especially is found there great plenty of figs; and raisins also, green as grass and very small, are found there in richer profusion than in any other part of the world. This is the third best city which the Emperor of the Persians possesses in his whole realm. The Saracens say of it that no Christian is ever able to live in it beyond one year. And there are many other matters there.

Departing thence, and passing by many cities and towns, I came to a certain city by name COMERUM,[3] which formerly

perhaps from the island of Kishm, from which the trade to India was conducted?

Yezd is regarded as holy by the Mussulmans; a sanctity perhaps borrowed from the fire-worshippers who still linger here in degradation and scanty numbers. (*Ramusio*, ii, 106; *Ritter*, viii, 265-270; *J. R. A. S.*, viii, 349).

[1] From MIN. RAM.

[2] From MIN. RAM. Whatever may be the exaggeration in this interpolated passage, as regards the Persian desert, the absolute extravagance of the account will seem less to those who will refer to the description by Baron Wrede of the desert in Southern Arabia, called "The Sea of Saffi", from a king who is said to have perished with his army therein (*J. R. G. S.*, xiv, p. 110-111). Tavernier also speaks of the danger of being lost in the desert of Yezd, on account of the mobility of the sand.

[3] The readings of this name are very various (see Latin text). But both Odoric's description and the manner in which I understand his

was a great city, and in the olden time did great scathe to the Romans. The compass of its walls is a good fifty miles, and there be therein palaces yet standing entire, but without inhabitants. It aboundeth however in many kinds of victual.

Leaving this and going on through many towns and cities I reached the city called Huz,[1] which abounds in all kinds of victuals, and is beautifully situated.[2] For near this city are mountains, which afford in great abundance the finest of pastures for cattle. There also is found manna of better quality and in greater abundance than in any part of the world. In that country also you can get four good partridges for less than a Venetian groat. In those parts also you see very comely elders; and 'tis the custom there for the men to knit and spin, and not the women. And this land adjoineth the extremity of Chaldæa towards the North.[3]

route, seem to identify the remains of which he speaks with those of Persepolis. The name *Comerum* will then probably represent the *grossa villa* of *Camara*, at which Barbaro places the ruins, and this is perhaps the same with the *Kinara* of Rich. The great platform and columns of the palace, probably then more perfect than now, and the vast circuit assigned to the ruins by Persian tradition, varying from twelve to forty-four parasangs (forty to a hundred and fifty miles, the former estimate not exaggerated if the remains in that neighbourhood be supposed within the compass of one city), answer well to the brief words of our traveller.

[1] Some copies have "the land (or city) of Job"; others "the land of Job, called Huz" (see Latin text).

[2] The Huz of Odoric I at first supposed to be Ahwáz (or Hawáz), or some other city of Khuzistan. Assemanni in Latin calls that country *Huzia*, and sometimes *Huzitis;* whilst Magini in Italian calls it *Cus*. Job's name, which appears in many copies, is probably an interpolation suggested by the name of the country. However, Chardin tells us that Mayn, north-west of Shiraz, was pointed out as the residence of Job; and probably the nearest approximation in modern times to the Patriarch's wealth in cattle is to be found amongst the nomade chiefs of Persia. It is, however, more probable that the Huz of Odoric is the *Hazah* of Eastern writers, frequently coupled with Mosul, and identified by Assemanni with *Adiabene* (see *Assemanni*, pp. 5, 11, 12, 13, 209, 710). This would certainly be more consistent with the accuracy of the last clause of the chapter.

[3] I suppose Odoric to pass through a part of the hill country of Luristan

4. Fr. Odoric treateth of the manners of the people of Chaldæa; of India within land; and of Ormes.

Departing thence I went into CHALDÆA,[1] which is a great kingdom, and as I went thither I passed by the Tower of Babel, which is distant perchance four days' journey from (the city).[2] And in this land of Chaldæa they have a language of their own; and the men are comely, but the women in sooth of an ill favour.[3] The men indeed go smartly dressed and decked as our women go here, and on their heads they wear a kind of fillet of gold and pearls; whilst the women have nothing on them but a miserable shift reaching to the knees, and with sleeves so long and

or the regions adjoining, if he does not indeed proceed north as far as Mosul, before descending into Chaldæa. The fine hill pastures, abundant manna, profusion of partridges, and fine old men ("many of them," says an authority quoted by Ritter, "attaining a hundred years in full possession of their bodily and mental faculties"), are all characteristic of the mountains of Kurdistan, embracing the Hus of Odoric according to the second interpretation just given, though I can find little of a specific kind on record as to the hill countries of Khuzistan and Luristan. The knitting and spinning of the men I do not find anywhere mentioned; it is a well-known circumstance in the Himalayan villages. (*Ritter*, ix, 611, 622; *J. R. G. S.* ix, 100, 104, etc.)

[1] Though he calls Chaldæa a great kingdom, he would appear to mean the city of Baghdad. The peculiar language would be Arabic. Hitherto he has been in countries that speak Persian chiefly.

[2] *Ab eâ*, i.e., *Chaldæâ*, showing that Baghdad is meant, which is about sixty miles from the Birs Nimrud, and somewhat less from the ruins of Babylon. Probably the mass called *Babel* at the latter is Odoric's Tower (see note to Marignolli *infra*). It is not clear, however, how Odoric should have come by this to Baghdad.

[3] In countries where Mahommedan manners prevail, and now including India, the women in the streets have a much meaner appearance than the men, because women of the better class are so little seen. Of the women of Baghdad Ker Porter says: "The humbler females generally move abroad with faces totally unveiled, having a handkerchief rolled round their heads, from beneath which their hair hangs down over their shoulders; their garment is of a shift form reaching to their ankles, open before, and of a grey colour. Their feet are completely naked." (*Travels*, ii. 268).

wide that they sweep the ground. And they go barefoot with drawers[1] hanging about their feet, and their hair neither plaited nor braided, but in complete dishevelment; and as here among us the men go first and the women follow, so there the women have to go before the men. [Here I saw a young man who was taking to wife a beautiful young woman, and she was accompanied by other beautiful maidens, who were weeping and wailing, whilst the young bridegroom stood by in very gay clothes, with his head hanging down. And by and bye the young man mounted his ass, and the bride followed him barefoot and wretchedly dressed, and holding by the ass, and her father went behind blessing them until they reached the husband's house].[2] And many other matters there be in this city which it booteth not greatly to detail.

So going thence I came to inland India, a region which the Tartars have greatly wasted.[3] And there you find

[1] *Sarabulas* is the word in the Latin, Anglo-Indicé *paijámas*. The term appears in various forms in Ducange as meaning *braccæ*, and derived from a Chaldee word, which has been adopted into the Vulgate in *Daniel*, iii, 94. Ducange does not specify the word, but I suppose it is the counterpart of the Arabic *Sarwál*, plural *Saráwal*, better known in India under the Persian form *Shalwár*, and from which in its former shape the Spaniards have made *Zaraguelles*. (See Dozy, *Dict. des Vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 233.) Ricold Montecroce says the Nestorians thought the sacrament profaned if any one entered with the head covered or without *Sorrabula*. Whereon his German editor says: "Soccabula *fortasse sunt socci, calceorum genus. Ducangium frustra consului, qui nec* Sorrabula *habeat nec* Soccabula." (*Peregrin. Med. Æv.* IV, &c., Lipsiæ, 1864, p. 129). But if he had given *Ducangius* a little more tether in spelling he would have found not only *Sarabula*, but *Serabula, Saraballa, Sarabella, Sarabola, Sarabara*, and yet more! The Bollandist Odoric has *Scrobullas*, a sheer error; but Ducange has inserted it as *muliebris vestis* on that authority.

[2] From MIN. RAM.

[3] "*India quæ est infra terram.* The *infra* is to be taken in the Italian sense. It is plain that he means some region adjoining the Persian Gulf, and the following extract illustrates the matter more precisely: "The Talmudic writers.....confounded Obillah [on the Lower Euphrates] with the Mosaic Havilah.....and thus rendered Havilah everywhere

people who live almost entirely on dates, and you get forty-two pounds of dates for less than a groat; and so of many other things.[1]

Quitting this India and traversing many places, I came to the Ocean Sea. And the first city on it that I reached is called ORMES, a city strongly fenced and abounding in costly wares.[2] [The city is on an island some five miles distant from the main; and on it there grows no tree, and there is no fresh water. There is indeed great plenty of bread and fish and flesh. But it is not a healthy place nor safe for life, and the heat is something incredible. The people both men and women are all very tall. And where I passed by one day there was one just dead; and they had got together all the players in the place, and they set the dead man on his bed in the middle of the house, whilst two women danced round about him, and the players played on their cymbals and other instruments of music. Then two of the women took hold of the dead man, embracing him and chaunting his praises, and the other women stood up one after another and took a pipe and piped on it awhile, and when one had

by *Hindeki* or India, precisely as the early Arabs state that Obillah is also called Hind or India, and as the people of Busrah still constantly speak of the districts at the mouth of the river as Hind, from the circumstance of their being the nearest points to India, and the places where the vessels from India rendezvous." (Sir H. Rawlinson, in *J. R. G. S.*, xxvii, 186.)

[1] Edrisi, two centuries before, relates that five hundred rotoli of dates were to be had at Basrah for a *dínár*, according to the report of merchants who were there in 1141 (*Fr. Trans.*, i, 368).

[2] Hormuz, at this time and long after, a great entrepôt of Indian trade, situated on a barren island near the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and apparently representing the ancient Armuza which stood on the mainland opposite, and appears in Ptolemy. (An *island*, Armuza, is also shown in some copies at least of the Ptolemaic maps, though not in the text). The place, therefore, cannot have derived its name, as D'Herbelot says, from Hormisdas, son of Sapor. It now belongs to the Sultan of Oman (Maskat), and gives him a revenue from the salt which it produces. Hormuz on the mainland still flourished at the end of the tenth century, and the date of its tranfer to the island seems uncertain.

done piping she sat down; and so they went on all night. And in the morning they carried him to the tomb].[1]

5. Of ships that have no iron in their frame; and in such an one Fr. Odoric passeth to Tana in India.

In this country men make use of a kind of vessel which they call *Jase*,[2] which is fastened only with stitching of twine. On one of these vessels I embarked, and I could find no iron at all therein. And having thus embarked, I passed over in twenty-eight days to TANA,[3] where for the faith of Christ four of our Minor Friars had suffered a glorious martyrdom. The city is excellent in position, and hath great store of bread and wine,[4] and aboundeth in trees. This was a great place in days of old, for it was the city of King Porus, who waged so great a battle with King Alexander. The people thereof are idolaters, for they worship fire, and serpents, and trees

[1] This passage is only in the PAL. An account of the ceremonies of a wake at Baghdad very like this is given by Tavernier.

Here follows in all the Latin MSS. an untranslatable statement of the marvellous effects of the heat at Hormuz. It seems like a confusion of some complaint like hernia with the *guinea-worm*, which did prevail at Hormuz, or as if some one had hoaxed the friar as to the nature of the latter malady. It is worthy of note that Mandeville here omits this statement of Odoric's and substitutes another as to the inhabitants being obliged by the heat to sleep in water, which he does *not* seem to have copied from Polo. This custom prevailed long after, and is mentioned by Peter della Valle among others. Even monks followed it in his day. *Punkahs* of our Anglo-Indian fashion were already in use at Hormuz in the end of the sixteenth century. Linschoten calls them *cattaventos* (*Polo*, ii, 14; *Pietro della Valle*, ed. Brighton, 1843, ii, 471; *Linschoten*, p. 16).

[2] *Jahâz* (*Pers.*), a ship.

[3] An ancient city at the north end of the island of Salsette, once the capital of Konkan and a haven of importance, but long superseded by Bombay; it is mentioned as a cotton port by Marco Polo.

How Porus was brought to these parts it is hard to say. But Gasparo Balbi (1580), speaking of the Cave of Elephanta "at Cape Bombain", says that it was formed by Alexander the Great to mark his furthest conquest. This may have been a current Mahomedan story, and might account for Porus being translated to Tana.

[4] PAL. has "abundance of victual, but specially of butter, of *susuan* (*susine?* or *sesamo?*), and of rice.

also. The land is under the dominion of the Saracens, who have taken it by force of arms, and they are now subject to the Empire of DILI.[1]

Here be found sundry kinds of beasts, and especially black lions in very great numbers, besides monkeys and baboons, and bats as big as pigeons are here. There be also rats as big as here are our dogs called *scherpi*.[2] And for this reason rats are there caught by dogs, for the mousers or cats are of no use for that.[3] In this country every man hath before his

[1] I have ventured here, in justice to Odoric, to restore this name as I believe he really employed it. It is in the Latin text "*subjacentes Daldili.*" Odoric, doubtless, in his dictation, said "*sotto la signoria del Dili.*" Thus, in Fra Mauro's map, we find tolerably well placed, "DELI *cittade grandissima,*" and the rubrick attached, "*Questa cittade nobilissima za dominava tuto el Paese* DEL DELI *over India Prima,*" and again to the city of *Here* (Herat), "*Quella era za sotto la Signoria* DEL DELI", etc.

The same kind of fusion and confusion which has created a King Daldili has led to many other strange perversions. The ancient Malabar port and point of *Hili* survives in our maps only as Mount *Deli*. Marco Polo is made to call Lahore the city of *Dilivar*, and the Cilician port of Aias—*Laias;* whilst the name of King D'or, by which (according to Marsden's happy suggestion) he translated the title of the Chinese *Kin* or *Golden* Dynasty, appeared in the Latin editions as *Darius*. So we shall afterwards find that the Tartar name *Talai*, which Odoric gives to the Yangtsekiang, becomes in most MSS. *Doltalay;* and in the English Mandeville we find the land of Dengadda and the Lake of Dasfetidee, for Engaddi and Asphaltites. An analogous case to that of King Daldili also occurs in the city where I write this. An English Archbishop of Palermo, whose name is believed to have been Walter (o' the) Mill, has been handed down as *Gualterus Ofamilius*.

A reverse process also is often found to have taken place. The Arabs have made the Lazarus of the Gospel into *'Azár;* we often see Germany spoken of in Italy as *La Magna;* and from the Portuguese *Laranja*, a corruption of the Indian *Naranja*, we have got our English *Orange*, and the modern Latin form (implying a false etymology) *Aurantia*.

The west coast and the Deccan had been overrun by the Khilji Kings of Dehli in the early years of the fourteenth century, and were more or less subject to that empire at this time.

[2] This word is written also *scepi, depi, scoipi, sarpi*, etc., because (it may be supposed) the transcribers, like the present editor, could make nothing of it.

[3] As to the great bats and rats enough has been said in the notes to Jordanus (pp. 19, 29).

The word which I have translated *bats* is *noctuæ*, but I think *bats* are

house a plant of twigs as thick as a pillar would be here, and this never withers as long as it gets water. And many other strange things are there which it would be pretty to hear tell.[1]

[The women go naked there, and when a woman is married she is set on a horse, and the husband gets on the crupper and holds a knife pointed at her throat; and they have nothing on except a high cap on their head like a mitre, wrought with white flowers, and all the maidens of the place go singing in a row in front of them till they reach the house, and there the bride and bridegroom are left alone, and when they get up in the morning they go naked as before.[2]]

[In this country there are trees which give wine which they call *loahc*,[3] and which is very intoxicating. And here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be de-

meant. *Nottola* in Italian means not an owl but a bat; and the MIN. RAM., and PAL. confirm this. They also say "as big as our ducks", which is more germane than *pigeons*. The "black lions" are tigers, we may presume. Polo always calls tigers *lions*. *Nigri leones*, apparently for tigers, will be found in the Latin translation of Arabshah's *Life of Timur*, i, p. 466.

[1] This passage must have been mangled in the dictation. But it is evident that what is spoken of is the sacred *Tulasi* or Basil (*Ocymum Sanctum*). The following extract describes intelligibly and correctly what Odoric's amanuensis apparently did not understand. "Almost all the Hindus.....adore a plant like our *Basilico Gentile*, but of more pungent odour.....Everyone before his house has a little altar, girt with a wall half an ell high, in the middle of which they erect certain pedestals like little towers, and in these the shrub is grown. They recite their prayers daily before it, with repeated prostrations, sprinklings of water, etc. There are also many of these maintained at the bathing places, and in the courts of their pagodas." (*Vincenzo Maria*, p. 300; see also Ward's *Hindoos*, iii, 203).

[2] From MIN. RAM.

[3] This may be the term which is used by the old materia medica writers for an essence or extract, *Lohoc* and *Loch*. It is doubtless, as suggested by Mr. Badger, the Arabic *Rúhh*, generally pronounced *Rúahh*, a spirit, an essence.

voured. And they have here very fine oxen; which have horns a good half pace in length [girth?], and have a hump on the back like a camel. And from this city to Panche [Paroche ?] is fourteen days' journey].[1] And it was in this place called Tana, as I have said before, that the four Minor Friars suffered a glorious martyrdom for the faith of Christ, and it took place after the manner following.

6. History of the martyrdom of the four Friars in the city of Tana.

When the friars aforesaid were at Ormes they made a bargain for a certain ship to take them to Polumbum, but being once on board they were taken against their will to Tana. Here there be fifteen houses of Christians, that is to say of Nestorians, who are schismatics and heretics. And the friars having thus come hither, found harbour in the house of one of those Christians. And whilst they were staying there, one day there arose a quarrel between the good man of the house and his wife, and in the evening he gave her a sound beating. And in the morning the woman went and made a complaint of the beating to the *Cadi, i.e.*, in their tongue the Bishop. And the cadi having asked her if she had any proof of what she alleged, she answered that she could well prove it, "For," quoth she, "there were four Frank Rabbans,"[2] (which is to say in our tongue four men of a religious order) "there in the house when he handled me thus. Question them and they will tell you the truth." And when the woman said this, there was a certain man of Alexandria there present who begged the cadi to send for them, saying that they were men of great learning and knowledge in the Scriptures, and that it would be good to have a dispute with them concerning religion. The cadi, hearing this, sent for them. And so when those brethren were brought before him, to wit, Friar Thomas

[1] From PAL.

[2] *Rabban, "my master,"* is the usual address to a monk in the Syrian church (*Assem.*, p. 537).

of Tolentino in the March of Ancona,[1] Friar James of Padua, and Friar Demetrius, a Georgian lay brother good at the tongues, (Friar Peter of Sienna being left at home to take care of their things), the cadi began at once to dispute with them about our Faith. And when the infidels disputed with them in this manner, alleging that Christ was mere

[1] Thomas of Tolentino was a venerable soldier of his Order, whose name occurs several times in its annals. He had been twice in the preceding century imprisoned by his superiors for his unwelcome zeal in urging observance of the vow of poverty, and in disputing the Pope's authority to relax this obligation. Wadding says he suffered in his sixtieth year, but as his first imprisonment took place in 1275, and his death in 1321 or 1322, he must have attained nearly if not quite threescore and ten.

Raymund Fitz-Geoffry becoming general of the order in 1290, and finding Thomas and his friends in durance, released them with good words, but to prevent further trouble with their zeal, sent them on a mission to Armenia (i.e. Lesser Armenia, or Cilicia) the king of which country had invited a party of friars. In 1292 the king, apparently Hethum or Hayton II, sent Thomas and another monk to the kings of France and England to beg help against the Saracens. Again in 1302 he came to Europe to ask aid for the missionary work in which he was engaged, as holding out great promise of success. He obtained twelve chosen friars, and departed with them.

In 1307, Thomas, who had been preaching in Tartary, returned to the Papal Court, and gave the Pope an account of the success of John of Monte Corvino and others, a report which apparently led to the nomination of that missionary as Archbishop of Cambalec. As Thomas was himself the bearer of a letter from Monte Corvino, it is *possible* that he had been as far as Cathay himself. He probably returned to the east with the bishops who were then appointed to act under the archbishop in Cathay (see preface to Letters of Monte Corvino in this collection), but I trace him no more till he accompanied Jordanus to India and suffered at Tana as the text relates.

Though Odoric claims to have carried the bones of all his martyred brethren to China, the (alleged) skull of Thomas was afterwards brought from India to Italy, and was in the 17th century preserved, as it may be still, at his native place Tolentino. His feast also was celebrated by his townsmen, who held a fair on that day. (*Wadding*, v, 211, 236, 291; vi, 353 and seq.; ix, 181; *Acta Sanctorum*, 1st April).

Nothing seems to be known of the three other friars beyond what their names tell. The account in Wadding, derived from the letter of one Francis of Pisa, is substantially the same as that in the text. It calls the lay brother Demetrius of *Teflis*. On the cloister wall of St. Anthony's at Padua I have seen a rude fresco of Friar James, with a symbol of decapitation, and the label, *S^s Jacobus Martyr Patavinus*.

man and not God, Friar Thomas took it in hand, and proved by arguments and instances that He was God and Man in one, and so confounded the Saracens that they were absolutely unable to maintain the contrary.

7. The same continued.

Then the Cadi seeing himself thus put to confusion by them before the whole people, began to call out with a loud voice: "But what sayest thou of Machomet? What sayest thou of Machomet?" For such is the wont of the Saracens, that when they cannot maintain their cause with arguments, they take to maintaining it with swords and fists. And as the Cadi thus questioned Friar Thomas, the brethren answered saying: "We have proved to thee by arguments and instances that Christ who delivered a religion to the world was true God and Man, and since him Machomet hath come and hath delivered a religion which is contrary to the former. If thou be wise then well mayst thou wot what to think of him." Then the Cadi and the other Saracens only shouted the louder: "But again what sayest thou of Machomet?" Then Friar Thomas replied: "Since ye can only repeat *What do I say of him*, I should blush to refuse the reply ye seek. I reply then, and tell you that Machomet is the son of perdition, and hath his place in hell with the devil his father, and not he only but all such as follow and keep his law, false as it is, and pestilent and accursed, hostile to God and the salvation of souls." And when the Saracens heard this they all began to shout with a loud voice together: "Let him die; Let him die, for he hath blasphemed the Prophet!" And then they took the friars and bound them there in the sun, that they might die a dreadful death by the intense heat. For there the heat is so great that if one shall stand [bareheaded] in the sun for the space of a single mass he will die outright. Yet there they abode in the sun praising and glorifying God from the

third until the ninth hour, cheerful and unscathed. And when the Saracens saw this they took counsel together, and came to the brethren, saying: "We mean to kindle a great blazing fire, and to cast you into it. And if the doctrine ye hold be true the fire will not burn you, but if it be false and evil ye shall be utterly consumed."

Then the brethren answered, saying: "We are ready, O Cadi, to go into the fire and into prison, or to endure whatever thou canst inflict on us for our religion; and ready thou shalt ever find us. But this one thing thou oughtest to know, that if the fire consume us, think not this cometh from (the fault of) our religion, but only from our sins, seeing that on account of our sins God may well let us burn. And for all that, our religion is not the less good and perfect as anything in the world ever can be; nor is there in the world any other faith whereby men may be saved but this."

8. The same history continued.

And as order was thus being taken for the burning of the friars, the report thereof spread like lightning throughout the whole city; and from the said city great and small, men and women, flocked together to see what should come of it. But the brethren were meanwhile brought out to the *Medan*[1] *i.e.*, the piazza of the city, where an exceeding great fire had been kindled. And Friar Thomas went forward to cast himself into the fire, but as he did so a certain Saracen caught him by the hood, saying: "Nay, thou shalt not go, for thou art old, and mayest have upon thee some crafty device whereby the fire could not burn thee; so let another than thou go in!" Then incontinently four Saracens laid violent hands on Friar James of Padua in order to cast him into the fire; but he said to them, "Suffer me and I will of

[1] *Maidán.* We generally employ this word in India for an open plain, or the esplanade outside a city; but in Western Asia it seems to be used specially for the public square or piazza (in the Italian sense) of a city, as here.

my own free will cast myself in." But they, heeding not what he said, straightway threw him into it. And when they had done so, and he was there abiding in the fire, it blazed so high and far abroad that no one was able to see him, but they heard his voice continually invoking the name of the Blessed Virgin. And when the fire was quite spent, there was Friar James standing on the embers, joyous and exultant, with his hands raised to heaven making the sign of the cross, and with sound mind and pure heart praising the Lord without ceasing. And though the fire had been so great the slightest hurt or burn could not be found upon him. And when the people saw this they began to call out with one consent, "They are saints! They are saints! 'Tis sin to do them hurt. And we see that in truth their religion is good and holy." And when they had said thus, Friar James was called forth from the fire, and came out sound and unhurt. And when the Cadi saw this, he too began to cry out saying: "He is no saint! he is no saint! But the reason why he is not burnt is that he hath on his back a garment from the land of Abraham.[1] Wherefore let him be stript naked and so cast into the fire!"

And that this might be done effectually then came some villains of Saracens, and kindled a fire twice as great as before. And then they stript Friar James, and washed him, and anointed him copiously with oil, and that the fire might blaze more fiercely and burn up the friar the faster, they poured great quantities of oil upon the pile of wood, and then flung Friar James with a forcible fling into the middle of it. And the Friars Thomas and Demetrius abode without upon their knees, engaged fervently and instantly

[1] The tradition respecting Abraham's being cast into a fire by Nimrod for his contempt of idol worship is well known, and may be read at length in *Weil's Biblical Legends*, both in its Jewish and Mussulman shapes. The legend forms the subject of one of the great frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

in prayer. And thus also Friar James came forth a second time without hurt as he had done before.

9. The same history continued.

And when the people saw this they shouted again with one consent: "'Tis a sin! 'Tis a sin to hurt them, for saints they be!" And so there was a very great noise among the people. And on seeing this second miracle the Melic, i.e. the podesta of the city,[1] called to him Friar James, and made him put on his clothes, and said: "Go, brethren, with the grace of God, for ye shall suffer no harm at our hands. For we see well that ye are good and holy men; and that your religion is good and holy and true, we see past question. But to provide the better for your safety we counsel you to quit this place as speedily as ye may; for the Cadi will do his uttermost and spare no pains to take your lives."

While he was thus speaking it was about the hour of complines, and the whole people, idolaters and others, were standing about in a state of awe and astonishment, saying: "We have seen from these men things so great and marvellous, that we know not what law we ought to follow and keep." And as they thus spake, the Melic caused those three friars to be taken and conveyed away across a certain arm of the sea that was at a little distance from the city, and where there was a certain suburb,[2] whither the man in whose house they had been lodged accompanied them, and so they found harbour in the house of a certain idolater.

[1] "*Lomelic, scilicet Potestas.*" The Kotwal. Ibn Batuta about this time tells us that the title *Malik* (King) was used by the Mahomedans of India, where the people of Egypt would use *Amir*. However, in Egypt in 1384, the Italian Frescobaldi tells us that the Governor of Alexandria was called *Lamelech* (Al Malik).

[2] The narrative of Francis of Pisa, quoted in Wadding's Annals, says here: "*ad oppidum situm ex aliâ parte fluminis seu marini brachii quo civitas circumcingitur.*" These are touches from real knowledge. Tana stands on a river-like arm of the sea separating Salsette from the main, and now crossed by a railway bridge.

And whilst they abode there the Cadi went to the Melic and said: "What are we about? for the law of Machomet is going to destruction unless something else be done. For these Frank Rabbans will now go preaching through the whole country, and as they have done such great marvels here which the whole of the people have seen, all will be converted to them, and so the law of Machomet will lose all power. And that this be not so there is a thing you ought to consider, and that is that Machomet hath ordered in the Alchoran (i.e. in his law) that if any one shall slay a Christian he shall have as much merit as if he had gone to Mecha." (Now ye must know that Alchoran is the law of the Saracens as the Gospel is the law of the Christians; and Mecha is the place where Machomet is buried, and the Saracens go there on pilgrimage just as Christians go to the Sepulchre.)[1]

Then the Melic answered the Cadi: "Go then and do as thou wilt."

10. The same history continued.

And when he had thus spoken the Cadi immediately took four armed men and sent them to slay the friars. But by the time these men had crossed the water it was night, and so at that late hour they could not find them. And now the Melic caused all the Christians who were in the city to be seized and put in prison. But when midnight was come the friars got up to say matins, and so the men who had been sent to slay them discovered where they were, and took them away outside the town beneath a certain tree, and said to them: "Ye must know that we have orders from the Cadi and the Melic to slay you; and we are reluctant to do it, for ye are good and holy men. But we can do no otherwise.

[1] It is curious how persistently the error of Mahommed's being buried at Mecca was repeated. Even Mandeville, who had served the Saracens in Egypt, repeats it.

For if we do not their behests we and all our children and our wives shall die!" And the friars answered them saying: "Since ye come hither that we through death temporal may attain to life eternal, do that which ye are bidden. For we are ready to bear manfully whatever tortures ye may inflict on us for our religion and for the love of Jesus Christ our Lord." And when they answered with this boldness and constancy, that Christian who had joined their company got into deep altercation with those four evil men. For he spake to them in this wise, saying: "Had I but a sword I would hinder your doing this, or ye should slay me along with them." Then they caused the friars to strip. And straightway Friar Thomas, joining his hands in the sign of the cross, suffered first, his head being cut off. And one of them then smote Friar James on the head and clove him to the eyes, and then immediately cut his head off. Friar Demetrius also first received a desperate stab in the breast and then his head was cut off. And as they thus rendered their souls to God in martyrdom, straightway the air was illuminated, and it became so bright that all were stricken with amazement, and at the same time the moon waxed wonderfully light and lustrous. And after this there were so great thunderings, lightnings, and flashings of fire, that almost all thought their end was come. And that ship which ought to have taken them to Polumbum, but carried them to Tana against their will, went to the bottom, so that nothing ever was known of her or her crew.

11. The same continued.

And in the morning the Cadi sent to the house to take possession of the friars' gear; they found there Peter of Sienna, the comrade of the other three friars, and took him to the Cadi. So the Cadi and other Saracens addressed him, and made him promises of great things if he would deny the faith, and confess that of Machomet. But he only

ridiculed them and scorned their proposals in a way that made them marvel. So they began torturing him, and did so from morning until noon with sundry kinds of tortures. But he remained ever unshaken and firm in the faith, and manfully demolishing their doctrine, and showing it to be false. And when the Saracens saw that he was not to be turned from his purpose, they hung him up to a certain tree, and there he remained from the ninth hour until night. But when night fell they took him down from the tree quite unhurt, and when they saw it was so, they clove him in sunder, and in the morning no trace of him was to be found. But it was revealed to a person worthy of belief that God had concealed his body till in due season He should be pleased to disclose it.[1]

And that God might make manifest that their souls had inherited the kingdom of heaven, on that very day when these blessed friars became glorious martyrs, that Melic had fallen

[1] There are different statements as to the date of the martyrdom of these four friars. Wadding puts it under 1321, the *Acta Sanctorum* under 1322. The editors of the latter urge the authority of a MS. of Odoric's narrative of the circumstances, which had been communicated to them, and which named the Kalends of April as the day, combined with the assertion of Jordanus (see letter in this collection) that it was on the Thursday of the week before Palm Sunday, a combination which would fix the date to 1322. This, however, is inconsistent with the positive evidence of Jordanus in his following letter. For in it, dated Feast of Fabian and Sebastian, 1323—*i.e.*, in our reckoning, 20th January, 1324, he says that he had then been alone for *two years and a half* since he had buried his comrades. Had their death occurred in 1322, the interval would have been only one year and eight months, which no rounding of numbers could convert into two years and a half; whereas if it had occurred in 1321, the interval might naturally have been so spoken of.

It does not appear to be clear that those four friars ever received the official beatification of Rome, though they appear as Beati in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The Order applied to John XXII to have this done, and he intimated approval; but certain schisms and controversies arising in the Order about this time, the matter was lost sight of. According to one author, however, quoted by Wadding, but apparently without much confidence, the beatification was sanctioned by John's successor, and the feast ordered to be celebrated on the Wednesday of Holy Week.

asleep, and as he thus lay asleep, lo! there appeared to him those glorious martyrs bright and shining like the sun, and holding swords in their hands, which they brandished over the Melic in such a way as if they would have cloven him asunder. And at this sight the Melic began to roar out, and with his noise brought his whole family running to see what ailed him, and what he would have. And he told them in reply: Those Frank rabbans whom I have caused to be slain have come hither with swords to slay me! And so he sent for the Cadi, to whom he told what had befallen him, and asked his counsel as to what should be done in the matter, for he was convinced that he should perish utterly at their hands. Then the Cadi advised him that he should do some great work of charity on their account, if he would escape from the hands of those murdered men. So he sent straightway for the Christians whom he held in durance, and humbly asked their pardon for what he had caused to be done to them, behaving to them like a fellow and a brother. And besides he ordered that any one who should hurt any of the Christians in future should suffer death. Afterwards also the Melic caused four mosques, i.e. churches, to be built in honour of the Friars, and put Saracen priests in each of them to abide continually.

12. The same history continued.

And when the Emperor of Dili[1] heard that those friars had undergone such a sentence, he sent and ordered the Melic to be seized and despatched to his presence with his hands bound. Being thus brought before the emperor, and questioned why he had so cruelly put those friars to death, he replied: "I suffered them to die because they sought to over-

[1] The Sultan of Dehli at this time must have been Gheiass-uddîn Toghlak, who assumed the throne in 1320, according to the latest corrections of the Chronology. (See French editor's preface to *Ibn Batuta*, vol. iii, p. xiii).

throw our law, and blasphemed the Prophet." Then the emperor said to him: "Most cruel hound, when thou sawest that God had twice delivered them from the fire how couldst thou dare thus to inflict death upon them?" And having spoken thus, he ordered him with his whole family to be cut in sunder. Such a death therefore as he caused those brethren to undergo to their glory, he himself had now to undergo to his own damnation. And the Cadi hearing of this fled from the city, and from the emperor's dominions.

Now in that country it is the custom never to bury the dead, but bodies are only cast out in the fields, and thus are speedily destroyed and consumed by the excessive heat. So the bodies of these friars lay for fourteen days in the sun, and yet were found quite fresh and undecayed as if on the very day of their glorious martyrdom. And the Christians who were in that place seeing this took the bodies, and caused them to be committed to the tomb.[1]

13. How Fr. Odoric took up the bones of the four Friars; and the wonders wrought thereby.

Then I, Friar Odoric, came into those regions, having heard of their glorious martyrdom, and opening their tombs I humbly and devoutly took up their bones. And as God ofttimes worketh great marvels by means of his saints, through these also it pleased him to work powerfully. Thus when I had taken their bones, and wrapt them in fair napkins, and accompanied by one brother of the order and servant, I was taking them to the house of our friars at a certain place in Upper India,[2] I chanced to lodge in the house of a certain man, and when I went to sleep I placed those bones, or sacred reliques rather as I would call them,

[1] It is remarkable that Odoric seems purposely to avoid all mention of Jordanus in connection with this, though we know that it was he who carried off the bodies and buried them at Supera. (*Friar Jord.*, p. vii.)

[2] Upper India with Odoric is China.

under my head. And as I thus slept the house was suddenly set fire to by the Saracens, that they might bring about my death by acclamation of the people. For this is the emperor's command, that any whose house is burnt shall suffer death.[1] The house then being on fire my comrade and the servant made their escape from it, leaving me in it with those bones. And I took the bones of the brethren, and seeking help from God I crouched into a corner of the burning house. And three corners thereof were consumed, and that one only was left in which I was abiding. And as I sat there the fire was over my head, doing me no harm and not burning the corner of the house. And as long as I continued there with the bones, the fire never came lower but hung over me like an atmosphere. But as soon as I quitted the house it was entirely destroyed and many others adjoining besides. And so I escaped scatheless.

14. The same continued.

Another such thing happened to me also on that journey. For as I went by sea with those bones, towards a certain city called Polumbum (where groweth the pepper in great store) the wind failed us utterly.[2] Then the idolaters came

[1] This passage is very obscure in all the copies that have it.

[2] This is undoubtedly the Columbum of Jordanus and John de' Marignolli, Kulam, or the modern Quilon, though it is not easy to see how the P got into all, or nearly all, the MSS. of Odoric, unless the error occurred the first transcription.

In the preface to the translation of Jordanus, the high authority of Professor H. H. Wilson was quoted for the fact that Kulam dated only from the ninth century. But the era there alluded to may have been that of a re-foundation, an event often prominent in eastern annals, and which is found in the adjoining state of Cochin furnishing an era called the "New Foundation" (corresponding to A.D. 1341). For there seems reason to believe the city of Kulam to be more ancient than the time [illegible]. There is in *Assemanni* (p. 437), a letter from one Jesujabus [illegible]ene, who died in 660, addressed to Simon Metropolitan of Persia, which complains of his grievous neglect of duty, and alleges that in consequence not only is India, "*which extends from the coast of the kingdom of*

beseeching their gods to give them a fair wind; which however was all to no purpose. Next came the Saracens, and wrought greatly to have a wind granted to them; but neither had they anything for all their prayers. Whereupon they enjoined on my comrade and me that we should pour forth our prayers to our God to bestow it upon us. And if this took effect the greatest honour would be shown us. And the skipper said to me, speaking in the Armenian tongue, that

Persia to COLON, *a distance of* 1200 *parasangs*, deprived of a regular ministry, but Persia itself is lying in darkness". If this Colon be, as I suppose, Kulam, we may also believe it to be the Malé of Cosmas in the sixth century, seeing that Kulam-Malé is the name applied by the Arabs of the ninth century to the great pepper-port.

I find that Professor Kunstmann of Munich, in his Essays on the Medieval Missions, has taken up the view that Columbum lay upon the east side of Cape Comorin, and was identical with the Cael of Marco Polo. I do not, however, find any material ground alleged for this easterly position, except that it is so represented in the Catalan Map of 1375. This I cannot think of great weight against the chain of evidence for its identity with Quilon, adduced in my preface to Jordanus, whilst the passage in Marco Polo which is therein alluded to, may very probably have misled the geographer. When Giovanni d'Empoli in 1503 describes the first visit of the Portuguese to *Colom*, and the delight of the Christians called *Nazzareni* to receive them, who can doubt that these are the Columbum and the Nasçarini of Jordanus? And Marignolli tells us precisely that Columbum was in Mynibar (Malabar), which he as precisely distinguishes from Maabar where St. Thomas lay, *i.e.* the east side of the Peninsula.

I suspect it will be found that the form Columbum or Columbo, as applied to Quilon, is founded on some form of the name Kulam formerly in use among the merchants and navigators of the Indian Seas. Sir Emerson Tennent tells us of a Hebrew MS. in the possession of the Cochin Jews, which in speaking of Sri Perumal the famous King of Malabar, says his rule extended *from Goa to Columbo*. This, Tennent takes for Columbo in Ceylon, but as Goa and Quilon would with tolerable precision form the Dan and Beersheba of the Malabar coast, I have little doubt that Quilon is the place meant.

Columbum was often represented as an island, but this must not be taken for Ceylon. Thus Pegolotti (pp. 359, 360) speaks of the "Columbine ginger which was the produce of the Island of Columbo of India". The World-Map in the Portulano of Andrew Bianchi, in St. Mark's library at Venice, also shows opposite the south-west corner of India the "*Ixola di Colonbi*", whilst Fra Mauro's great map has also "*Isola Colombo*", placed to the *east* of India, and noted in the rubric for its pepper, great resort of merchants, and black lions (*i.e.*, tigers).

others might not understand: "If we cannot have a wind we shall cast those bones of yours into the sea." Then my comrade and I made prayers to God Himself, but seeing that still there was no wind to be had we began to promise ever so many masses in honour of the blessed Virgin if we could but have a wind; but even so we could not obtain any wind at all. So then I took one of those bones and gave it to our servant, and told him to go to the bow of the ship with haste and cast it into the sea. Then when the bone was so cast into the sea straightway a most favourable wind arose which never failed until it brought us into harbour; and thus we got thither safely through the merits of those friars.[1]

15. The same continued.

And when we were there in harbour at Polumbum we embarked on board another ship called a junk, and went as has already been said to Upper India, to a certain city called Zaiton, in which our friars have two houses, in order there to deposit those sacred reliques. Now on board that ship there were good seven hundred souls, what with sailors and with merchants. And the idolaters have this custom, that

[1] Centuries later we find a man of considerable intelligence, Father Ripa, relating how, on his voyage to China, he went through just such a process as this with a "holy Candle," whatever that may be, and he believed that the ship was saved thereby. Years afterwards also, on his return to Europe, he repeats this operation with an Agnus Dei, and with similar success. (*Mem. of F. Ripa*, pp. 31, 139.)

Wadding relates additional wonders as wrought by the reliques of those friars, which are interesting for other reasons than the value of the alleged miracles. One story tells how Giovannino, son of Ugolino of Pisa, a merchant, having been lucky enough to appropriate the head of one of the martyrs, saved his ship when attacked by pirates, by holding out this head as a buckler, whilst his two consorts were captured. Friar Jordanus also cured the young Genoese, who had helped him to bury the bodies, of a bad dysentery, by help of a tooth of Thomas of Tolentino. He deposited a part of the relics in the house of his order at Sultaniah, and these gave rise to further marvels. But let it be noted that neither these stories nor the miracles alleged to have attended the slaughter of the friars rest on anything that has come down to us from Jordanus himself.

before they enter port they make search throughout the whole vessel to ascertain what is on board; and if any dead men's bones should be found they would straightway cast them into the sea, for they say that to have such things on board involves great peril of death.[1] Though they did accordingly make this diligent search, and though the bones were there in a great quantity, yet they never did get any inkling of them. And so by God's permission we brought them safely to the house of our brethren, and there they were worthily deposited with honour and great worship. And by means of these sainted friars doth Almighty God still work many other wonders; and this is held true by both Pagans and Saracens. For when they are caught by any disease, they go and take of the earth of the place where the friars were slain, and wash it in water, and then drink the water, and so are immediately freed from all their ailments.[2]

16. Fr. Odoric is done with the four friars; and now he telleth of the kingdom of Minibar and how pepper is got.

And now that ye may know how pepper is got, let me tell you that it groweth in a certain empire whereunto I came to land, the name whereof is MINIBAR,[3] and it groweth nowhere else in the world but there. And the forest in

[1] This no doubt refers to the strict examination of papers and cargo on arrival of a ship in China, respecting which Ibn Batuta gives details after his manner; see his Voyage to China, *infra*.

[2] We are told that the Christians of Malabar used to prepare their holy water by mixing some particles of earth from the tomb of the apostle Thomas. See also the healing power ascribed by M. Polo to earth from that shrine. (*Padre Paolino di S. Bart.*, p. 136; M. Polo, iii, 22.)

[3] *Minibar* is Malabar, and seems to have been an old Arabic form of that name. It is the same that we shall find in Marignolli. Edrisi has *Manibar*, so has Abulfeda; and a Turkish work translated by Von Hammer for the *Bengal Journal*, has *Monebár*. Ibn Batuta writes *Mulebár*, Bakui has *Malibar*, and Fra Mauro *Milibar*. (*Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 175; *Abulfeda* in *Gildemeister*, p. 188, comparing p. 45 of the Arabic; *Notices et Extraits*, ii, 389; *Journal A. S. Beng.* v, pp. 458, 461; and see *D'Herbelot* in v. *Manibar*.)

which the pepper groweth extendeth for a good eighteen days' journey, and in that forest there be two cities, the one whereof is called FLANDRINA and the other CYNGILIN.[1] In

[1] *Flandrina*, as has been pointed out in a note on Jordanus (p. 40), is doubtless the Fandaraina of Ibn Batuta, and the Pandarani of the Ramusian geographer. It is found as Fandaraina (also miswritten Kandaraina) in Edrisi, and is probably the Bandinánah (for Bandiránah) of Abdarrazzak. It has vanished from the maps, but stood about twenty miles north of Calicut. *Cyngilin* is a greater difficulty. It is, however, evidently identical with the *Cynkali* of Marignolli, with the *Singugli* of Jordanus (p. 40), which that author mentions as a kingdom between Calicut and Quilon, with *Jangli* (which I doubt not should be read *Chinkali*) of Rashiduddin, and perhaps with the Gingala of Benjamin of Tudela. And it is unquestionably the *Shinkala* or *Shinkalí* of Abulfeda (see *Gildermeister*, p. 185, and Arab. text, p. 41), which he couples with Shaliyat, as two cities of Malabar, *one of which was inhabited by Jews*, though his informant knew not which. Shaliyat, also mentioned under that name by Ibn Batuta, and called by the European navigators Chalia and Chale, was the port next below Calicut, and the next to that again, of any importance, was *Cranganor*. Now Assemani tells us incidentally (p. 440—see also p. 732): "SCIGLA (i.e. Shigla or Shikala=Shinkala of Abulfeda) *alias et* Chrongalor *vocatur ea quam* Cranganoriam *dicimus Malabariæ urbem, ut testatur idem Jacobus Indiarum episcopus, ad calcem Testamenti Novi ab ipso exarati.....anno Christi* 1510," etc. Cynkali or Cyncilim or Shinkala, then, is CRANGANOR, the seat of one of the old Malabar principalities, and famous in the early traditions of both Jews and Christians on that coast. It was there that, according to the former, the black Jews of the tribe of Manasseh first settled and abode for more than one thousand years; it was there that St. Thomas is said to have first preached on the shores of India; and there also the Mahomedans were first allowed to settle and build a mosque. Barbosa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, notices *Crangulor* as occupied by a varied population of "Gentiles, Moors, Indians (?), Jews, and Christians of St. Thomas." (*J. R. A. Soc.*, i, 173, 174; *Sir H. M. Elliot, Historians of Muham., India*, p. 43; *Lassen*, iv, 256; *Ramusio*, i, 311.) It is true that Odoric says in the text that the Jews and Christians lived in Flandrina, but what follows shows that there is some confusion, and that he means either that Jews and Christians lived in both cities, or Jews in the one and Christians in the other.

To these notices of Cyncilim, I may add that the Chinese annals also mention *Sengkili*, as one of the Western Kingdoms which sent tribute (*i.e.*, envoys and presents) to Kublai; and as it is coupled with other countries which may be identified with Ma'bar and Somnath, it is highly probable

the city of Flandrina some of the inhabitants are Jews[1] and some are Christians;[2] and between those two cities there is

that Shinkali or Cranganor is intended (see the passage quoted in the preliminary essay to this volume).

[1] The Jews of Malabar were and are distinguished into black and white. The former are much more assimilated to the Hindu natives, and are regarded as inferiors by the latter. Thirty years ago, the white Jews were reduced to about two hundred, living in Mattancheri, a suburb of Cochin, in which the black Jews also had a separate synagogue. The great body of the black Jews inhabited towns in the interior, and had many other synagogues. The tradition of these latter was that they were part of the tribe of Manasseh carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar, who emigrated at a later period to Cranganore. The white Jews believe themselves to have come soon after the destruction of Jerusalem. A grant in favour of the Jews, by a native king in Malabar, is said to date from A.D. 231. Firishta testifies to their presence when the first Mahomedans settled on the coast.

Padre Paolino, towards the end of last century, estimated the Jews of Mattancheri, Mutlam, and Kayan Kulam at between 15,000 and 20,000. (*J. R. A. Soc.*, i, 173, and vi, p. 6; P. Paolino di S. Bartolomeo, *Viaggi*, p. 109; Briggs's *Firishta*, iv, 532, quoted by *Ritter*.)

[2] Some slight account of the present state of the Malabar Christians will be found in a work lately published by the Rev. G. B. Howard, formerly a chaplain in those parts. It is some satisfaction to learn from this book that the Christians have not greatly diminished in number since the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Nestorian Bishop Jaballaha reported them as consisting of 30,000 families—say 150,000 souls. For Mr. Howard states the last estimate of the Syrian Christians in Travancore and Cochin to be 116,483; whilst those of the Syro-Roman Church, who ought, perhaps, to be taken into account, are reckoned at 117,000 more. It is also pleasant to learn that the Syrian Christians are still held in respect by their heathen neighbours, and still retain that character "as a sensible honest people, remarkable for modesty and truth," to which a long chain of witnesses has borne testimony. One of these is the Carmelite P. Vincenzo Maria, who was sent from Rome in the middle of the seventeeth century to bring dissidents into the Roman pen; and his evidence is distinct as to their sobriety, courage, and superiority to the ordinary "Gentiles" in disposition, intellect, and manners. At the same time, he vividly depicts their Asiatic traits, their flattery, fluent talk, ceremonies, politeness, and prolixity.

These things are pleasant to hear of, but almost everything else in their history for three hundred and fifty years is painful. The contact of Eastern and Western, even when there are none of the more selfish interests in collision, oftener breeds evil than good. The relations of the English Church with the Syrian, initiated with the best feelings on one side, and welcomed on the other, have ended only in disappointment and

always internal war, but the result is always that the Christians beat and overcome the Jews.

Now, in this country they get the pepper in this manner. First, then, it groweth on plants which have leaves like ivy, and these are planted against tall trees as our vines are here, and bear fruit just like bunches of grapes; and this fruit is borne in such quantities that they seem like to break under it. And when the fruit is ripe it is of a green colour, and 'tis gathered just as grapes are gathered at the vintage, and then put in the sun to dry. And when it is dried it is stored in jars [and of the fresh pepper also they make a confection, of which I had to eat, and plenty of it.] And in this forest also there be rivers in which be many evil crocodiles, *i.e.* serpents. [And there be many other kinds of serpents in the forest, which the men burn by kindling tow and straw, and so they are enabled to go safely to gather pepper.][1] [And here there be lions in great numbers, and a variety of beasts which are not found in our Frank countries. And here they burn the brazil-wood for fuel, and in the woods are numbers of wild peacocks].[2]

At the extremity of that forest, towards the south, there is a certain city which is called Polumbum, in which is grown better ginger than anywhere else in the world.[3] And

mutual offence. And as regards Her of Rome, scarcely anything in all her history is more odious than her conduct to the churches of Malabar. Did ever discovery seem more calculated to draw out brotherly kindness than when the Portuguese, emerging from their dim and venturous navigation, lighted on this isolated Christian flock? And the result to that flock was persecution, strife, and misery, from which they have never recovered. (*The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies, by the Rev. G. B. Howard, etc.*, 1864; *Assemanni*, p. 450; *P. Vincenzo Maria*, pp. 139, 143, and seq.)

[1] From PAL.

[2] From HAK. and MUS. Marignolli has a mild sneer directed probably at Odoric's talk about the pepper "forest;" apparently the latter did not stay any time in Malabar, and he probably derived his information from harbour gossip.

[3] Ginger is classed by Pegolotti as "*Belledi*, which is found in many

the variety and abundance of wares for sale in that city is so great that it would seem past belief to many folk.

17. Fr. Odoric discourseth of the manners of the idolaters of Polumbum.

[Here all the people go naked, only they wear a cloth just enough to cover their nakedness, which they tie behind.] All the people of this country worship the ox for their god [and they eat not his flesh];[1] for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him to work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal.[2] And they observe the following abominable superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold or silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces, and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead; secondly, on the balls of both cheeks; and, lastly, in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be

places in India [Ar. *Balladi* or country *ginger*], *Colombino, and Micchino,*" the two last from the countries producing them; *viz.*, Colombo of India, *i.e.* our Columbum or Kulam, and the territories of Mecca.

The same authority speaks of a kind of Brazil wood (*Verzino*) which was called *Colomni* or *Colombino*, no doubt from the same place; and of cinnamon also with the same epithet. (*Della decima*, iii, pp. 210, 296, 308, 359-360, &c.)

[1] From PAL.

[2] This fuller explanation is from MUS. The copies which I am generally following (PAR. and VEN.) have simply *positus est in communi*. The custom of setting free bulls to roam at large, as offerings I believe to Siva, is here alluded to. They are known among Anglo-Indians as "Brahmini bulls", and, having the run of the bazars, are always fat. In Calcutta, where they were a dangerous nuisance, they used to be laid hold of by the police and yoked in the dust carts.

What follows about cow-worship is little, if at all, exaggerated, as may be seen by reference to Abbé Dubois (pp. 29, etc.)

sanctified (for the day). Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise.

They worship also another idol, which is half man and half ox. And this idol giveth responses out of its mouth, and ofttimes demandeth the blood of forty virgins to be given to it. For men and women there vow their sons and their daughters to that idol, just as here they vow to place them in some religious order. And in this manner many perish.

And many other things are done by that people which it would be abomination even to write or to hear of, and many other things be there produced and grown, which it booteth little to relate.[1] But the idolaters of this realm have one detestable custom (that I must mention). For when any man dies, they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But if the woman have sons by her husband she may abide with them, an she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there is

[1] PAL. has: *"And in this land there be trees that produce honey, and 'tis as good as is in the world. And there be others that give wine, and others that give wool wherewith cords and cables of all kinds are made. And there be also trees which produce fruits so big that two will be a load for a strong man. And when they come to be eaten* conviene che altri s'unga le mani e la bocca, (?) *and they are of a fragrant odour and very savoury; the fruit is called* chabassi." [The wool-bearing tree in this doubtful passage is a reference to the coir or coco-nut fibre, I think, rather than to cotton. The large fruit, fragrant and savoury, is the jack, I doubt not, but the name *chabassi* is probably corrupted.] *"And here I heard tell that there be trees which bear men and women like fruit upon them. They are about a cubit in measurement, and are fixed in the tree up to the navel, and there they be; and when the wind blows they be fresh, but when it does not blow they are all dried up. This I saw not in sooth, but I heard it told by people who had seen it."* Here again we have a genuine Oriental story, related by several Arab geographers of the island of *Wak-wak* in the Southern Ocean (*e. g.*, see Bakui in *Not. et Ext.*, ii, 399). Al Biruni denies that the island is called so, "as is vulgarly believed, because of a fruit having the form of a human head which cries *Wak! Wak!*" (*Journ. Asiat. S.*, iv, t. iv, p. 266). And Edrisi declines to repeat the "incredible story" related by Masudi on the subject, with the pious reservation, "But all things are in the power of the Most High" (i, 92).

*

no law to impose the like on him; but he, if he likes, can take another wife.[1] It is also customary there for the women to drink wine and not the men. The women also have their foreheads shaven, whilst the men shave not the beard.[2] And there be many other marvellous and beastly customs which 'tis just as well not to write.

18. Concerning the kingdom of Mobar, where lieth the body of St. Thomas.

From this realm 'tis a journey of ten days to another realm which is called MOBAR,[3] and this is very great, and hath

[1] Mr. Elphinstone says: "The practice of Suttee is by no means universal in India. It never occurs to the south of the River Kishna." But this absolute statement certainly conveys an erroneous impression. Marco Polo states the practice of Southern India just as Odoric does, whilst in 1580, Gasparo Balbi, an accurate and unimaginative traveller, describes with seeming truth a suttee which he witnessed at Negapatam, and speaks of the custom as common. In the middle of the seventeenth century, P. Vincenzo, the Procurator-General of the Carmelites, says it was especially common in Canara; whilst he was told that on the death of the Naik of Madura 11,000 women had offered themselves to the flames! These 11,000 suttees may have been as mythical as the 11,000 virgins of Cologne, but they prove the practice. And in the beginning of the last century it continued to be extremely prevalent in that region. P. Martin, in a letter from Marawar (or Ramnad, opposite Ceylon), dated in 1713, mentions three cases then recent, in which respectively forty-five, seventeen, and twelve women had performed suttee on the death of the husbands, princes of that state. The widow of the Raja of Trichinopoly, being left pregnant, burnt herself after delivery. (Elphinstone's *H. of India*, p. 190; *M. Polo*, iii, 20; *Viaggio di Gasparo Balbi*, f. 83; *P. Vincenzo*, p. 322; *Lettres Edifiantes*, ed. Lyon, 1819, vii, 73, 75.) Suttees still occur in spite of our prohibition, and not very unfrequently, both in our own territory and in the native states.

Ramusio quotes Propertius on suttee. I borrow a few lines, showing how familiar this still-enduring Indian practice was to the Romans nineteen hundred years ago:—

> ——— Uxorum fusis stat pia turba comis;
> Et certamen habet lædi, quæ viva sequatur
> Conjugium; pudor est non licuisse mori.
> Ardent victrices, et flammæ pectora præbent,
> Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.

[2] This reasonable reading is from Venni's originals only. I have overlooked it in the Appendix, where the strange readings of other copies will be seen (p. xiv, and note 9).

[3] The Coromandel region; see note to Jordanus, p. 19. It is possible

under it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. His church is filled with idols, and beside it are some fifteen houses of the Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics. There is likewise in this kingdom a certain wonderful idol, which all the provinces of India greatly revere. It is as big as St. Christopher is commonly represented by the painters, and it is entirely of gold, seated on a great throne, which is also of gold. And round its neck it hath a collar of gems of immense value. And the church of this idol is also of pure gold, roof (and walls) and pavement.[1] People come to say their prayers to the idol from great distances,

that the Arabic name (*Ma'abar*, the passage or ferry) was, as some one has suggested, originally a corruption of Marawar, the name of the Hindu state which adjoined Adam's Bridge, and the chief of which state was called *Setu Pati*, "the lord of the bridge." Such corruptions are often twisted for the sake of an apparent etymology among Orientals, and also among Occidentals. Thus in India the English word *receipt* is converted into *Rasíd*, and understood by many as deriving its meaning from the Pers. *Rasídan*, to arrive. *Jerusalem* artichokes afford a Western instance.

Marawar, or Marava, on the other hand, is perhaps also the Marulló of Cosmas Indicopleustes, which was on the continent adjoining Ceylon and produced conch-shells. I know not if the obvious suggestion has been put forward that the pearl fisheries in this vicinity originated the Pers. *Marwárid*, from which we get *Margarita*.

Ritter puts Ma'abar on the west coast, and Lassen (iv, 888) says that the name with Ibn Batuta signifies the southernmost part of the Malabar coast, but both learned authors are certainly wrong. Kunstmann again says, "it has been recently pointed out that the name applies neither specially to the south-west coast nor to the south-east, but to the whole southern apex of the peninsula." I do not know what evidence can be alleged. All use of it that I have seen is clear for its being the south-east coast, as Abulfeda precisely says, commencing from Cape Comorin. (See *Gildemeister*, pp. 56 and 185.)

[1] Pure gold *leaf* perhaps. From what we see in Burma, where many obsolete Indian practices have been preserved by Buddhism, we may judge that extensive gilding of sacred buildings was formerly much more common than it is now. An Indian example is still familiar in the Sikh sanctuary at Amritsar. There were, however, temples of enormous wealth in this part of India. A few years before, the soldiers of Ala-eddin King of Dehli had carried off a fabulous booty of gold and jewels from the temples of Dwara-Samudra and Ma'abar. (Briggs's *Firishta*, i, 373.)

just as Christian folk go from far on pilgrimage to St. Peter's. And the manner of those who come is thus:—Some travel with a halter round their necks; and some with their hands upon a board, which is tied to their necks; others with a knife stuck in the arm, which they never remove until they arrive before the idol, so that the arm is then all in a slough. And some have quite a different way of doing. For these as they start from their houses take three steps, and at the fourth they make a prostration at full length upon the ground. And then they take a thurible and incense the whole length of that prostration. And thus they do continually until they reach the idol, so that sometimes when they go through this operation it taketh a very great while before they do reach the idol. But when those who are going along in this way wish to turn aside to do anything, they make a mark there to show how far they have gone, and so they (come back upon this, and) continue until they reach the idol.[1]

19. Concerning other customs of the Idolaters.

And hard by the church of this idol there is a lake, made by hand, into which the pilgrims who come thither cast gold or silver or precious stones, in honour of the idol, and towards the maintenance of the church, so that much gold and silver and many precious stones have been accumulated therein. And thus when it is desired to do any work upon the church, they make search in the lake and find all that hath been cast into it.[2]

[1] The word *venia* used here is a technical term in the Roman church for a prostration in worship, but being unfamiliar it has perplexed the copyists. It is, however, clearly explained by the parallel passage in PAL., "*si stende in terra boccone.*" The performance described is a well-known penance both of Hindus and Tibetan Buddhists. The newspapers lately contained a striking notice of penances of this kind in the Deccan. Omitting the incense the account is almost Odoric's. One man had come 450 miles measuring his length continuously at the rate of about a mile a day. (*Allen's Indian Mail*, Oct. 11th, 1864, p. 782.)

[2] PAL. has: *and they call that place* Celai *in their tongue.* There is a like

But annually on the recurrence of the day when that idol was made, the folk of the country come and take it down, and put it on a fine chariot; and then the king and queen and all the pilgrims, and the whole body of the people,[1] join together and draw it forth from the church with loud singing of songs and all kinds of music; and many maidens go before it by two and two chaunting in a marvellous manner. And many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God. And the car passes over them, and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot. And after this fashion they drag the idol to a certain customary place, and then they drag him back to where he was formerly, with singing and playing as before. And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God.[2]

And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God. And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the pre-

story in Masudi regarding the Maharajah of the Isles. His palace was over a tank, which communicated with the sea. Every morning the treasurer threw in a golden ingot. At the king's death the accumulation was taken out and divided among his dependents and the poor. (*Paris trans.*, 1861, i, 175.)

[1] PAL. has: *The Emperor, and their Pope and other priests, which are called* Tuin, etc. It is curious to find this word used here. It was the name, or one of the names, which the *Mongols* applied to the Buddhist priests. (See *Rubruquis*, p. 352, and *D'Ohsson*, ii, 264.)

[2] One might think Odoric had got to Juggurnath. But this practice was not peculiar to Orissa. (See *Dubois*, pp. 413, 414; and *Gasp. Balbi*, f. 84, etc.) A gross instance, involving three victims, has recently been reported within a few miles of Calcutta. (See Allen's *Indian Mail* of August 15th, 1864.)

sence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice, "Thus I cut my flesh for my God;" and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again, "I devote myself to die for my God," he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And many other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written.

But the king of this island[1] or province is passing rich in gold and silver and precious stones. And in this island are found as great store of good pearls as in any part of the world. And so of many other things which are found in this island, which it would take too long to write.

20. Concerning the country called Lamori, where the pole star is hidden; and also of Sumoltra.

Departing from this region towards the south across the ocean sea, I came in fifty days to a certain country called LAMORI,[2] in which I began to lose sight of the north star, as

[1] This is the only time that Odoric makes a mistake of this kind. Mandeville makes islands of nearly all the Eastern regions. It has been noticed in a previous note that some of the mapmakers made Columbum an island. This probably came first from the loose use, by the Arabs, of the word *Jazírah*, which means properly an island (see note to Ibn Batuta.) But it is worthy of remark that Linschoten, who could not have said it through ignorance, calls China "*la dernière isle de la navigation orientale.*" Was the word then used for *a place reached by sea?*

[2] Lamori is no doubt the Lambri of Marco Polo and De Barros, the Lámúrí of Rashíduddín, and the Al-Rami, Ramin, and Ramni of Edrisi and other Arabian geographers, who extend the term to the whole island of Sumatra. Lambri is mentioned also by the Malay annalists. It appears to have lain near the north-west end of the island, and being on that account probably the first port of Sumatra known to the Arabs, naturally gave its name to the whole. I believe the exact position is not now known, but the list of kingdoms in De Barros places it between Daya and Achin; and if it lay between these it must have been very small indeed.

Pegolotti speaks of cinnamon of *Ameri*, which is perhaps intended for the same word (Lamori, L'Amori, Ameri.) *Pegol.* p. 361.

the earth intercepted it. And in that country the heat is so excessive that all folk there, both men and women, go naked, not clothing themselves in any wise.[1] And they mocked much at me on this matter, saying that God made Adam naked, but I must needs go against His will and wear clothes. Now, in that country all the women be in common; and no one there can say, this is my wife, or this is my husband! But when a woman beareth a boy or a girl she giveth the child to whom she listeth of those with whom she hath consorted, and calleth him the father. The whole of the land likewise is in common; and no one can say with truth, this or that part of the land is mine. But they have houses of their own, and not in common.[2]

It is an evil and a pestilent generation, and they eat man's flesh there just as we eat beef here. Yet the country in itself is excellent, and hath great store of flesh-meats, and of wheat and of rice; and they have much gold also, and lign-aloes, and camphor, and many other things which are produced there. And merchants come to this island from far, bringing children with them to sell like cattle to those infidels,[3] who buy them and slaughter them in the shambles and eat them.[4] And so with many other things both good and bad, which I have not written.

[1] PAL. *Unless it be that some women when they be near child-bearing wear the leaf of a tree to cover their nakedness, and tie it on with a strip of bark.*

[2] I cannot point out any one region of Sumatra of which all these strange stories are true. But Odoric did not invent them, though it may be doubted if he *witnessed* all that he tells here. The community of women is positively asserted to exist among the Poggy or Pagi Islanders off the west coast of Sumatra, whilst their clothing is the merest strip of bark cloth; and *they* have not even individual houses. Such a state of things may have been found on the main island of Sumatra five hundred and fifty years ago. Very strange things *have* been found there even in our own day. (For Pagi Islanders see *Tydschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en-Volken Kunde,* second year, No. 4.)

[3] This from VEN. PAR. has *men;* HAK. *fat men;* PAL. *white men; for black men, like themselves, they eat not.*

[4] Gold, aloeswood, and camphor, are all true products of Sumatra;

In this same island towards the south is another kingdom by name SUMOLTRA,[1] in which is a singular generation of people; for they brand themselves on the face with a little hot iron in some twelve places; and this is done by men and women both. And these folk are always at war with the others who go naked. In this country there is great abundance of produce; [it is a great market for pigs and fowls and for butter and rice, and they have also the excellent fruit called *mussi*. And here also gold and tin are found in great abundance].[2]

so also is cannibalism, though we must expect from Odoric, in regard to such stories, no more than that he repeat them in the current form.

Here is a specimen of the modern *evidence*:—"Persons caught in housebreaking or highway robbery, are publicly executed and immediately eaten.....A man taken in adultery may be eaten piecemeal without being first deprived of life.....Twelve months before, twenty persons were eaten in one day, in a village where the authors resided. Prisoners taken in a great war (not a mere broil) were allowed to be eaten." (*Burton and Ward*, in *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, i, 506, 507; see also *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, ii, 49; *Crawfurd's Dict. of Indian Islands*, art. *Batak*; and *Marsden's H. of Sumatra*, 1811, p. 392.)

Here is a specimen of the modern *current stories*:—"Some years ago a Battak servant of a gentleman in Malacca, on seeing his master's child washed, made the following remark:—'In our country it would not be necessary to wash that child; he might be roasted at once.'" (*Moor's Notices of the Ind. Archip.*, p. 117.)

[1] Odoric may have the credit of being the first western traveller to give the name of Sumatra so distinctly, though I have little doubt that the Samara or Samarcha of Polo means the same place, and was probably uttered by him correctly enough. The city of Samudra, the name of which has extended (no one well knows how) to the whole island, is frequently mentioned in the Malay annals, and its king became Mussulman under the name of Malik-al-Sálah about Odoric's time, or a little before. It is believed to have stood between Pasei and Pedir, near the place now called Samarlanga. I do not know whether the tattooing described by Odoric is still practised by any nation of Sumatra, but among the Pagi islanders off the west coast, it is carried to a higher degree of elaboration than perhaps anywhere in the world, and it is practised on both sexes. It is also found among the more civilised people of Nyas on the same coast.

[2] From PAL. This passage notices the tin, which is so prominent a product of the Malay countries. *Mussi* is, I presume, the (Ar.) *Mauzah* or plantain.

And near this country is another realm called RESENGO, towards the south.[1] Many things are there produced whereof I do not write.

21. The friar speaketh of the excellent island called Java.

In the neighbourhood of that realm is a great island, JAVA by name,[2] which hath a compass of a good three thou-

[1] It seems fair to adopt the one intelligible reading of a proper name among many of which nothing can be made, especially when that one is so unlikely to be the result of accident as here. Resengo I take to be the territory of the REJANG, "one of the most civilised nations of Sumatra, having a peculiar language in an original written character" (*Crawfurd* in voce.) The old British settlement of Bencoolen, which we held for one hundred and forty years to little profit, but which had Dampier for its gunner, and Raffles for its governor, lay in the Rejang territory.

[2] Whatever doubts may have been raised as to the Java Major of Polo, this of Odoric is the true Java. The circuit, indeed, of three thousand miles is vastly exaggerated; it is the same which Polo and Conti ascribe to their 'Java Major, and was no doubt the traditional assertion of the Arab sailors, who never visited the south of the island, and probably had extravagant notions of its extension in that direction, as we know that later voyagers had.

Though Odoric's statements are vague and superficial, and the history of Java is excessively perplexed at this period, there are some positive landmarks to be discerned, by which, in a degree, our traveller's narrative is verified.

A powerful dynasty about this time existed in Java, and in an inscription of ascertained date (A.D. 1294) the king Uttungadewa claims to have subjected *five kings*, and to be sovereign of the whole island (Jawa-dwipa). Nearly to the same date attaches the history of two unsuccessful expeditions dispatched by Kublai Khan to Java, one to claim homage and tribute, in which his envoy was handled much as king David's envoys were treated by the children of Ammon, and a second to avenge this insult, but which ended, after various events, in the expulsion of the Mongol force with loss and ignominy.

It must, I fear, be quite uncertain where the royal residence was, which Odoric describes in such glowing terms; for though Majapahit, in the eastern part of the island, was the seat of the most powerful sovereigns from a date believed to be somewhat later than our traveller's time till the establishment of Mahomedanism one hundred and fifty years afterwards, the king abovenamed appears to have had his abode near Pajajaran in the West.

There is nothing improbable in Odoric's description of the palace, if we remember that gold leaf glitters as much as gold plate. The vivid

sand miles. And the king of it hath subject to himself seven crowned kings. Now this island is populous exceedingly, and is the second best of all islands that exist. For in it grow camphor, cubebs, cardamoms,[1] nutmegs, and many

imaginations of these old travellers would have seen almost similar golden glories in the palaces and monasteries of Amarapura as they have existed in our own day; and the walls and corridors sculptured in relief with court-scenes and battle-scenes, are precisely what we do find, on a vastly extensive scale, in the galleries of the great Buddhistic monument Boro Bodor, completed, according to Crawfurd, about twenty years after our traveller's visit to the island. That the bas-reliefs of Boro Bodor were gilt, or were intended to be gilt, I have not the slightest doubt. I do not remember whether the halo or glory round sacred heads, to which Odoric refers, is to be found round those sculptures; but it is essentially a Buddhist feature. Burnes mentions it on the paintings behind the great idols at Bamian; and I have seen examples of figures so glorified in some of the ancient temples at Pagàn on the Irawadi, which were very striking from their resemblance to Byzantine Apostles. (*Lassen* iv, 482; *Walckenaer, Sur la chronologie, etc. des Javanais* in Mem. Acad. Inscript. 1842, xv, 224; *Gaubil, H. de Gentchis Can, etc.*, pp. 217-219). As to golden palaces, however, see Polybius's account of that at Ecbatana, quoted by Rawlinson (*Herodotus* i, p. 194).

[1] The word here translated cardamoms is *Melegetæ*, for which no other concise rendering seems practicable. One Italian dictionary indeed (*Vocab. Universale Italiano*) does give *cardamomo* as the explanation of *Meleghette;* whilst Ducange gives nothing more precise than *floris species*, quoting this passage from Odoric, and another from Rolandus Patavinus out of Muratori, in which last *Meleghetæ* are coupled with camphor, cummin, cloves, and *cardamoms*. This, therefore, shows that the two were not properly identical. In two passages also of Peglotti, I find *cardamoni* and *meleghette* mentioned at short intervals, as if they were different spices. And in the book of G. da Uzzano (*Della Decima* iv) *Meleghette* and *Meleaghette* appear repeatedly, and as distinct from cardamoms. In yet another passage of Pegolotti we have "meleghette *o vuoli ti dire Noci sarche o in grano o in polvere che fussero*," which might settle what was meant by meleghette in the 14th century, if one could only tell what *noci sarche* may be!

In later times the name has been applied (*Mellighetta, Malagueta, Manighetta*) sometimes to two kindred species of amomum exported from different parts of the West African coast (*Am. Granum Paradasi* and *Am. Melegueta*), and sometimes to a quite different article, the seeds of the *Unona Ethiopica* or Ethiopic Pepper. It appears to be one of the former which Gerarde and Mattioli describe as the greater cardamoms or melegette, for Gerarde states they were said to come from "Ginny," and were called in England "Graines of Paradise." The author of the article *Melligetta* in Rees's Cyclopædia however asserts that the *Cardamomum*

other precious spices. It hath also very great store of all victuals save wine.

The king of this island hath a palace which is truly marvellous. For it is very great, and hath very great staircases, broad and lofty, and the steps thereof are of gold and silver alternately. Likewise the pavement of the palace hath one tile of gold and the other of silver, and the wall of the same is on the inside plated all over with plates of gold, on which are sculptured knights all of gold, which have great golden circles round their heads, such as we give in these parts to the figures of saints. And these circles are all beset with precious stones. Moreover, the ceiling is all of pure gold, and to speak briefly, this palace is richer and finer than any existing at this day in the world.

Now the Great Khan of Cathay many a time engaged in war with this king; but this king always vanquished and got the better of him. And many other things there be which I write not.

majus of the old botanists came from Madagascar, and we find Andrea Corsali praising the *meleghetta* of that island. All this does not tend to clear up the subject, which seems densely entangled.

Martin Behaim, the celebrated cosmographer of the 15th century, is found among his other occupations voyaging to the coast of Africa for *Malagueta*, and Columbus calls the whole coast of Guinea *Costa di Maniguetta*. According to Humboldt, from whom the two last facts are borrowed, the malagueta used to come across the Sahra to the north coast, and was largely exported to Antwerp. This however was perhaps rather the Ethiopic pepper than the Grains of Paradise. Mattioli derives the name from the resemblance of the grains to those of Indian millet, called *melega* in some parts of Italy. But Humboldt connects it with *molago*, a Malabar name of pepper proper; and Zedler's *Lexicon* with Melega, "a city of Africa."

There are several Asiatic species of amomum, producing aromatics resembling more or less the true cardamomum of Malabar (*Elettaria cardamomum*), two of which (*A. Cardamomum* and *A. Maximum*) are found in Java, and one of these may be the *melegeta* of Odoric, if indeed any precision is to be looked for.

(*Pegolotti in Della Decima* iii, pp. 57, 114, 296-7; *Ramusio* i, f 115 v, and 178; *Mattioli, Discorsi ne' Sei Libri di Dioscoride*, ed. Ven. 1744, p. 24; *Gerarde's Herball*, ed. 1633, p. 1542; *Humboldt*, Examen critique, etc., i, 257 *seq.*; *English Cyclopædia*, Arts and Sciences, Art. *Cardamom*, and Nat. Hist. Articles *Amomum* and *Unona*; *Rees's Cyc.*, vol. xxiii).

22. Of the land called Thalamasin, and of the trees that give flour, and other marvels.

Near to this country is another which is called PANTEN, but others call it THALAMASYN, the king whereof hath many islands under him.[1] Here be found trees that produce flour, and some that produce honey, others that produce wine,[2] and

[1] There are many places which might be supposed to answer in sound to the first of these names, Bantam, Bintang, Bandan, Patani, etc., but no one of them has a good claim to identification with it. And the probable meanings of the word have so large an application, as my respected friend Mr. Crawfurd tells me, (in Malay, *Pantai* or *Pante*, shore or beach, *Pantan* or *Pantian*, a place on the beach; Javanese, *Panti*, a dwelling, etc.), that they point to no definite locality. Thala Masyn, the same authority considers to be probably intended for (Malay or Javanese) *Talaga Masin*, "The Salt Lake", though with the remark that he knows of no place so called in the Archipelago. (Might it not stand for *Tanamasin*, "Salt Land?")

What, then, are the characteristics of the region to which Odoric gives these names? They are as follows:—That it lies between Java and Champa; that it produces sago and toddy palms; a virulent vegetable poison and great bamboos and rattans; the use of amulets inserted under the skin; the use of the sumpitan or blow-pipe; and its adjacency to the Southern Ocean. All these characters but the last apply to nearly the whole Archipelago. The last appears to confine our choice to the southern part of Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas. It is not improbable that Banjarmasin (*Banjar*, Order, Array, *Masin*, Salt, generally rendered *Salt Garden*) is meant. This was established as a semi-civilised state in the eleventh century, and was tributary to Majapahit in the flourishing time of that monarchy.

I may mention, however, as suggestive for further examination, that in Steiler's *Hand-Atlas*, a river-delta which is shown on the coast of Biru in the east of Borneo is marked *Panteh*; and that Crawfurd's own map in his *Dict. of the Indian Islands* marks almost at the same spot a place called *Talysian*. Again, that the emporium of Cambodian trade three centuries ago was called *Ponteamas*, which has also some resemblance to a combination of the names assigned by Odoric. And, lastly, that in Extracts of the Japanese Encyclopædia, given by Remusat, there occurs, in a list of foreign countries, the name of *Tanmaling*, as that of a region ten days south of Cambodia. It is moreover followed in the list by *Kwawa* or Java, so that it would appear to hold the same position in regard to those two countries that Odoric's Panten does. (*Remusat, Mel. As.*, ii, 166.)

[2] As in India, so in the islands, various palms furnish sugar and toddy. But the most important provision of these in the Archipelago comes from

others a poison the most deadly that existeth in the world. For there is no antidote to it known except one; and that is that if any one hath imbibed that poison he shall take of *stercus humanum* and dilute it with water, and of this potion shall he drink, and so shall he be absolutely quit of the poison. [And the men of this country being nearly all royers, when they go to battle they carry every man a cane in the hand about a fathom in length, and put into one end of it an iron bodkin poisoned with this poison, and when they blow into the cane, the bodkin flieth and striketh whom they list, and those who are thus stricken incontinently die].[2]

But, as for the trees that produce flour, 'tis after this fashion. These are thick, but not of any great height; they are cut into with an axe round about the foot of the stem, so that a certain liquor flows from them resembling size. Now this is put into bags made of leaves, and put for fifteen days in the sun; and after that space of time a flour is found to

the Sagwire or Aren (*Borassus Gomuti*). Herodotus uses the same expressions, *wine* and *honey*, in speaking of the produce of the date-palm. *Honey* in this way probably indicates the molasses or uncrystalised sugar. Thus we find Pegolotti (p. 64) distinguish between "*Mele d'ape, Mele di Cannamele*, and *Mele di Carrubi*", "bees' honey, cane honey, and carob honey".

[1] The poisons of the Archipelago are famous, and have given rise to the fables of the upas. Dalton, in his account of the Kayans of Borneo, speaks of a man dying in four minutes from a poisoned arrow-wound in the hand. The arrow-poison used in Cambodia is said sometimes to kill an elephant in a few minutes. (*Moor's Notices of the Indian Arch.*; *J. R. G. S.*, xxx, p. 196).

The antidote to this poison mentioned in the text is the same that is used in Abyssinia for snake-bites. At least, so the Abyssinian Abba Gregory told Ludolf: "*nam excrementis humanis in aqua desumptis curari dicebat*," and Ludolf adds: *Quod remedium Panthera forte homines docuit, quæ si carnem a venatoribus aconito perfricatam voraverit, merda humana sibi medetur.*" (*Hist. Æthiop.*, lib. i, c. 13, § 8, 9.)

[2] From PAL. This is a remarkable passage from the Palatine MS., and is, I suppose, the earliest mention of the *sumpit* or blow-pipe of the aborigines of the Archipelago. The length stated is a *braccio*, which I have rendered *fathom*, as nearest the truth, a meaning which the word seems to have in sea phraseology.

have formed from the liquor. This they steep for two days in sea-water, and then wash it with fresh water. And the result is the best paste in the world, from which they make whatever they choose, cates of sorts and excellent bread, of which I friar Odoric have eaten: for all these things have I seen with mine own eyes. And this kind of bread is white outside, but inside it is somewhat blackish.[1]

By the coast of this country towards the south is the sea called the Dead Sea, the water whereof runneth ever towards the south, and if any one falleth into that water he is never found more. [And if the shipmen go but a little way from the shore they are carried rapidly downwards and never return again. And no one knoweth whither they are carried, and many have thus passed away, and it hath never been known what became of them].[2]

[1] Though Odoric's account of sago is incorrect, I think it is that of an eye-witness who did not clearly understand what he saw. The palm is a good deal thicker than the coco-palm, but not nearly so tall. The trunk is cut down and lopped; a strip is then removed from the upper side, exposing the pith, which is hewn out with an adze of stone or bamboo. It is then carried to a stream, washed and strained into troughs made of the sago-trunk, and in that the starchy matter deposits. This is packed away in conical baskets made of the sago-leaves (the *sacci de foliis facti* of our author), and this is the raw sago of commerce.

In some parts of New Guinea the sago pith is filled into a house with an open floor, and trampled with water till it flows through into troughs made of the sago-trunk which are placed below. It is thus intelligible how the friar supposed the sago to flow in a starchy state (*in modum collæ*) from the stem.

The Chinese at Singapore pass this crude sago through several additional processes to produce the granulated sago of our markets.

Raw sago boiled with a little water forms a starchy mass eaten with chopsticks. More commonly it is baked into cakes in small clay pans. Fresh from the baking, these are said to taste like hot rolls.

The total cost of a sago tree, and labour in preparing the sago, is about twelve shillings; and this feeds a man twelve months. But Mr. Wallace justly remarks that this excessive cheapness is no blessing. Industry is not acquired; labour is distasteful, and sago eaters have generally the most wretched of huts and clothing. (*Wallace* in *J. R. G. S.*, xxxii; *Journ. of Ind. Archip.*, iii, 288).

[2] From PAL. De Barros says that the natives believed that whoever

In this country also there be canes or reeds like great trees, and full sixty paces in length. There be also canes of another kind which are called *Cassan*, and these always grow along the ground like what we call dog's grass, and at each of their knots they send out roots, and in such wise extend themselves for a good mile in length.[1] And in these canes are found certain stones which be such that if any man wear one of them upon his person he can never be hurt or wounded by iron in any shape, and so for the most part the men of that country do wear such stones upon them.[2] And when

should proceed beyond the Straits of Bali to the South, would be hurried away by strong currents, so as never to return. (*Major's Early Voyages to Terra Australis*, HAK. Soc., p. lv.) And Fra Mauro, towards the south-east of India, has the notification, "that ships sailing towards the south, which allow themselves to approach the Dim Islands (*Isole Perse*) will be carried by the currents into the Darkness, and once entered into those regions, through the density of the air, and of the tenacious waters, they must perish." Similar rubrics occur elsewhere towards the south.

The term Νεκρὸν is applied by Agathemerus to the Arctic Sea, and perhaps some notion of the Antarctic was involved in the like term heard of by Odoric (see *Hudson, Geog. Gr. Minores*, ii, 56).

[1] PAL. "These are not, however, of any great thickness, but much about the same as the canes in our Frank countries." *Cassan* is the reading of the majority of copies, which may be a mistake for either *Cassar*, representing *Khaizurán* (Arab.), a bamboo, (and Casar is the reading in Ramusio), or for *Cassab* (Arab. *Qassab*) a cane in general. But in any case there seems to be confusion. The first canes like trees, etc., are certainly bamboos; the *Cassan*, which runs along the ground for a mile, is certainly a Rattan. But the striking out roots at the knots appears to be a feature taken from certain kinds of bamboo, and the stones of which he goes on to speak, must be the siliceous concretions (*Tabashír*) found in the *bamboo*, though perhaps they have been confounded with the bezoar stone, which has always been a notable product of Borneo, and is still an article of trade there.

The largest known bamboos (*B. Maxima*) are found in the Malay islands and Cambodia. They reach to eighty and one hundred feet in length. In Pegu I have seen them close upon, if not quite, ten inches in diameter. Gosse quotes from Rumphius a rattan of twelve hundred feet in length. I cannot get nearer to Odoric's mile. (*Rom. of Nat. Hist.*, p. 130).

[2] PAL. "And when looking for these stones they strike every cane with steel, and if the steel cannot cut it then they search that cane for the stone, getting a piece of wood of the hardest and sharpest, with which they hack and hew until they come at the stone."

their boys are still young they take them and make a little cut in the arm and insert one of these stones, to be a safeguard against any wound by steel. And the little wound thus made in the boy's arm is speedily healed by applying to it the powder of a certain fish.[1]

And thus through the great virtue of those stones the men who wear them become potent in battle and great corsairs at sea. But those who from being shipmen on that sea have suffered at their hands, have found out a remedy for the mischief. For they carry as weapons of offence sharp stakes of very hard wood, and arrows likewise that have no iron on the points; and as those corsairs are but poorly harnessed the shipmen are able to wound and pierce them through with these wooden weapons, and by this device they succeed in defending themselves most manfully.[2]

Of these canes called *Cassan* they make sails for their ships, dishes,[3] houses, and a vast number of other things of the greatest utility to them. And many other matters there be in that country which it would cause great astonishment

[1] PAL. has an expansion about the fish not worth giving.

[2] The Burmese formerly used to insert pellets of gold under the skin in order to render them invulnerable. But Marco Polo specifically speaks of these "consecrated stones in the arm between the skin and the flesh," in a story about Japan; and Conti mentions the amulet so used in Java Major, as a piece of an iron rod which is found in the middle of certain rare trees. (*Mission to Ava*, 1855, p. 208; *Polo*, iii, 2; *Conti* (HAK. Soc.), p. 32.)

Dalton says the Dyaks of Borneo have a defensive armour of leather which is proof against arrow, spear, and sword. This may have to do with the story of these invulnerables. But we find St. John alluding to a belief among the Malays of Borneo that by certain ceremonies they can render themselves invulnerable, though he does not specify what the process is. There is such a class of invulnerables also in Fiji. The use in the Archipelago of lances, etc., of cane and wood hardened in the fire is mentioned by Pigafetta. Such arms were used by the islanders of Matan, in a fray with whom the great Magellan fell. (*Crawfurd's Desc. Dict.*, 139; *J. R. G. S.*, xxvii, 251; *Pigafetta* (Milan ed.), p. 97; *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, i, 134.)

[3] *Sestoria*, perhaps for *sessoria*=either *seats* or *dishes*. Or it may be for *sextaria*—measures for corn (It. *sestieri*).

to read or hear tell of; wherefore I am not careful to write them at present.

23. How the King of Zampa keepeth many elephants and many wives.

At a distance of many days from this kingdom is another which is called Zampa,[1] and 'tis a very fine country, having great store of victuals and of all good things. The king of the country, it was said when I was there, had, what with sons and with daughters, a good two hundred children; for he hath many wives and other women whom he keepeth.[2] This king hath also fourteen thousand tame elephants, which he made to be kept and tended by his boors as here oxen and various other animals are kept in partnership.[3] [And

[1] The Cianba and Ziamba of Polo, the Sanf of the Arabian geographers (as Mr. Lane I believe first pointed out), the Champa of Jordanus, the Tsiompa and Champa of our modern maps, to the south of Cochin China, of which it now forms a part. Remusat appears to consider that in the middle ages Cochin China was included in Champa.

Many of the copies read *Campa*, and this (Campaa) is the form in which the name appears in old Portuguese writers, and in Pigafetta (in Ramusio; the Milan Pigafetta has Chiempa). Probably Çampa was the intended form in these cases.

Champa was the name of an ancient Buddhist royal city on the Ganges, near the modern Bhágalpúr, and was probably adopted by the Indo-Chinese country after its conversion to Buddhism according to the practice so generally followed in Indo-China and the great islands.

[2] Polo says that when he was in Champa in 1285 the king had three hundred and twenty-six sons and daughters. A Chinese account of the adjoining *Chinla* or Cambodia, translated by Remusat, says the king of that country had five wives, and from three thousand to five thousand concubines. (*Nouv. Mêlanges As.* i. 71). The late well-known king of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah, left behind him nearly three thousand direct descendants, and his son Sheikh Ali Mirza used to ride attended by a body guard of *sixty* sons of his own. (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, I, 221).

[3] "*Sicut...tenentur ad* Socedam." Ital. *Soccità*, the name for a sort of *metairie* in cattle-keeping, the cattle being tended for the owners on a division of profits.

Cambodia and the adjoining regions abound in domesticated elephants to a degree unknown elsewhere in Asia. See Jordanus and note (Hak. Soc.) p. 37; also Ibn Batuta in this collection *infra*; *Remusat* in the article just quoted; *J.R.G.S.* xxvii, 93, 105, and xxxii, p. 146).

other folk keep elephants there just as commonly as we keep oxen here.[1]]

And in that country there is one thing which is really wonderful. For every species of fish that is in the sea visits that country in such vast numbers that at the time of their coming the sea seems to consist of nothing else but fish. And when they get near the beach they leap ashore, and then the folk come and gather them as many as they list. And so these fish continue coming ashore for two or three days together. And then a second species of fishes comes and does the same as the first; and so with the other species each in turn and in order until the last; and this they do but once in the year. And when you ask the folk of that country how this comes about, they tell you in reply that the fish come and act in that fashion in order to pay homage to their emperor.[2]

In that country also I saw a tortoise bigger in compass than the dome of St. Anthony's church in Padua. And many other like things be there, which unless they were seen would be past belief; wherefore I care not to write them.[3]

[1] PAL.

[2] I have not been able to trace the original basis of this mythical story. Indeed very little is to be known from any books accessible to me of the coast of Champa. But perhaps this passage from Duhalde may throw a little light on the matter. "Dans la province de Kiangnan on voit surtout de gros poissons venant de la mer, ou du Fleuve Jaune, qui se jettent dans des vastes plaines toutes convertes d'eau; tout y est disposé de telle sorte que les eaux s'écoulent aussitôt qu'ils y sont entrés. Ces poissons demeurants à sec, on les prend sans peine," etc. (ii, 140).

[3] O friar! The smallest of St. Anthony's many domes is about forty feet in diameter. On big tortoises see *Tennent's Ceylon*, i, 190; *Mr. Major* in introd. to *India in the* xvth *cent.* p. xliii; and *Mr. Badger on Varthema*, p. 240. But I do not understand the use these gentlemen make of Falconer and Cautley's fossil monsters. *They* did not flourish in the middle ages.

Vincent le Blanc (who is very bad authority) says that many houses in Pegu were gilt and roofed with tortoise-shell, not with *a* shell. It is possible that Odoric may have seen a temple so roofed, and taken it for a single shell. But I believe the probable *rationale* of the story is that

When a married man dies in this country his body is burned, and his living wife along with it. For they say that she should go to keep company with her husband in the other world also.

24. Of the island of Nicoveran, where the men have dogs' faces.

Departing from that country and sailing towards the south over the Ocean Sea, I found many islands and countries, whereamong was one called NICOVERAN.[1] And this is a great isle, having a compass of a good 2,000 miles, and both the men and the women there have faces like dogs. And these people worship the ox as their god, wherefore they always wear upon the forehead an ox made of gold or silver, in token that he is their god. All the folk of that country, whether men or women, go naked, wearing nothing in the world but an handkerchief to cover their shame. They be stalwart men

which I have given in the introductory notice of Odoric, p. 27. The largest turtle that I can find mentioned on modern authority had a carapace of about seven feet in length. (*Eng. Cyc.* Art. *Chelonia*).

[1] The name no doubt is that of the Nicobar Islands, and is the same as that used by Polo. But there seems to be no feature of the narrative, except the nakedness of the people, appropriate to those islands. The whole chapter is an anomalous jumble. The Dog-faces belong, according to the usual story of the period, to the Andaman Islands; the miniature ox worn on the forehead seems derived from one of Marco's chapters on Maabar; the king's great ruby appertains to Ceylon, in connexion with which it has been celebrated by Marco, Haiton, Jordanus and Ibn Batuta; whilst the great shield covering the whole body is a genuine feature of the wilder islands of the Archipelago, being found for example upon Nyas, among the Dayaks, the more uncivilised races of the Moluccas, and on Formosa. Cannibalism is also a genuine feature characterising other races of the Archipelago besides the Battaks of whom we have spoken. Dalton, speaking of his own entertainer, the Raja of Selgie, a chief of Kayans in Borneo, says: "Should the Raja want flesh (on a war expedition).....one of the followers is killed, which not only provides a meal, but a head to boot." (*Moor's Notices*, p. 49).

The concluding passage of this account of the Dog-heads curiously coincides with one in Ctesias, who says of the Cynocephali, that "they are just in their dealings and hurt no man" (*Baehr's* edition of *Ctesiæ Reliq.*, pp. 253 and 362). Regarding the probable origin of stories of Dog-faces, see note on Ibn Batuta, *infra*.

and stout in battle, going forth to war naked as they are with only a shield that covers them from head to foot. And if they hap to take any one in war who cannot produce money to ransom himself withal they do straightway eat him. But if they can get money from him they let him go.

And the king of that country[1] weareth round his neck a string of three hundred very big pearls, for that he maketh to his gods daily three hundred prayers. He carrieth also in his hand a certain precious stone called a ruby, a good span in length and breadth, so that when he hath this stone in his hand it shows like a flame of fire. And this, it is said, is the most noble and valuable gem that existeth at this day in the world, and the great emperor of the Tartars of Cathay hath never been able to get it into his possession either by force or by money, or by any device whatever. This king attends to justice and maintains it,[2] and throughout his realm all men may fare safely. And there be many other things in this kingdom that I care not to write of.

25. Concerning the island of Sillan, and the marvels thereof.

There is also another island called SILLAN,[3] which hath a compass of good 2,000 miles. There be found therein an infinite number of serpents, and many other wild animals in great numbers, especially elephants. In this country also there is an exceeding great mountain, of which the folk relate that it was upon it that Adam mourned for his son one hundred years. In the midst[4] of this mountain is a certain beautiful level place, in which there is a lake of no great size, but having a great depth of water. This they say was de-

[1] MIN. RAM. "Of these beasts."

[2] MIN. RAM. "Albeit he is an idolater and hath a face like a dog's."

[3] We need not wonder at the dimensions ascribed to Ceylon, when the same have in the preceding chapter been assigned to Nicobar. But the persistence of marine tradition in exaggerating the size of Ceylon, in the face of facts tolerably manifest, is curious. The examples may be seen in *Sir Emerson Tennent's Ceylon*, ch. i.

[4] VEN. has "at the summit of the mountain," but the text is better.

rived from the tears shed by Adam and Eve; but I do not believe that to be the truth, seeing that the water naturally springs from the soil.[1]

The bottom of this pool is full of precious stones, and the water greatly aboundeth in leeches. The king taketh not those gems for himself, but for the good of his soul once or twice a-year he suffereth the poor to search the water, and take away whatever stones they can find. But that they may be able to enter the water in safety they take lemons[2] and bruise them well, and then copiously anoint the whole body therewith, and after that when they dive into the water the leeches do not meddle with them. And so it is that the poor folk go down into the pool and carry off precious stones if they can find them.[3]

The water which comes down from the mountain issues forth by this lake. And the finest rubies are dug there;

[1] This "*pulchra planities*" and lake are afterwards spoken of by Marignolli also (v. *infra*) where some further remarks as to the place intended will be found. Ibn Batuta also speaks of a pool below the mountain from which gems were extracted. The chief gem locality in Ceylon is still one at a short distance from the base of Adam's Peak, and *gem-fishery* is the term applied to the search by Pridham. "The tears flowed in such torrents from Adam's eyes that those of his right eye started the Euphrates, while those of his left set the Tigris in motion" (*Weil's Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans*, p. 16.)

[2] UTIN. and RAM. have "take *bavoyr, i.e.*, a certain fruit, which they bruise," etc. This *may* be intended for some Persian word. There is *bajúra*, a citron.

[3] There *are* water-leeches in Ceylon, which are annoying to cattle chiefly, by entering their nostrils; but the land-leeches are the great pest of the island. See a fearful picture in Tennent (i, 304). Ibn Batuta, on his ascent to the Peak, says:—"Here we saw the *flying leech*, which the natives call *zulú*. It holds on by the trees and grass near water, and when a man comes near it drops upon him...*The natives take care to keep ready a lemon* and to squeeze its juice upon the leech," etc. This name of the *flying leech*, implying the power ascribed to it of springing upon a passing victim, has come down to our time (see *Heber's Journals*, ed. 1844, ii, 167). Tennent also corroborates Odoric's mention of lemon-juce as the Ceylonese remedy for leech-bites; and so does Robert Knox (first edition, p. 25).

good diamonds too are found and many other good stones.[1] And where that water descends into the sea there be found fine pearls. Wherefore the saying goes that this king hath more precious stones than any other king in the world.

In this island there be sundry kinds of animals, both of birds and other creatures; and the country folk say that the wild beasts never hurt a foreigner, but only those who are natives of the island. There be also certain birds as big as geese, which have two heads.[2] And this island hath also great store of victuals, and of many other good things whereof I do not write.

26. Of the island called Dondin and the evil manners there.

Departing from that island and going towards the south, I landed at a certain great island which is called DONDIN,[3]

[1] There are no diamonds in Ceylon, but some of the Arabian geographers *say* that there are. The gems were a royal monopoly under the native dynasties. (*Tennent*, i, 38.)

[2] The history of this bird with two heads is a good example of the gradual resolution of a fable.

In 1330 Odoric tells of a bird, as big as a goose, with *two heads*.

In 1672 P. Vincenzo Maria describes a bird, also as big as a goose, but with *two beaks*, the two being perfectly distinct, one going up and the other down; with the upper one he crows or croaks, with the lower he feeds, etc. (*Viaggio*, p. 401.)

In 1796 Padre Paolino, who is usually more accurate, retrogrades; for he calls the bird "as big as an ostrich". According to him, this bird, living on high mountains where water is scarce, has the second beak as a reservoir for a supply of water. He says the Portuguese call it *Passaro di duos bicos*. (*Viag.*, p. 153.)

Lastly, Lieut. Charles White describes the same bird in the *Asiatic Researches*: "It has a large double beak, or a large beak surmounted by a horn-like shaped mandible," etc. (*Asiat. Res.*, iv, 401.) The bird is a hornbill, of which there are various species having casques or protuberances on the top of the bill, the office of which does not appear to be ascertained. How easy here to call Odoric a liar! but how unjust, when the matter has been explained.

[3] Much of what has been said on the chapter about Necuveran applies here. These two narratives are destitute, it seems to me, of the appearance of being drawn from experience. I cannot identify Dondin with any known island, nor trace the etymology which the traveller assigns to

and this signifieth the same as "Unclean". They who dwell in that island are an evil generation, who devour raw flesh and every other kind of filth. They have also among them an abominable custom; for the father will eat the son, the son the father, the wife will eat the husband, or the husband the wife. And 'tis in this way:—Suppose that the father of some one is ill. The son goeth then to the astrologer or

the name. But it is just possible that Dondin or Dandin might be a misread contraction of Isola *D'Andiman* (d'andin?). Stories like that related here, about the treatment of the sick or the aged were told in old times (as by Herodotus) of the Paddæi and other people, and are still very rife in the East in regard to certain races, just as stories of men with tails are, but the alleged locality shifts with the horizon. "I was informed," says Raffles, of the Battaks, "that formerly it was usual for the people to eat their parents who were too old for work. The old people selected the horizontal branch of a tree, and quietly suspended themselves by their hands, whilst their children and neighbours, forming a circle, danced round them, crying out, '*When the fruit is ripe it will fall*'. This practice took place during the season of limes, when salt and pepper were plenty, and as soon as the victims became fatigued and could hold on no longer they fell down, when all hands cut them up and made a hearty meal of them." (*Memoirs*, p. 427). Gasparo Balbi tells the same story of the same people, not omitting the salt and pepper, and so does a notice in Moor. And I have heard it almost exactly as told by Raffles, from a native of Arakan, when I was travelling in that country in 1853, the alleged actors being some of the wild tribes then to the north-east of us. Something similar is related by Edward Barbosa of a tribe in the interior of Siam. Vincent Le Blanc says he was assured by the people of Pulowé that the islanders of Sumatra eat their dead, "but we found it quite the contrary," he goes on, "and saw them buried." He nevertheless tells the same story as true, of an island called *Pulovois* (apparently imaginary) south of the Maldives.

The custom, or its allegation, is not confined to the old world. Tribes (*e. g.*), both of Brazil and of Vancouver's Island, are stated to have been in the habit of putting sick relatives to death, when the conjuror or medicine-man despaired of recovery. And the Brazilian tribe *ate* the bodies of those who were thus given over.

The particular story related by Odoric is evidently the same as that told by Marco Polo of "the kingdom of Dragoian" in the island of Java Minor or Sumatra. The situation of Dragoian has been much disputed, but if Marco's kingdoms were, as they seem, recounted in geographical succession, it must have been nearly coincident with Achin. And it is worth noticing that Balbi ascribes this cannibalism to the kingdom of the "Rey del Dagin", which he afterwards lets us see is meant for Achin. Can Odoric mean the same place by Dondin?

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priest (for 'tis the same), and sayeth thus:—"Sir, go; I pray, and inquire of our God whether my father shall be healed of this infirmity or shall die of it." Then the priest and he whose father is ill go both unto the idol, which is made of gold or silver, and make a prayer to it, and say:—"Lord, thou art our God! and as our God we adore thee! Answer to that we ask of thee! Such an one is ailing grievously; must he die, or shall he be delivered from his ailment? We ask thee!" Then the demon replies by the mouth of the idol, and says:—"Thy father shall not die, but shall be freed from that ailment. And thou must do such and such things and so he shall recover." And so the demon shows the man all that he is to do for his father's recovery; and he returneth to his father accordingly, and tendeth him diligently until he be entirely recovered. But if the demon reply that the father will die, then the priest goeth to him and putteth a linen cloth over his mouth, and so suffocateth him and he dieth. And when they have thus slain him, they cut him in pieces, and invite all their friends and relations and all the players of the country round about to come to the eating of him, and eat him they do, with singing of songs and great merry-making. But they save his bones and bury them underground with great solemnity. And any of the relatives who have not been invited to this wedding feast (as it were) deem themselves to have been grievously slighted.

I rebuked these people sharply for so acting, saying to them:—"Why do ye act thus against all reason? Why, were a dog slain and put before another dog he would by no means eat thereof; and why should you do thus, who seem to be men endowed with reason?" And their answer was:—"We do this lest the flesh of the dead should be eaten of worms; for if the worms should eat his flesh his

[2] MIN. RAM. "And the kinsfolk rejoice when any one gets ill, in hope of eating him and having a merrymaking."

soul would suffer grievous pains;[1] we eat his flesh therefore that his soul suffer not." And so, let me say what I would, they would not believe otherwise nor quit that custom of theirs.

27. A word in brief of India and the isles thereof.

And there be many other strange things in those parts which I write not, for unless a man should see them he never could believe them. For in the whole world there be no such marvels as in that realm (of India). What things I have written are only such as I was certain of, and such as I cannot doubt but they are as I have related them.

And as regards this India I have inquired from many who have knowledge of the matter, and they all assured me as with one voice that it includeth in its limits a good twenty-four thousand islands, in which there are sixty-four crowned kings. And the greater part of these islands is well peopled. So here I have done with this India, and will say no more thereof; but I will now tell you somewhat of Upper India.

28. Friar Odoric cometh to Upper India and the Province of Manzi, and discourseth of them.

Ye shall know then that after I had sailed eastward over the Ocean Sea for many days I came to that noble province MANZI, which we call Upper India.[2] And as to that India I made diligent inquiry from Christians, Saracens, and idola-

[1] MIN. RAM. "For that God, offended at the stink, would refuse them admittance into his glory."

[2] As late as the seventeenth century we find Martini, in his *Atlas Sinensis*, calling China *Asia Superior*.

"Mânzi," says Klaproth, "is the Chinese word *Man-tsu*, by which the people and country of Southern China were designated during the supremacy of the Mongols." Davis says the name, which he writes *Mantze*, was originally applied by the Chinese to the *barbarians* of the south. And Magaellanes, giving the same account of the original meaning, tells us that in his own time (the latter part of the seventeenth century) the term *Mantzu*, or barbarians, was applied by the Tartars scoffingly to the Chinese. This is perhaps copied from Martini, who says the same. It is, there-

ters, and from all the great Khan's officers, and they all told me, with one consent as it were, that the province of Manzi hath two thousand great cities; cities I mean of such magnitude that neither Treviso nor Vicenza would be entitled to be numbered among them.[1] Indeed in that country the number of the people is so great that among us here it would be deemed incredible; [and in many parts I have seen the population more dense than the crowds you see at Venice on the Ascension Day].[2] And the land hath great store of bread, of wine, of rice, of flesh, and of fish of sorts, and of

fore, a mistake to suppose, as has been put forward by Assemanni and others, that Manzi or Mangi is a corruption of the Machin and Masin of the Persians and Arabs. These last are merely modifications of the Sanscrit *Maha Chin*, Magna China. But it seems probable that a confusion did take place between the two words; for in the history of Rashideddin (as probably in other Mahomedan writers) *Machin* is sometimes used for *Manzi*, as the special name of Southern China. (*Journ. As.*, ii, ser. xi, 337, 341, 343; *Davis's Chinese*, i, 180; *Baldello*, i, 29; Martini, *Atlas Sinensis*.) Pauthier, it should be added, gives quite a different explanation of Manzi. He says that Fokien was formerly called the principality of *Mán*, a name still applied in poetry. Hence the subjects of the Sung Emperors were called by the Northern Chinese *Mán-jin*, or Men of Mán (*op. inf. cit.*, p. 117). But M. Pauthier seems to have now abandoned this opinion; see his fine new edition of Polo, p. lvii.

[1] So Wassaf says: "China possesses besides Khanzai, four hundred considerable cities, of which the smallest surpasses Baghdad and Shiraz." (*D'Ohsson*, ii, 418). There is great exaggeration in Odoric's statement. The number of cities of different classes in China (which includes much more than Manzi) is, according to modern official statements, as follows:—

Fu, or chief cities of Prefectures	182
Cheu, „ „ of circles...	134
Hien, „ „ of districts	1281
Other cities	112
Total,	1709

(From *Pauthier, Chine Moderne*, p. 129.)

[2] The feast of the Ascension was the first day of the great fair at Venice, in the middle ages one of the greatest fairs in the world. Like the fairs in India it combined religion and trade, for many then came as pilgrims either to visit the relics of the saints at Venice, or to take passage for the shrines beyond sea, such as Loretto, Rome, Compostella, or Jerusalem. On the Ascension Day also took place the celebrated espousals of the Adriatic. Semedo likewise compares the throng habitually encountered

all manner of victuals whatever that are used by mankind. And all the people of this country are traders and artificers, and no man ever seeketh alms, however poor he be, as long as he can do anything with his own hands to help himself.[1] [But those who are fallen into indigence and infirmity are well looked after and provided with necessaries].[2]

The men, as to their bodily aspect, are comely enough, but colourless, having beards of long straggling hairs like mousers,—cats I mean. And as for the women, they are the most beautiful in the world!

29. Of the great city Censcalan.

The first city to which I came in this country was called CENSCALAN,[3] and 'tis a city as big as three Venices. It is one day's voyage from the sea, standing upon a certain river,

in China to that of great public festivals in Europe. (*Rel. della Cina*, 1643, p. 7).

[1] Davis notices the "cheerful industry" of the Chinese as a characteristic which is "the first to strike all visitors of China." (*Chinese*, i, 200).

[2] MIN. RAM.

[3] This name, which is grievously mangled in most of the MSS. and editions of Odoric, is the *Cynkalan* of Marignolli, the *Sínkalán* of Ibn Batuta, the *Chínkalán* of Rashideddin and Wassaf the Persian historians of the Mongols, and represents, I believe, without doubt the modern Canton. Odoric's description of it as the first port reached by him, with its great estuary and vast amount of shipping, points to this identification. Ibn Batuta tells us the great junks for the Indian trade were built only at Zaitún and at Sínkalán. Now Zaitun, Canton, and Kanfu are known to have been the three ports for Indian trade; and of the first and third Ibn Batuta speaks by those names, but does not mention Canton unless it be Sínkalán. He also speaks more than once of the space from Khanbalik to Sínkalán, as of the Dan and Beersheba of China, whilst the latter city is said to adjoin barbarous and cannibal tribes. All this points to Canton. Rashideddin too indicates its position as south of the port of Zaitun.

Cincalan will also be found in its proper place, i.e. as the first port of China from the south, in the extraordinary Catalan map of 1375.

The name I have no doubt is Persian, with the meaning ascribed to it by Marignolli, "*Great China*," and is, therefore, simply a translation of Mahachín. This would consist with the practice which seems to have prevailed among the Arab seafarers of giving a chief city the name

the water whereof is derived from the sea, and extendeth twelve days' journey into the land.[1] The whole population of this city, as well as of all Manzi and Upper India, worship idols. And this city hath shipping so great and vast in amount that to some it would seem well nigh incredible. Indeed all Italy hath not the amount of craft that this one city hath.[2] And here you can buy three hundred pounds of fresh ginger for less than a groat![3] The geese too are bigger and finer and cheaper[4] than anywhere in the world. For one of them is as big as two of ours, and 'tis all white as

of the country to which it belonged, a practice which probably originated that city of Bengala which has given so much trouble to geographers. Indeed, I find that Rashid and Al Biruni distinctly apply the name Mahachin to a city, no doubt Canton.

Though Zaitun and Kanfu (the ancient port of Kingsé or Hangcheufu) appear to have been the havens most frequented by western trade under the Mongol dynasty, Canton was a very early resort of the Arabs and Persians. In 758 they were numerous enough to master and pillage and burn the city. (See *Marignolli* infrà; *Ibn Batuta*, iv, 92, 255, 268, 274; *D'Ohsson*, 418, 638; *Deguignes*, i, 59; *Elliott's Historians of M. India*, p. 46; and *Sprenger, Post-und-Reiserouten des Orients*, p. 90.)

[1] This is very obscure; "*cujus aqua propter ipsum mare ascendit ultra terram bene xii dietis*". I have translated as if the tidal flow were alluded to, but with great doubt as to the meaning. Hakluyt's translation runs, "the water whereof, near unto the mouth where it exonerateth itself into the sea, doth overflow the land for the space of twelve days' journey." It may be a reference to the breadth of the estuary, which is about eighty miles at the mouth. But the passage seems corrupt in all copies.

[2] "Hundreds of thousands" of boats, says Fortune. "In the river and port alone," says Linschoten, "there is more craft of different kinds (*barques et frégates*) than in the whole of Spain." (*Three Years' Wanderings*, p. 148; *Linsch.*, p. 40).

[3] MIN. RAM. has "700 lbs. for a ducat."

[4] "*In meliori foro*," a dog-latinism which Venni does not seem to have understood, for he proposes to read "*meliori formâ*." Yet the Italians have *buon mercato*, as the French have *meilleur marché*, and our old English had *good cheap*, though we have cut it down into an elliptical adjective. The old translation of Mendoza says on the same matter, which continued to strike visitors to a much later date: "All things is so good cheape that almost it seemeth they sell them for nothing." Early in last century from 3d. to 6d. a head covered the expences of Ripa's party for a good dinner, supper, and lodging. (*Major's* edit. of *Mendoza*, HAK. SOC., i, 12; *Father Ripa*, p. 133.)

milk, but has a bone on the top of its head about the size of an egg, which is of a blood colour; whilst under its throat it has a skin hanging down for half a span.[1] And these geese are as fat as fat can be, yet one of them well dressed and seasoned you shall have there for less than a groat. And as it is with the geese, so also with the ducks and fowls; they are so big that you would think them perfectly marvellous.

Here too there be serpents bigger than anywhere else in the world, many of which are taken and eaten with great relish. These serpents [have quite a fragrant odour and][2] form a dish so fashionable that if a man were to give a dinner and not have one of these serpents on his table, he would be thought to have done nothing.[3] In short this city hath a great abundance of all possible kinds of victual.

30. Concerning the noble city called Zayton; and how the folk thereof regale their gods.

Departing from that district, and passing through many cities and towns, I came to a certain noble city which is

[1] This description of Odoric's agrees almost precisely with the following: "*Anser Cygnoides*, the Guinea goose...approaching in size to the swan...it has a fleshy tubercle rising from the base of the bill...and a pendant skin in the form of a pouch under the throat....The beak and tubercle are reddish," etc. (*Nouveau Dict. de l'Hist. Naturelle*, Paris, 1817, tom. xxiii.) I am told on excellent authority that the modern domestic goose of China has *not* the pendant skin, though it certainly has the knob or tubercle. Yet Odoric's evidence is curiously precise.

[2] MIN. RAM.

[3] Conti speaks of the large pythons of the Burmese forests as being greatly prized for food. But, more precisely, Chinese authors quoted by Klaproth speak of a great snake called *Nan-che* or southern serpent, from being found only south of the great chain of Southern China (therefore in Quangtung and the adjacent provinces), which is hunted and sold at a great price, the flavour of the flesh being in such high estimation. (*Journ. As.*, ser. 2, ii, 118.) Till I found this I suspected some mistake on Odoric's part, his expressions so closely resemble those of a later ecclesiastic in speaking of swallow-nest soup: "No entertainment without this dish; if it is wanting the best is wanting; and without it no dinner can be deemed in worthy style." (*P. Marini*, quoted by Kircher, *China Illust.*, 199.)

called Zayton,[1] where we friars minor have two houses ;[2] and there I deposited the bones of our friars who suffered martyrdom for the faith of Jesus Christ.

In this city is great plenty of all things that are needful for human subsistence. For example you can get three pounds and eight ounces of sugar for less than half a groat. The city is twice as great as Bologna,[3] and in it are many monasteries of devotees, idol worshippers every man of them. In one of those monasteries which I visited there were three thousand monks and eleven thousand idols.[4] And one of those idols, which seemed to be smaller than the rest was as

[1] Zayton, Zaitun, Zeithum, Çayton, the great port of Chinese trade with the west in the middle ages; that from which Polo sailed on his memorable voyage; that at which Ibn Batuta landed, and from which Marignolli sailed for India, is mentioned by nearly all the authors who speak of China up to the fourteenth century inclusive. A veil falls between China and Europe on the expulsion of the Mongols, and when it rises in the sixteenth century, Zayton has disappeared.

Martini had hinted, and De Guignes had conjectured, that Polo's Zeithum was the port of Thsiuancheufu, in the province of Fokien. It remained for Klaproth to show from the Imperial Geography that the port in question was originally called *Tseu-thung*, the corruption of which to Zeithum and Zayton would be easy.

From this port sailed the expeditions of the Mongol sovereign against Java and Japan, and for a time after the rediscovery of China it was one of the harbours frequented by the Portuguese, under the name of *Cinceo*; that of Zayton having passed away from common use, though it is not unlikely that an Arab or Malay skipper could have pointed out the place so called. (*Martini*, in Thevenot, iii (1666), p. 155; *De Guignes* iv, 169, 180; *Klapr., Mem.* ii, 200 and *seq.*; *Polo*, i, 81; iii, 2, 4; *Hakluyt* (reprint), ii, 546).

[2] See both of these establishments spoken of by Bishop Andrew of Zayton in a letter below, which was written a year or two after Odoric's visit. John Marignolli mentions a third house in his time, twenty years later.

[3] MIN. RAM.: "Men and women, both, are of pleasing manners, handsome and courteous, especially to foreigners."

[4] Far greater numbers of monks are ascribed by Fahian to monasteries of Ceylon in his day, and by Huc to Tibetan monasteries in our own. The great establishment at Pooto, an island off Chusan, had three thousand monks in the beginning of the last century, and even in her modern decay, in our own day, had two thousand monks, with idols innumerable (*Astley*, iv, 43; *Davis* ii, 189). The Dutch embassy of 1655 speaks of a famous temple near Nanking, which had ten thousand images.

big as St. Christopher might be.[1] I went thither at the hour fixed for feeding their idols, that I might witness it; and the fashion thereof is this: All the dishes which they offer to be eaten are piping hot so that the smoke riseth up in the face of the idols, and this they consider to be the idols' refection. But all else they keep for themselves and gobble up. And after such fashion as this they reckon that they feed their gods well.[2]

The place is one of the best in the world, and that as regards its provision for the body of man. Many other things indeed might be related of this place, but I will not write more about them at present.

31. The friar telleth of the city Fuzo and its marvels; also of rare fashions of fishing.

Thence I passed eastward to a certain city called Fuzo,[3] which hath a compass of good thirty miles. And here be

But most of these were small. The monastery visited by Odoric at Zaitun, or Thsiuancheu, was probably that called the *Water-Lily*, founded in the eighth century and still magnificent, boasting two great seven-storied towers. (*See Chine Moderne*, p. 117.)

[1] "The picture of St. Christopher, that is of a man of giant-like stature, bearing upon his shoulders our Saviour Christ, and with a staff in his hand wading through the water, is known unto children, common over all Europe, not only as a sign unto houses, but is described in many churches, and stands colossus-like in the entrance of Nôtre Dame." (*Sir T. Brown, Vulgar Errors*, ii, 52.)

St. Christopher, I suppose, may be taken at nine to twelve feet high. But many of the Chinese Buddhas are from thirty to forty feet in height.

[2] The principal hall in the house was set in order, a large table was placed in the centre, and shortly afterwards covered with small dishes filled with the various articles commonly used as food by the Chinese. All these were of the very best .... Candles were lighted, and columns of smoke and fragrant odours began to rise from the incense which was burning on the table .... By and bye, when the gods were supposed to have finished their repast, all the articles of food were removed from the table, cut up, and consumed by people connected with the family." *Fortune's Three Years Wanderings*, p. 190.)

[3] Undoubtedly Fucheu, capital of Fokien province, one of the most wealthy and populous cities in China.

seen the biggest cocks in the world. And there be hens also that are white as snow, and have no feathers, but have wool only upon them, like sheep.[1] The city is a mighty fine one, and standeth upon the sea.

Departing thence and travelling for eighteen days, I passed through many cities and towns, and witnessed a great variety of things. And as I travelled thus I came to a certain great mountain. And on the one side all the animals that dwell there are black, and the men and women have a very strange way of living. But on the other side all the animals are white, and the men and women have a quite different way of living from the others.[2] All the married women there wear

[1] *Phasianus Lanatus, Gallus Lanatus,* Coq à duvet, or Silk fowl. Kircher thus describes them, out of Martini: "Woolly hens, the wool of which is much like that of sheep. They are small, with very short legs, but courageous, and much petted by the women." He adds: "It is generally owned that the wool of these hens cannot be woven into cloth (!) except it be first steeped in a lye, of which I have the secret." (*China Illust.* 196). Martini is speaking of Szechuen, but Polo also speaks of these fowls in Fokien as "hens that have no feathers, but skins like a cat," i.e. an Angora or Persian cat, a race of which Martini mentions in China." It is this breed which gave rise in 1766 to the fable of the fowl-rabbit, which was shown at Brussels as the produce of a rabbit and a common hen." (*Nouv. Dict. de l'Histoire Naturelle,* vol. vii).

[2] "Though on both one side and the other methought they lived and dressed in a beastly manner." MIN. RAM. It is difficult to explain precisely what this story means, but doubtless the range of mountains was that which separates Fokien from the rest of the empire, and which Odoric may have crossed either northwards into Che-Kiang, or westwards into Kiangsi, which last we shall see was the route followed by Ibn Batuta in going to Kingse or Hangcheufu.

The differences between the races on the two sides of the mountain probably point to the friar's having passed a part occupied by the Meau-tse or other aboriginal tribes. These do not now extend so far east, but what Polo says of savage cannibals with blue-painted (i.e. tattooed) faces in Fokien, seems to imply that they did so in his time; and some observations of Sir John Davis's corroborate this (*Polo* i, 78; *Chinese, supp. vol.* p. 260). And in the modern Chinese census one class of population in a district of the province of Canton appear as *Blacks* (*Chine Mod.*, p. 167). Indeed Semedo (about 1632) says there was still an independent kingdom, presumably of the Meautse, in the mountains dividing Fokien, Canton, and Kiangsi, viz., those of which Odoric speaks (*Rel. della Cina,* p. 19).

The habits and appearance of those races would, no doubt, stand in

on their heads a great barrel of horn, that they may be known to be married.[1]

Passing hence, and travelling for eighteen days more, through many cities and towns, I came to a certain great river, and I tarried at a certain city [called Belsa][2] which

strong contrast to those of the Chinese, who call them *Dogmen* and *Wolf-men*. The "barrel of horn" worn on the head may perhaps be identified with the grotesque coiffure of the Meautse women, described by Duhalde as "a light board, more than a foot long and five or six inches wide, which they cover with their hair, and fix it with wax, so that they seem to have a hair hat on. They can't rest the head nor lie down, except by putting something under the neck, and they are obliged constantly to twist the head right or left in passing along the forest paths. And the business of combing the hair is a still greater difficulty; they must then hold their heads for hours by the fire to melt the wax," etc.

The description of this head-dress in the *Minor Ramusian* version, however, rather recalls that of the wooden sugar-loaf headdress worn by the Druze women; and it is curious in connexion with this to remember the Chinese origin of the Druzes, which their traditions maintain (see Mr. Cyril Graham on the Druzes of Bashan, in *J.R.G.S.*)

[1] MIN. RAM. has "wear on the head, in the middle of the forehead, a horn of wood covered with skin, and more than two spans in length."

[2] I suppose it is not possible to determine the city on a great river where Odoric saw the fishing cormorants. Even if the name *Belsa* given in the *Min. Ram.* be genuine, I find nothing nearer it than Wen-chu in Che-Kiang, and it is doubtful if Odoric's route could have lain that way.

The story of the fishing birds is a perfectly accurate account of the practice, as it still exists in China, and is described by Duhalde, Staunton, (these two give plates of the operation), Mendoza, Martini, Father Ripa, Davis, Fortune, and many more. The last-named author says the bird "is as docile as a dog; he swims after his master, and allows himself to be pulled into the sanpan, where he disgorges his prey, and again resumes his labours. And what is more wonderful still, if one of the cormorants gets hold of a fish of a large size, so large that he would have some difficulty in taking it to the boat, some of the others haste to his assistance," etc. (*Three years' Wand.*, p. 110). Fortune procured specimens to carry home, but could not bring them alive to England. The price in China was from six to eight dollars a pair.

The bird, which is called by the Chinese, with contempt for generic accuracy, "Fishing Hawk," or "Fishing Duck," is a cormorant, and has been termed *Phalacrocorax sinensis*, as differing from the English species (*Ph. Carbo*). I learn however that Mr. Swinhoe considers it to be only a variety produced by domestication. The English bird was formerly used for fishing both in England and in Holland quite in the Chinese way. Charles II had a *master of the cormorants*. (*Knight's Mus. of Animated Nature*, ii, 781).

hath a bridge across that river. And at the head of the bridge was a hostel in which I was entertained.[1] And mine host, wishing to gratify me, said: "If thou wouldst like to see good fishing, come with me." And so he led me upon the bridge, and I looked and saw in some boats of his that were there certain water-fowl tied upon perches. And these he now tied with a cord round the throat that they might not be able to swallow the fish which they caught. Next he proceeded to put three great baskets into a boat, one at each end and the third in the middle, and then he let the water-fowl loose. Straightway they began to dive into the water, catching great numbers of fish, and ever as they caught them putting them of their own accord into the baskets, so that before long all the three baskets were full. And mine host then took the cord off their necks and let them dive again to catch fish for their own food. And when they had thus fed they returned to their perches and were tied up as before. And some of those fish I had for my dinner.

After departing thence and travelling for many days, I witnessed another fashion of fishing. The men this time

[1] Min. Ram. This edition has in this passage an exceedingly curious variation, difficult to account for. It runs thus: "Mine host.....took us to one side of the bridge where the river was wider, and there we found many boats, and there was one of them employed in fishing by aid of a certain fish called *Marigione*. The host had another such, and *this he* took and kept it by a cord attached to a fine collar. And this *indeed* is a creature that we have seen in our own seas, where many call it *the sea-calf*. It had the muzzle and neck like a fox's, and the forepaws like a dog's, but the toes longer, and the hind feet like a duck's, and the tail with the rest of the body like a fish's. Mine host made him go in the water, and he began to catch quantities of fish with his mouth, always depositing them in the boat. And I swear that in less than two hours he had filled more than two big baskets," etc.

Apollonius related that he had seen at Ægæ, near Issus, a female *phoca*, which was kept for fishing purposes. And the authority quoted at the end of the preceding note, says the seal may be taught to assist in fishing. So probably the story was altered by some one aware of these facts about the seal, but indisposed to believe in the cormorants, and the use of the word *marigione*, apparently for *marangone* "a diver," appears to be a trace of the unaltered narrative.

were in a boat, wherein they had a tub full of hot water; and they were naked, and had each of them a bag slung over his shoulder. Now they dived under water [for half a quarter of an hour or so],[1] and caught the fish with their hands, stowing them in those bags that they had. And when they came up again they emptied the bags into the boat, whilst they themselves got into the tub of hot water, and others went in their turn and did as the first; and so great numbers of fish were taken.[2]

32. Concerning the city of Cansay, which is the greatest city on earth.

Departing thence, I came unto the city of Cansay, a name which signifieth "*the City of Heaven.*"[3] And 'tis the greatest

[1] MIN. RAM.

[2] Fortune describes this mode of fishing also. "The fisherman," he says, "is literally amphibious. He is to be seen perfectly naked, half walking, half swimming; now he raises his arms and hands above his head, and, bringing them down, strikes a sharp blow upon the water, making a loud and splashing noise. His feet are not idle: they warn him that a fish is at hand, and they are now feeling for him amongst the mud at the bottom of the pond. The next moment the fisherman has disappeared.....he appears rubbing his face and eyes with one hand, and in the other the poor little fish which he has just captured. It is immediately placed safely in his basket, and the work goes on as before." He says nothing of the tub of hot water (p. 109).

[3] Cansay or Campsay is, of course, the Quinsai of Marco Polo (see his more detailed account of its marvels), the modern Hangcheufu, called at that time properly Lingan, but also popularly *King-sze*, Seat of the Court or Capital, (the term now officially applied to Pekin), from its having been the seat of the Sung dynasty from 1127 to 1279, when Northern China was in the hands of the *Kin*, or Tartars of Niuche and afterwards of the house of Chinghiz. That is, as Odoric expresses it: "it was the royal city in which the Kings of Manzi formerly dwelt." The city is mentioned under various forms of the same name, representing the Kingsze of the Chinese, by Marignolli, Pegolotti, Ibn Batuta and other Arabic and Persian writers. It seems to have retained the name, indeed, centuries after it ceased to be a capital. For it is marked *Camse* in Carletti's transcription of the name in the *Chinese Atlas* (dated 1595) which he brought home in 1603, and which is now in the Magliabecchian Librarh. (*Baldello Boni*, i, cxiii, cxxi.)

The interpretation of the name as City of Heaven, given by Polo as well as Odoric, was probably current among the Western Asiatics in the

city in the whole world, [so great indeed that I should scarcely venture to tell of it, but that I have met at Venice people in plenty who have been there].[1] It is a good hundred miles in compass, and there is not in it a span of ground which is not well peopled. And many a tenement is there which shall have ten or twelve households comprised in it.[2]

ports of China, and may have grown out of the proverb quoted by Duhalde and Davis: "*Above is Paradise, but Sucheu and Hancheu are here below.*" The glories of these sister cities have vanished under the barbarities of Taeping occupation and imperial re-conquest, but they existed till these recent events with no vast diminution of wealth and splendour. The most enthusiastic corroboration, in comparatively modern times, of Marco Polo's details, is probably that of Father Martini in the *Atlas Sinensis*. He even stands up, on a certain latitude of interpretation, for the ten thousand bridges, which meet with no corroboration from modern official works; the Imperial Geography, quoted in *Chine Moderne*, mentioning only two as worthy of note. But Ibn Batuta's account in the present volume may be compared with Odoric's, and also the following from Wassaf, one of the Persian historians of the Mongols. "Khanzai," he says, "is the greatest city of China, having nearly twenty-four farsangs of compass. Its houses are of wood, adorned with beautiful paintings. From one end to the other there is a distance of three posts. Most of the streets have a length of three farsangs. The city contains sixty-four squares bordered with houses uniformly built. The produce of the salt duty amounts daily to 700 *balish* of paper money. One may judge of the great number of its artizans by that of the working dyers, for of these there are 30,000. The garrison amounts to seven *tománs* (70,000). The census lets us know that there are seventy *tománs* of families taxed. There are seven hundred temples, which look like fortified castles; all full of monks. There are three hundred and sixty bridges [the number which Odoric assigns to Nanking]. An innumerable multitude of boats of all sizes serve for communication. One finds there a prodigious concourse of strangers of all countries on earth, merchants and others. Such is the capital." (In *D'Ohsson*, ii, 417). Extracts of other accounts of Quinsai or Khansa from Arabic and Persian authors are given by Quatremère (*Introd. to Rashideddin*, pp. lxxxvii *seq.*)

[1] MIN. RAM.

[2] This is absurdly converted in HAK. into "houses having ten or twelve stories, one above another;" a circumstance which Chinese habits notoriously contradict. The real reference is probably to the Chinese mode of living, which Davis calls "a universal system of clubbing upon the most economical plan. The Emperor observes in the Sacred Institutions that nine generations once lived under the same roof, and that in the family of Changshe of Kiangchow seven hundred partook of the same daily repast" (iii, 162). I must add, however, that I find the *Mesalat-al-*

And there be also great suburbs which contain a greater population than even the city itself. For the city hath twelve chief gates, and from each of them cities extend to a distance of some eight miles, each one greater than Venice is or Padua. So that you may for six or seven days travel continually about one of these suburbs, and yet shall you seem to have gone but a very little way.

This city is situated upon lagoons of standing water [with canals][1] like the city of Venice. And it hath more than twelve thousand bridges,[2] on each of which are stationed guards guarding the city on behalf of the great Khan. And at the side of this city there flows a river near which it is built like Ferrara by the Po, for it is longer than it is broad.[3]

I made diligent inquiry regarding the city, and asked questions of Christians, Saracens, idolaters, and everybody else, and they all agreed as with one voice that it had a circuit of one hundred miles. And they have an edict from their Lord that every fire shall pay to the great Khan annually a tax of one *balis*, i.e. of five pieces of paper like silk, a sum equal to one florin and a half.[4] And their way of

absar quoted by Quatremère (*Rashideddin*, p. lxxxviii), says the houses of Khansa "*have five stories*".

[1] MIN. RAM.

[2] MIN. RAM. makes Odoric take an oath to this.

[3] The Arabic work *Mesalek-al-Absar* says "the city of Khansa extends in length the space of a whole day's journey, and in breadth the space of a half-day's journey." (In *Quatremère's Rashideddin*, p. lxxxviii.)

[4] A note on the Chinese paper currency will be found in the comment on Pegolotti. In the meantime there is something to be said about the term *balis* which Odoric applies to it, or rather to a certain sum estimated in that currency. It is a genuine word, applied by the Western Asiatics in the same way. We shall meet with it in Pegolotti under the form *balish* (*balisci*), and in Ibn Batuta as *bálisht*, plural *bawálisht*, identical in spelling with a word which he uses elsewhere for a kind of cushion. Two questions arise about the word; Whence is it? and what value did it indicate?

As to the first, my friend Mr. Badger writes: "If corrupted from an Arabic word, which is not improbable, I take this to be *fals*, a small coin,

managing is this, that ten or twelve households will unite to

money; a term in common use throughout the East, but vulgarly pronounced *fils*. According to the author of the Kâmus it also signifies *sigillo impressa charta in collo pendens, quo tributarium esse significabatur*. Perhaps this term was similarly applied to the stamped paper money of the Tartar dynasty." This is *almost* satisfactory, but does not quite carry conviction, both because we find Arabic authors like Ibn Batuta using *bálisht* as a distinct word, and because its meaning seems to have been that of a certain sum or monetary unit, apart from any connexion with paper currency. The Arabic *fals*, according to Reinaud (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, xviii, 237), is merely a corruption of *obolus*, representing copper coin, as *dirhem* from drachma represents silver coin, and *dínár* from denarius gold. It seems therefore unlikely that it should be applied to a large sum of gold or silver. Ibn Batuta tells us that "*bálisht* means the same as a dínár or piece of gold with us," whilst we find that Shah Rokh's embassy to the Ming Emperor in 1420 receives, amongst other presents, *eight balish of silver*. Another of the presents is five thousand *chao*, which was the genuine Chinese name for the paper money. In a story about certain merchants, related by Gregory Abulpharagius in connexion with the invasion of Turkestan by Chinghiz, we find the Khan ordering one *balish of gold* to be paid for each piece of gold brocade, and two *balish of silver* for each piece of muslin. We are told also that Hulaku deposited his treasures in a castle on Lake Urumia, after casting his gold into *balish*.

D'Ohsson does not explain the word, but he quotes three valuations of it from Persian historians. The author of *Tarikh Jahan Kushai* (d. 1282) says that the balish, whether of gold or silver, was a weight of five hundred *mithkals*. Wassaf, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, says the balish of gold was equal to two thousand dínárs; the balish of silver, two hundred dínárs; and the balish cháo, or of paper money, was but ten dínárs. The author of *Rozát ul Janát*, written in the fifteenth century, estimated the balish of gold at five hundred dínárs. I may add that the author of the *Livre du Grant Caan*, a contemporary of Odoric, says the *balisme* of gold was equal to one thousand golden florins. Petis de la Croix says (but I do not know on what authority) that a balish of gold was worth seventy-five golden dínárs, and adds that in short a balish was what in his own day was in Turkey called a *purse*. (*Vie de Genghiz Can*, Ital. tr. Ven., 1737, p. 195.)

With regard to the paper *balish*, Ibn Batuta tells us only that *twenty-five* notes went to it, whilst Odoric says *five* notes went to it, and that it was worth a florin and a half, i.e., about fourteen shillings. Pegolotti says four balish were worth *a sommo*, and that was worth about five florins. This would make the balish about twelve shillings.

It would seem from these various statements that the value of the metallic *balish* had varied, though perhaps a weight of five hundred *mithkals* was its original standard. The difference in value of the paper and silver *balish* was probably entirely due to the depreciation of paper caused

have one fire, and so pay for one fire only.[1] Now of these fires there are reckoned eighty-five *tumans*,[2] and with four more of Saracens,[3] making eighty-nine *tumans*. Now one tuman is equal to ten thousand fires. And besides these there are the Christians and the merchants and others only passing through the country.

This being so, I greatly marvelled how such numbers of human bodies could manage to dwell in one place, and yet there is always there great plenty of bread and pork, and rice and wine, which wine is otherwise called *Bigni*,[4] and is

by the excessive issues and strange financial pranks of the Mongol emperors, including the great Kublai himself.

Freytag's *Lexicon* gives the word and explains it as a Tartar designation for a certain great sum of gold or silver, but offers no etymology. Richardson gives "BALISH, P., *a cushion or pillow, bedding, a staple.* A certain weight of gold; *from* balídan, *to extend, spread, reach, overtake;* to match or equal, *to grow long, to ripen,*" etc.; and also "BALISHE, *a little cushion put on a saddle, which it resembles in shape.*" Now may not the balish have been an ingot of gold or silver resembling in form such a cushion, or some other object of like name? For instance, Richardson also gives "BALIK, *a shoe or slipper;*" and we find in Barrow's account of the presents given at the Chinese court to Lord Macartney's suite, that, as in the case of their Persian predecessors centuries before, a part consisted of ingots of silver, and these were "cast in the form of a Tartar shoe, each being about an ounce in weight."...More about *balish* is to be seen, I find, in Quatremère's notes on Rashideddin, pp. 320-21.

[1] The term "fires" (*ignes*) used by Odoric is technically correct, or nearly so. The official word used in the Chinese census is *yen-hu*, literally *fires-doors*. Persons called *Pao-kia*, or "chiefs of ten fires," are appointed to collect the numbers of their tithing, and this may have been misunderstood by Odoric. (See *Chine Moderne*, p. 187.)

[2] *Tuman* in the Mongol language signifies ten thousand. It was borrowed by the Persians and Arabs, and with them means a weight or sum of money, originally equal to ten thousand *mithkals* or Arab drachms of silver. "The Mogols and Khwaresmians often use the word for ten thousand men, and say (e.g.) that the city of Samarkand affords seven *tumans*, i.e. seventy thousand men capable of bearing arms." (*D'Herbelot* in voce.)

Polo reckons the population of Quinsai at one hundred and sixty tumans of fires, but he does not add Odoric's exaggeration about each fire representing ten or twelve families.

[3] Fires of the *Hoei-hu* or Mahomedans appear as a separate class also in the modern Chinese census. (*Chine Mod.*, p. 167.)

[4] In calling this Chinese liquor *wine*, Odoric does the same as many

reputed a noble drink; and indeed great abundance of all other victuals is found there.

33. Of the marvellous sight that Friar Odoric beheld in a certain monastery of the idolaters.

This is the royal city in which the king of Manzi formerly dwelt. And four of our friars that were in that city had converted a man that was in authority there, in whose house I was entertained. And he said to me one day: "*Atha* (which is to say *Father*)[1] wilt thou come and see the place?" And when I said that I would willingly go, we got into a boat,

later travellers. Before his time Rubruquis says he could not distinguish it except by the smell from the best wine of Auxerre (*Vinum Autisiodorense, qu.* of the Chablis kind?). Ysbrandt Ides says when kept a year or two it very much resembled in colour, taste, and strength the best Rhenish. Father Ripa: "Rice is bruised and compressed into solid cakes. When used these cakes are broken and put into vessels with hot water and fermented. The liquor thus produced might be mistaken for excellent grape-wine. It is made sweet or acid at pleasure by the addition of certain herbs during the fermentation, and a colour is given to it as required." John Bell of Antermony calls it "clear and strong as Canary." A modern traveller's description quoted by Davis compares it to Madeira in colour, and a little in taste. (*Rubruq.*, 299; *Astley*, iii, 567; *Father Ripa*, p. 51; *Davis*, ii, 21.)

This liquor was called by the Mongols *darassun*, the *terracina* of Rubruquis. The word *bigini* or *bignii* is probably the Persian *bagni*, "malt liquor or beer," though this is not a good description of the Chinese beverage. This word *bagni* is applied by some of the people of the Caucasus to their own beer (which Klaproth says is very like London porter), and might be used by the Alans, with whom, as disciples of the old Archbishop John, Odoric would be much in contact whilst at Cambalec. (*Richardson's Pers. Dict.*; *Klaproth, Voy. au Caucase*, i, 243.)

[1] *Atha* is a Turkish word signifying, as Odoric says, *father*. Taking it in connection with *Rabban*, which occurs just below, it may be noted that in 1288 there came on a mission from the Ilkhan of Persia to the court of France, a certain Nestorian bishop, who is termed by the chroniclers *Rabban Ata*. Remusat observes that this is probably no proper name, but the union of two titles in different languages, and cites a certain Syrian priest at the court of Okkodai Khan who was called by the sovereign *Ata*, father, and by the courtiers *Rabban*, master. (*Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc.*, vii, 359.)

It is curious that Ibn Batuta should quote this Turkish word *Atha* as being commonly addressed to old men in this very city of Cansai (iv, 288).

and went to a certain great monastery[1] of the people of the country [which was called THEBE].[2] And he called to him one of their monks, saying: "Seest here this *Franki Rabban?* (which meaneth this Frank monk). He cometh from where the sun sets, and goeth now to Cambalech to pray for the life of the great Khan. Show him therefore, prithee, something worth seeing, so that if he get back to his own country he may be able to say, I have seen such and such strange things in Cansai!" And the monk replied that he would do so with pleasure.

So he took two great buckets full of scraps from the table, and opening the door of a certain shrubbery which was there we went therein. Now in this shrubbery there is a little hill covered with pleasant trees [and all full of grottoes].[2] And as we stood there he took a gong,[3] and began to beat upon it, and at the sound a multitude of animals of divers kinds began to come down from the hill, such as apes, monkeys, and many other animals having faces like men, to the number of some three thousand, and took up their places round about him in regular ranks. And when they were thus ranged round about him, he put down the vessels before them and fed them as fast as he was able. And when they had been fed he began again to beat the gong, and all returned to their retreats. So I, laughing heartily, began to say: "Tell me, prithee, what this meaneth?" And he answered: "These animals be the souls of gentlemen, which we feed in this fashion for the love of God!" But quoth I: "No souls be these, but brute beasts of sundry kinds." And

[1] The monastery which they visited in a boat was probably on the lake called *Sihu* ("Western Lake"), of which, with the temples, monasteries, gardens, and palaces which bordered it, Polo gives a brilliant account, confirmed by Martini and Alvaro Semedo, and to some considerable extent in later times by Barrow. (*Autobiog.*, p. 104.)

[2] MIN. RAM.

[3] *Cimbalum.* No doubt *gong* is the proper thing, though perhaps not the proper word to put into Odoric's mouth.

he said: "No, forsooth, they be nought else but the souls of gentlemen. For if a man be noble his soul entereth the form of some one of these noble animals; but the souls of boors enter the forms of baser animals and dwell therein!" And say what I list against it, nought else would he believe.[1]

But if anyone should desire to tell all the vastness and great marvels of this city, a good quire of stationery[2] would not hold the matter I trow. For 'tis the greatest and noblest city, and the finest for merchandize, that the whole world containeth.

34. Of the city called Chilenfu, and of the great river Talay, and of certain Pygmies.

Departing from that city and travelling for six days, I arrived at another great city called CHILENFU,[3] the walls

[1] That this exhibition really took place and was well known to travellers in China, is obvious from the allusion which John Marignolli makes to it (*infra*).

[2] *Unus bonus quaternus stationis hæc talia tenere non posset.* This use of the word *statio* for paper, though so directly leading to our use of the word *stationer*, does not occur among thirteen significations of *statio* in the modern Paris edition of Ducange.

[3] The city of Chilenfu is undoubtedly Nankin, a conclusion at which I had arrived before seeing that Professor Kunstmann had come to the same. Six days is, however, too short an estimate of the distance from Hangcheu, which in a straight line appears to be about 125 miles.

Though the plan of Nankin in Duhalde does not show its canals and bridges, Martini says expressly of it: "This city has very many bridges of stone, supported on arches"; and again, in speaking of Sucheu, he observes, "that though that city has a great number of bridges all of stone, and some of them magnificent, there are not so many as at the capital of the province." (In *Thévenot*, p. 120, 124.)

The circuit of the modern walls of Nankin is about twenty miles; so that if the suburbs were at all extensive the compass of the *town* may have been nearly what Odoric gives. Le Comte calls the circuit of the city forty-eight miles; Gemello Carreri calls it thirty-six, and quotes others who called it forty (*Astley*, iii, 553; *Carreri, Giro del Mondo*). The latter also speaks of its canals as *molti e profondi*.

It is well known that Nankin had been for several centuries, under the Sung and some earlier dynasties, the capital of the empire; and after Odoric's time it became so again for a short time on the expulsion of the

whereof have a circuit of forty miles. And in it there be some three hundred and sixty stone bridges, finer than the whole world can show. In this city was the first residence of the king of Manzi, where he used to dwell. It is very well peopled, and there is such an amount of craft thereat as is right marvellous to behold. The city is planted passing well, and hath great store of all good things.

And quitting this city, I came to a certain great river which is called TALAY,[1] and this is the greatest river that exists in the world. For where it is narrowest it is some seven miles in width. And this river passeth through the land of the Pygmies, or Biduini, whose city is called CATHAN,

Mongols. With regard to the name which our traveller gives the city, it must be noted that *Nanking* signifies merely "Southern Court"; the name of the city being Kianningfu. *Kinlingfu* is also given by Demailla as one of the ancient names of Nankin, and it would appear from Pauthier (*Chine Moderne*, p. 60) that this name, signifying the "Golden Hill", is still in occasional use. But perhaps the Chelinfu of Odoric is merely a provincial pronunciation of Kianningfu, putting *l* for *n*, as we find that the Portuguese in later days called Nankin *Lankin* and Ningpo *Liampo*, after what was, as we are told, the *Fokien* pronunciation. Indeed, in Hakluyt's "Early Reports of China learned through the Portugals," this province of Kiangnan or Nankin, "the fift shire of China", as he quaintly calls it, is termed *Chelim*, the very name that we have here. (See Martini in *Thévenot*, p. 120; *Mendez Pinto* passim; and *Hakluyt*, l. c.)

It is true that Marco Polo mentions a city of the same name, Quelinfu, also noted for fine stone bridges. But this is *Kienningfu* in the interior of Fokien, a region which Odoric has now left far behind. Here, however, we see exactly the same change of letters that we have supposed.

[1] This name in some versions reads *Tanay*, which is a confusion with the better known Tanais or Don (called *Tanay* in the Catalan map), and in others *Doltalay* and the like, a mistake of the kind spoken of in note at page 58. The great river is of course the Takiang or Yangtse, and the name given by Odoric (which seems to be mentioned by no other traveller of his time) is the Mongol *Dalai* or *Talai*, "the sea," which lends a figurative title to the great Lama. That this word was applied as a name to the Kiang by the Mongols, I learn by an incidental quotation (from *Fischer de Origine Tartarorum*, p. 76, cited by J. G. Meinert in his Essay on Marignolli's Travels; see Introd. to Marignolli *infrà*). The use of the word Dalai in this way seems, therefore, to be quite parallel to that of *Bahr* as applied by the Arabs to the Nile. So also the Tibetans apply the term *Samandrang* (*Samudra*, "the Ocean") to the Indus and Sutlej (*J.R.G.S*, xxiii, 34).

and that is one of the best and finest cities in the world. These pygmies are three spans in height, and they do greater work in cotton, as it is called, than any people in the world.[1] And the full-sized men who dwell there beget sons who are more than half of them like those pygmies who are so small. The women are wedded in their fifth year, and so there are born and begotten of these little people a countless number. These pygmies, both male and female, are famous for their small size. But they have rational souls like ourselves.[2]

35. Concerning the cities of Iamzai and of Menzu.

And as I travelled upon this river Talay, I passed many

[1] The *Cathan* of the text is only one out of many readings, but it is that to which the others seem to point. It may be Khoten that is meant, if it is worth while to connect any real name with this legend. But the fine cotton was an element nearer at hand, as the western part of the province of Kiangnan was noted for its enormous production of cotton cloth.

Sir Thomas Brown points out that the stories of pygmies were brought under the shield of scripture by the Vulgate version of Ezekiel xxvii, 12. *Sed et* Pygmæi *qui erant in turribus tuis*, etc., and goes on afterwards: "Though Paulus Jovius delivers that there are pygmies in Japan, Pigafetta about the Moluccas, and Olaus Magnus placeth them in Greenland, yet wanting frequent confirmation in a matter so confirmable, this affirmation carrieth but slow persuasion." (*Vulgar Errors*, i, 424).

Though we cannot tell how Odoric got hold of this story, there is a considerable combination of "authorities" to place pygmies in the inland countries west of China. We may cite two of these. Reinaud's Arab voyagers say that in the mountains of China there is a town called *Táyu*, whose inhabitants are pygmies. But the story most in point is contained in a rubric of the Catalan world-map (1375). To the N.W. of Catayo near the Himalayas it represents a combat of pygmies and cranes, with a legend that runs thus: "Here grow little men who have but five palms in length; and though they be little, and not fit for weighty matters, yet be they brave and *clever at weaving*, and at keeping cattle. And know ye that these men have children when they be but twelve years old; and they live commonly to but forty years, and have not a proper age (?) And valiantly they defend themselves from the cranes, and take and eat them. And here endeth the land of Catay." (See *Ctesias* xi, in Didot's edit. 1858; *Pliny* vii, 2; *Remusat, Nouv. Mel. Asiat.*, i; *Reinaud, Rel. des Voyages, etc.*, p. 47; *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 141).

[2] This passage is very confused in almost all versions. I have nearly followed Ramusio's (larger) which is the most intelligible.

cities and towns, and I came to a certain city called IAMZAI,[1] at which our minor friars have a house. And here also be three churches of the Nestorians. This is a noble city, and hath good forty-eight to fifty-eight tumans of fire-places, every tuman being ten thousand. In this city are to be had in great abundance all kinds of things on which Christian people live. And the lord of this city hath from salt alone a revenue of five hundred tumans of *balis*; and a *balis* being worth a florin and a half, thus a tuman maketh fifteen thousand florins. But as a grace to this people the said lord made a remission to them of two hundred tumans, lest distress should be created.[2]

There is a custom in this city that if any one desire to give a great dinner or entertainment to his friends he goes

[1] This great city of Yamzai, which he approaches from Nanking by the Kiang, is, I think, undoubtedly Yangchufu, the first great city on the canal north of the Kiang, and only a short distance from that river. It is the Yangui of Marco Polo, who was governor there for three years. At an earlier period the province under Yangchu had comprehended all Kiangnan and part of Honan and Kiangsi. But it has always continued a place of great trade and population, insomuch that P. Bouvet and his party estimated the latter at two millions!

Martini specifies that the emperor had in this city a revenue office which drew very large sums, *chiefly from the distribution of salt*, there being many salt works to the east of the city.

The city appears as *Iangio* in the Catalan map, almost always surpassing in accuracy of knowledge; whilst in travellers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find *Iamceu* (Trigautius), *Iangsé* (Nieuhof), *Yamsé* (Montanus), forms close to that of Odoric. It is probably also the *Yaneku* or *Janku* of Arab writers.

Marco Polo does not mention the Nestorian churches, and the Franciscan establishments were all subsequent to his time. (*Duhalde*, i, 69; *Martini in Thèvenot*, p. 129, etc.)

[2] The numbers in this paragraph seem corrupt in all the MSS. For some state the revenue at fifty tumans of Balish, others at fifty thousand tumans, whilst all state the *remission* at two hundred tumans. As this would exceed the whole amount in the first reading, and be a too insignificant fraction of the second, I have thought that *five hundred tumans* must have been the true reading of the amount of revenue. At Odoric's estimate of the balish this would be equal to about £3,400,000. According to a statement quoted by Pauthier the Chinese revenue from salt in 1753 was equivalent to about £1,779,372 (*Chine Moderne*, p. 195).

to one of the hostels which are established for this very purpose, and saith to the host thereof: "Make me a dinner for such a number of my friends, and I propose to expend such and such a sum upon it." Then the host does exactly as ordered, and the guests are better served than they would have been in the entertainer's own house.

This city hath also a vast amount of shipping.

About ten miles from this city, towards the mouth of that great river Talay, there is a certain other city called MENZU.[1] This city hath shipping finer and more numerous peradventure than any other city in the world. And all the vessels are as white as snow, being coated with whitewash.[2] And on board of them you find halls and taverns and many other conveniences, as handsome and well ordered as are anywhere to be found. Indeed it is something hard to believe when you hear of, or even when you see, the vast scale of the shipping in those parts.[3]

[1] I believe that Odoric's expression, "*in capite hujus fluminis*", is correctly rendered above, though our inconsistent idiom puts a river's head and its mouth at opposite extremities. Thus Polo says of the same great river (Ramusian edition), "*E per lunghezza fine dove* mette capo *nel mare Oceano*, etc. And Barbaro says of the Erdil or Wolga, "*il quale* mette capo *nel Mar di Bachu.*" Fra Mauro, however, has not understood it so; for though here evidently making use of Odoric, he has put the name of Menzu *up* the river from Iamzai.

The distance and direction assigned would bring us to about Chinkiangfu, which was indeed celebrated for the vast numbers of vessels that used to be gathered there. But it does not seem to have borne any name resembling Menzu.

The fact is, that Mingchu (or Menzu in Odoric's spelling) is the old name of Ningpo, and there can be little doubt that there is some mistake in the text as to the position assigned to it. Perhaps Odoric was here speaking only from hearsay, and had not visited the place himself. *Mingio* appears in the Catalan map as the next seaport northward from Zayton. (See *Biot, Diction. des Noms Anciens et Mod. compris dans l'Empire Chinois.*)

[2] "*Gesso depicta.*" The Chinese caulk with "a kind of composition of lime, oil, or rather rosin which distils from the tree called *tongshu*, and okam of Bambu. When the stuff is dry one would take it for lime, which is the chief ingredient, and nothing else." (*Astley*, iv, 128.)

[3] Two examples are worth quoting of the view taken by more modern

36. Of the river Caramoran; and of certain other cities visited by Friar Odoric.

Quitting that city and travelling by fresh water channels, I passed many cities and towns, and after eight days I came to a certain city named LENZIN, which standeth on a river called CARAMORAN.[1] This river passeth through the very midst of Cathay, and doth great damage to that country when it breaks its banks, just as the Po does by Ferrara. And as I travelled by that river towards the east, and passed many towns and cities, I came to a certain city which is

travellers of the vast amount of craft. One party of missionaries estimated that the vessels of all sizes which they met on the canal would suffice to build a bridge from Macao to Goa. (*Astley*, iv, 109.) And Barrow calculated that there were at the single city of Nanchangfu, south of the Poyang Lake, 100,000 tons of a class of vessels averaging 250 tons, besides multitudes of smaller craft. (*Autobiog.*, p. 107).

[1] *Kara-muren* (*Mong.*, "the Black River"), called by the Chinese *Hoang Ho* or the Yellow River. The embankment of the river is said to date from the twenty-second century B.C. Its regulation has ever been a source of anxiety to the Chinese Government, and there used to be a tax on the Hong merchants at Canton expressly on account of this object. The will of the Emperor Kea King, who died in 1820, has the following passage:— "The Yellow River has, from the remotest ages, been China's sorrow. Whenever the mouth of the stream has been impeded by sand-banks, it has higher up its banks created alarm by flooding the country", etc. This seems to have been eminently the case in 1855 or 1856, when the stream of the Hoang Ho near the debouchment of the Great Canal was reduced to a few yards in width, the northern banks having given way far up, and the inundations poured over Shantung. On this occasion, much of the water was reported to have escaped into the Gulf of Pecheli, which the Chinese believe to have been the original exit. During the reign of the last Mongol Emperor, a project was adopted for restoring it to this channel. The discontent created by this scheme assisted in exciting the movement for the expulsion of the dynasty. (*Davis*, i, 137, 190; *De Guignes*, iv, 216; *J. R. G. S.*, xxviii, 294, see also *Biot* in *Jour. As.*, ser. iv, vols. i and ii.)

Lenzin is probably Linching, which appears in Berghaus, and in Keith Johnston's Royal Atlas, on the Great Canal very near the 35th degree of latitude. It is plain that Odoric either confounds the canal with the Hoang Ho or takes it for a branch of that river. Indeed, the Chinese official geography quoted in Pauthier's *Chine Moderne* (p. 5), describes a river called the *Yu-hoang-ho*, as traversing Shantung and Pecheli, and introducing itself successively into the Y-ho, the Wen-ho, the

called SUNZUMATU,[1] which hath a greater plenty of silk than perhaps any other place on earth, for when silk there is at its dearest you can still have forty pounds for less than eight groats. There is in the place likewise great store of all kinds of merchandize, and likewise of bread and wine, and all other good things. [And seeing that there were in this place more people than I had seen in any other, when I asked how that came to pass, they told me that it was because the air of the place was so salubrious, insomuch that there were few that died of aught but old age].[2]

Wei-ho, the Chang-ho, and the Tien. This must surely be the canal itself, and the name seems to show that it has been in some way identified with the Hoang-ho. Linching is probably also the Lingui of Polo, and the Lincegam of Nieuhof.

[1] There can be little doubt this is the Singuimatu of Polo, who nearly always substitutes *gui* for *zu* or *chu*, a Tartar idiom according to Martini (p. 145). *Matu* (matheu) signifies a place of river trade; literally a "horse's head", and so a "jetty". Marsden and Baldello Boni are probably right in identifying Singuimatu with Lintsin-chu, a well known city of Shantung, near the junction of the canal with the Wei River coming from the south-west. I am aware of what Klaproth has written on this subject, identifying the place with that called *Fenchui-nanwang*, where the river Wen-ho, introduced from the north-east, is made to divide its waters north and south in the manner described by Marco. He supposes the name in Polo to be a corrupt transcript of *Fenchui-matheu*, "The Port of the Division of the Waters". I venture to doubt this ingenious suggestion; *first*, because the independent occurrence of the name in Odoric shows that it is not corrupt; *secondly*, because Marco says distinctly that the stream in question comes from the *south*, which corresponds with the Wei and not with the Wen; and, *thirdly*, because we have no evidence adduced that this Fenchui was a place of trade at all; whereas Trigautius Martini Nieuhof and others concur with later authorities in speaking of Lintsin as one of the most important commercial towns of the empire, in accordance with Odoric's notice. *E.g.*, Trigautius says:—"Lincinum urbs est e maximis, et commercio celebris in paucis (?), ad eam enim non provincialia solum mercimonia sed e toto quoque regno pervadunt." (*Polo* in *Ram.*, cliii; *Klaproth, Mem. Rel. à l'Asie*, iii, 325; *Trigautii, Exp. Sinensis*, 345; *Martini Atlas Sinensis in loc.*; *Astley*, iii, 418.)

MIN. RAM. places Sunzomatu four days from Peking, which would tend to identify it with Tientsin. But Tientsin is said to be quite modern. (*Biot* in voc.) P.S. I find since writing the above that Pauthier (*Le Livre de Marc Pol*, p. 444) considers the Singui of Polo to be certainly *Thsiningcheu*. And if he is right in saying that the vulgar pronunciation of that name would be *Thsinju*, this may well be accepted.

[2] MIN. RAM.

37. The Friar reacheth Cambalech, and discourseth thereof, and of the Great Caan's Palace there.

And departing thence, I passed on through many a city and many a town towards the east, until I came to that noble city CAMBALECH, an old city of that famous province of CATHAY.[1] The Tartars took the city, and then built another at a distance of half-a-mile, which they called TAYDO.

[1] *Khan-bálig* (*Mong.*, "The Khan's city"), the Cambalu of Marco, PEKING. The Chinese capital was still so called by the Turks in the time of P. Ricci, and may probably be called so to this day.

The city on this site was originally (*multum est vetus et antiqua*, as Odoric says) the capital of the kingdom of Yan. B.C. 222, this was conquered by the Thsin sovereigns of China, and the city lost its importance. A.D. 936, it was taken by the Tartar *Khitan*, and became their "Nan-king" or "Southern Capital". In 1125, it fell to the Kin, ancestors of the Manchus, who gave it the name of *Si-king* or "Western Capital". In 1153, it received from the fourth Kin sovereign the name of *Chung-tu* or "Central Court". It seems also to have been known as *Yen-king* under this dynasty. It was captured by Chinghiz in 1215, and in 1264 Kublai made it his chief residence. In 1267 he built a new city, three *li* to the north-east of the old one, to which was given the name of *Ta-tu* or "Great Court", called by the Mongols *Daïdu*, the Taydo of Odoric and Taidu of Polo, who gives a description of its dimensions, the number of its gates, etc., similar to that in the text. The Chinese accounts give only eleven gates.

This city was abandoned as a royal residence on the expulsion of the Mongol dynasty in 1368, but re-occupied in 1421 by the third Ming Emperor, who built the walls as they now exist, reducing their extent and the number of the gates to nine. This is what is commonly called the *Tartar city* of the present day (called also by the Chinese *Lau-chhing* or "Old Town"), which therefore represents the Taydo of Odoric. The ruins of the older Yen-king or Chungtu were still visible in the time of the Ming, but they were embraced in the new southern city called *Waichhing* or "Outer Town", the wall of which was built in 1554.

The circumference of the present Tartar city appears from the plans to be about fifteen miles. Martini speaks of it as having still twelve gates in his time, but he was almost certainly wrong. It has three on the south side, and two on each of the others. The circuit of the two cities together is about twenty-two miles according to the scale on the plan given by Pauthier, though Timkowski states it at forty versts, or 26⅔ miles. But Odoric's dimensions may have been quite correct, for the Tartar city was larger, and there was a space of more than half-a-mile between the two. (*Timkowski*, i, 315, etc., etc.)

This latter city hath twelve gates, between every two of which there is a space of two long miles; and betwixt the two cities also there is a good amount of population, the compass of the two together being more than forty miles. Here the Great Khan[1] hath his residence, and hath a great palace, the walls of which are some four miles in compass. And within this space be many other fine palaces. [For within the great palace wall is a second enclosure, with a distance between them of perhaps half a bowshot, and in the midst between those two walls are kept his stores and all his slaves; whilst within the inner enclosure dwells the Great Khan with all his family, who are most numerous, so many sons and daughters, sons-in-law, and grandchildren hath he; with such a multitude of wives and councillors and secretaries and servants, that the whole palace of four miles' circuit is inhabited.][2]

And within the enclosure of the great palace there hath been a hill thrown up on which another palace is built, the most beautiful in the whole world. And this whole hill is planted over with trees, wherefrom it hath the name of the *Green Mount*. And at the side of this hill hath been formed a lake [more than a mile round],[2] and a most beautiful bridge built across it. And on this lake there be such multitudes of wild-geese and ducks and swans,[3] that it is something to

[1] I am not sure that a faithful version should not render *Magnus Canis* as the "Great Dog," for in most copies the word is regularly declined, *Canis, Cani, Canem,* as if he were really a bow-wow. According to Ludolf, an old German translation of Mandeville does introduce the mighty prince as *Der Grosse Hund*. That author thinks that some such *double entendre* may have led to the story in Pliny about a people who have a dog for their king, a suggestion which would have been a happy one had the people in question dwelt in the heart of Asia instead of the heart of Africa. (*Ludolf, Supp. to Comm. in Hist. Æthiop.* p. 26.) The familiarity of North Italy with the Can Grande of Verona may have made Odoric and his contemporaries look less strangely on the denomination.

[2] MIN. RAM.

[3] The word is in all the best MSS. *Cesani* or *Cesenæ*, for which MUS. substitutes a gloss "*avium aquaticarum*." The word is not to be found in

wonder at; so that there is no need for that lord to go from home when he wisheth for sport. Also within the walls are thickets full of sundry sorts of wild animals; so that he can follow the chase when he chooses without ever quitting the domain.[1]

Ducange, or, I believe, any Italian dictionary. It occurs also in some of the MSS. of Marco Polo describing the Khan's falconry as *Cesini*, where others have *Cycni*, and where Baldello Boni considers it a copyist's error for that word. I do not believe it to be so, for I find *Cecini* also coupled with *gruve* or cranes, in a list of poultry and game, etc., in the book of Giovanni da Uzzano on Merchandize. (*Della Decima*, iv, 63.) It is, therefore, almost certainly a word which should be recognised, though most likely it means swans, and so I have rendered it. Indeed the old French Polo just edited by Pauthier has *sesnes* (p. 310).

[1] In this account of the palace we have an instance of true particulars occurring only in the Minor Ramusian version, e. g. the double enceinte. This is mentioned by Polo, and is found in the existing palace, which appears to preserve many of the features of that of the Mongols, though the latter was burnt about thirty years after their fall. Indeed the arrangement of royal enclosures in all the Indo-Chinese countries, including Burma and Java, appears to follow the same traditional rules, probably derived originally from India. The palace at Amarapura, with its square form, its successive enclosures, its masonry basement eight or nine feet from the ground, its hall of gold and vermilion, etc., quite corresponded on a smaller scale with this description.

The existing Tartar city at Pekin officially termed *Nei-chhing* or "Inner-Town," encloses a second called *Hoang-chhing* or "Imperial (yellow?) Town," which, no doubt, represents the outer palace of Odoric's day, and that includes a third called *Fseu-kin-chhing*, or "Red City," which is the actual residence.

The Green Mount, to which Kublai, anticipating the experiments of zealous planters in our day, caused remarkable trees of every bulk to be transferred with the earth attaching to their roots, still stands conspicuous within the palace walls of Pekin. "Your eye rests with pleasure upon this round wood-covered hill, rising picturesquely from the middle of the glittering roofs and umbrageous trees within the palace walls." (*Swinhoe, North China Campaign*, p. 353.) It is called by the Chinese *King-Shan*, "Court Mountain," *Wan-Su-Shan*, "Ten thousand years Mount," or *Meï-Shan*, "Coal Hill," the last from the material of which it is traditionally said to be composed, as a reserve store in case of siege. It rises 160 feet above the natural soil, and on it the last Ming Emperor met a miserable end. The lake also (called *Thai-i-chi*) still exists as a swampy hollow; and the "beautiful bridge" is there in decay. (*Polo*, i, 10; *Exped. de Chine par P. Varin*, 1862; *Davis*, ii, 75; *Timkowski*, ii, 154; *Swinhoe, u.s.*; *Pauthier, Chine Moderne*, p. 19.)

But his own palace in which he dwells is of vast size and splendour. The basement thereof is raised about two paces from the ground, and within there be four-and-twenty columns of gold; and all the walls are hung with skins of red leather, said to be the finest in the world. In the midst of the palace is a certain great jar, more than two paces in height, entirely formed of a certain precious stone called *Merdacas*,[1] [and so fine, that I was told its price exceeded the value of four great towns].[2] It is all hooped round with gold, and in every corner thereof is a dragon[3] represented as in act to strike most fiercely. And this jar hath also fringes of network of great pearls hanging therefrom, and these fringes are a span in breadth. Into this vessel drink is conveyed by certain conduits from the court of the palace;

[1] Certainly the oriental Jade or *Yu* of the Chinese, which stood as high in the estimation of the Mongols, and figures largely in their legends and their poetry. Thus when Chinghiz was proclaimed Khagan on the grassy meadows of the river Kerulan, a certain stone spontaneously flew asunder, and disclosed a great seal of graven jade, which was kept as a palladium by his descendants, and was almost the only thing saved by the last emperor of his house when flying from the Chinese insurgents. (*Schmidt*, pp. 71, 133.)

The Mongol word for jade cited in this authority is *khas*, which is doubtless the termination of the name used in the text.

I cannot say what the first part of that name is. But it is worthy of notice that the mountain near Khotan, which supplies some of the best jade, is called, according to Timkowski, *Mirjái*, or *Kash-tash* (*Turk.* "Jade-rock"). Can Merdacas=*Mirjai-khas*? Further, can the Tartar name have anything to do with the Persian *khás*, "royal, noble"? Crawfurd technically styles the Burmese jade "noble serpentine," and in the narrative of Goës we find the jade of Yarkand spoken of as "*marmoris illius apud Sinas* nobilissimi."

It may be added that Pegolotti names, among various kinds of silk in the Eastern markets, *seta merdachascia*; what does *this* mean? (*Pegolotti*, p. 301.) Since writing these words I find that Freytag's Arab. lexicon has "*Midaqs*; Sericum crudum," found also in Armenian as *Metaks* (*St. Martin* on *Lebeau*, ix, 226), which is, therefore, probably the *seta merdachascia* of Pegolotti, as well as the *μέταξα*, *μέταξις* of the Byzantines. Is it possible that this word was an Orientalised reflexion of *Μηδικὴ* which Procopius says had been the old Greek name for silk stuffs?

[2] MIN. RAM.

[3] *Serpens.*

and beside it are many golden goblets from which those drink who list.

In the hall of the palace also are many peacocks of gold. And when any of the Tartars wish to amuse their lord, then they go one after the other and clap their hands; upon which the peacocks flap their wings, and make as if they would dance. Now this must be done either by diabolic art, or by some engine underground.

38. The friar setteth forth the state of the Khan's court.

But when the Lord Khan is seated on his imperial throne, the Queen is placed at his left hand; and a step lower are two others of his women; whilst at the bottom of the steps stand all the other ladies of his family. And all who are married wear upon their heads the foot of a man as it were, a cubit and a half in length, and at the top of that foot there are certain cranes' feathers, the whole foot being set with great pearls; so that if there be in the whole world any fine and large pearls they are to be found in the decorations of those ladies.[1]

[1] The coiffure of the Tartar married women is thus described by Rubruquis: "They have an ornament for the head called *Bocca* (or *Botta*, perhaps *Bocta*). This is made of the bark of trees or similar light stuff, round, and large enough to require both hands to span it. It is more than a cubit high, and is square above, like the capital of a pillar. The whole affair is covered with silk, and on the top or capital they put in the middle a thin tuft of quills or slender canes, also of a cubit or more. And this tuft is adorned at top with peacock's feathers, and round about with mallard's feathers and precious stones" (p. 232). Carpini describes it in the same way (p. 615). And Ibn Batuta says of a princess of Kipchak: "On her head was a *boghthak*, that is, a high tiara incrusted with jewels, and decked at the apex with peacock's feathers" (ii, 379 and 388). But the only confirmation of Odoric about the "man's foot" that I find is given by Ricold of Montecroce. After telling a story of how the Tartar women helped to gain a great victory he adds: "In memory of this victory the Tartars granted leave to their wives to wear lofty crowns to the height of a cubit or more. But lest the woman should wax over proud thereupon, the Tartars also determined that these crowns should at the summit take the form of a foot. And in fact at the top of such a great crown there is as it were a foot over it, as if to maintain a testimony

On the right hand of the king is placed his first-born son that shall reign after him; and below stand all who are of the blood royal. And there be four scribes also, to take down all the words that the king may utter. And in front of the king stand his barons and others, an innumerable multitude, and nobody dares say a word unless the lord shall address him, except the jesters, who may say something to amuse their lord. But even they must not be bold enough to transgress the bounds which the king hath laid down for them.

And before the gates of the palace stand barons as warders, to see that no one touch the threshold of the door; and if they catch anyone doing so they beat him soundly.[1]

And when that great lord wishes to make an entertainment he shall have fourteen thousand barons with coronets on their heads waiting upon him at the banquet. And every one of them shall have a coat on his back such that the pearls on it alone are worth some fifteen thousand florins. And the court is ordered passing well, all being ranked by tens and hundreds and thousands, and all having their duties assigned, standing answerable one to another for any breach either to their own charges or in the charges of those subordinate to them.

I, Friar Odoric, was full three years in that city of his,

that the women did not win the victory alone, but by help of their husbands, who came to their rescue; and as if it were said to them:— 'Crowned though ye be, forget not that ye be under the power of your husbands!' and so by a kind of natural reason they seem to have divined that which is written in the Law of God, '*Sub viri potestate eris.*'" (*Peregrinatores Quatuor*, p. 116.) Notices of relics of this Tartar headdress still existing are quoted in the *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. iv, tom. x, 169, xvi, 157. It appears from one of these that the name *Bogtac* still indicates the headdress of women of a certain age among the Circassians and Ossetes.

[1] Marco Polo explains that it was a grievous offence to touch the imperial threshold, and strangers were officially warned of this before their entrance. Rubruquis mentions the same; his comrade got into a scrape for breaking the rule, and was not allowed again to visit the court. Carpini indeed says: "*Si quis calcat limen stationis alicujus ducis* interficitur." (*Polo*, i, 15; *Rub.*, 255, 268; 320, 338; *Carpini*, 625, 741.)

and often present at those festivals of theirs;[1] for we Minor Friars have a place assigned to us at the emperor's court, and we be always in duty bound to go and give him our benison. So I took the opportunity to make diligent inquiry from Christians, Saracens, and all kinds of idolaters, and likewise from our own converts to the faith, of whom there be some who are great barons at that court, and have to do with the king's person only.[2] Now these all told me with one voice as follows: that the king's players alone amount to xiii tumans; that of those others who keep the dogs and wild beasts and fowls there be xv tumans; of leeches to take charge of the royal person there be four hundred idolaters, eight Christians, and one Saracen. And all these have from the king's court whatever provision they require.[3] [And there be never more nor fewer, but when one dies another is appointed in his place.][4] As for the rest of the establishment it is past counting. [In short, the court is truly magnificent, and the most perfectly ordered that there is in the world, with barons, gentlemen, servants, secretaries, Chris-

[1] MIN. RAM., "in company with the Minor Friars, who have a monastery there; and they used to send us from the court supplies enough for a thousand friars! And, by the true God, there is as great a difference between that prince and those of Italy, as between a very rich man and a beggar."

[2] These great courtiers may have been some of the Christian Alans of whom we hear some years later in connection with the legation of Marignolli.

[3] The Sultan of Dehli about this time was said to have 10,000 falconers, 1200 musicians, 1200 physicians, and 1000 *poets!* (*Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 185).

It is not inappropriate to these statistics which Odoric puts forward so solemnly, to refer to a passage in the history of Yesontimur, the Emperor at this time. Alarmed by evil prognostics, he called for an honest report as to what fault in his administration could have excited divine displeasure. The report, after blaming the superstitious cherishing of Bonzes and Foworship, goes on; "Whilst the palace is crammed with eunuchs, astrologers, physicians, women, and other idlers, whose entertainment amounts to exorbitant sums, the people are plunged in extreme misery, etc., etc. (*Deguignes*, iv, 206; *Gaubil*, p. 259).

[4] MIN. RAM.

tians, Turks, and idolaters, all receiving from the court what they have need of.][1]

39. Of the order of the Great Caan when he journeyeth.

Now, this lord passeth the summer at a certain place which is called SANDU,[2] situated towards the north, and the coolest habitation in the world. But in the winter season he abideth in Cambalech. And when he will ride from the one place to the other this is the order thereof. He hath four armies of horsemen, one of which goeth a day's march in front of him, one at each side, and one a day's march in rear, so that he goeth always, as it were, in the middle of a cross. And marching thus, each army hath its route laid down for it day

[1] MIN. RAM.

[2] The Ciandu of Marco Polo, where stood that magnificent park and palace, his description of which set Coleridge a-dreaming (or dreaming that he dreamt) that wonderful poem which tells how

"In Xanadu did Kublai Khan
A spacious pleasure dome decree."

This becomes all the more curious when we are told on an authority of which Coleridge could have known nothing, that the palace was designed to correspond with one which Kublai *had seen in a dream*, and of which *his memory had retained the plan*.

The place was originally Kaiphingfu, called by the Tartars Kaiminfu, the Chemenfu (miswritten Clemenfu) of Polo; it stood about 150 *li* beyond the wall, and ten days' journey from Pekin. From Kublai it received the name of *Shangtu* or "Upper Court"; more than one palace was built in the vicinity, and from 1264 when Kublai began to visit this district, till the fall of the dynasty, these palaces continued to be frequented by the emperors as summer residences.

In the wail which Ssanang Setzen, the Mongol historian, puts into the mouth of Toghon Temur, the last of the dynasty, when flying from his throne, the changes of lamentation are rung upon the loss of "My DAITU, my capital, my gloriously adorned! my SHANGTU, my cool and delicious summer seat, pleasure dwelling of the earlier gods!"

The ruins of the palace and city existed at the end of the seventeenth century, when they were seen by Gerbillon; and the imperial geography of the existing dynasty mentions that those ruins contained an inscription of the reign of Kublai. The city is stated to be that which appears in D'Anville's map as *Tchao-Naiman-Soumé-hoton*. (*Klaproth's Rashideddin* in *Journ. Asiat.*, 2nd ser., xi, 345-50; M. Polo, Introd. 6; i, 24; *Duhalde*, iv; *Deguignes*, i, 296; *Schmidt*, p. 137).

by day, and findeth at its halts all necessary provender. But his own immediate company hath its order of march thus. The king travelleth in a two-wheeled carriage, in which is formed a very goodly chamber, all of lign-aloes and gold, and covered over with great and fine skins, and set with many precious stones. And the carriage is drawn by four elephants, well broken in and harnessed, and also by four splendid horses, richly caparisoned. And alongside go four barons, who are called *Cuthe*,[1] keeping watch and ward over the chariot that no hurt come to the king.[2] Moreover, he carrieth with him in his chariot twelve gerfalcons; so that even as he sits therein upon his chair of state or other seat, if he sees any birds pass he lets fly his hawks at them. And none may dare to approach within a stone's throw of the carriage, unless those whose duty brings them there. And thus it is that the king travelleth.

And so also his women travel, according to their degree; and his heir-apparent travels in similar state.

As for the numbers which the lord hath with him on his progress, 'tis difficult to believe or conceive of them. The number of the troops in those armies that attend the lord is fifty tumans, and these are entirely provided with everything by the lord. And if anyone happen to die of those who are enrolled among them, another instantly replaces him; so that the number is always complete.[3]

[1] Most read *Zuche* or *Çuche*. This *Cuthe*, which seems best, is in FAR. only.

[2] Demailla and Gaubil relate that there were four Mongol captains who had devoted themselves with singular fidelity to guarding the person of Chinghiz Khan; the descendants of these four Mongols were all employed in the body-guard, and were called the four *Kie-sie* (according to Gaubil *Kuesie*); they were withdrawn from this office only to become ministers of state. (*Demailla, Hist. Gen. de la Chine*, quoted in *Il Milione*, ii, 181; *Gaubil*, p. 6).

Odoric's four barons undoubtedly were these Kuesie, whom Polo calls *Quesitan*, and the reading *Cuthe* has therefore been preferred to the Zuche of most MSS.

[3] Here MIN. RAM. has the following passage. [And countless is the

40. The greatness of the Khan's dominion; and how hostels are provided therein; and how news are carried to the lord.

This empire hath been divided by the lord thereof into

number of strange beasts that he keeps. Among these were six horses, each of which had six feet and legs. And I saw two very great ostriches, and two smaller ones behind them, that had each two necks and two heads with which they ate; not to mention the wild men who were in the lord's garden, and women all hairy with long grey hair though of human form, which ate apples and drunk drinks such as were supplied to them by the lord's order. And among these were men not bigger than two spans, and these are called *Gomiti* (Cubits). And in the court I saw men with an eye in the forehead; and these were called *Minocchi* (Monoculi). And at that time there were presented to the lord a pair, male and female, which had a span length of body, with big heads and long legs, and no hands, and which fed themselves with the foot. I also saw a giant about twenty feet high who led two lions, one red and the other black; and another had in charge lionesses and leopards, and such like beasts, with which the lord went hunting stags, wild goats, wolves, boars, bears, and other wild animals.]

Though there is probably interpolation in this passage, and it has not therefore been introduced into the text, there are symptoms of genuineness about it. Even the sagacious Kublai, the second founder of the dynasty, had a passion for curiosities and sent envoys far and near to procure them. Nowadays if Napoleon III were to turn his attention to the collection of live monsters he would speedily have a very remarkable gathering, and the influence of the Grand Khan probably extended over a larger area of population than his. As regards some of the monsters mentioned by the writer above, parallels will easily occur to many. I have myself described in print "a woman all hairy", as remarkable as his, though possibly those "in the lord's garden" were only some kind of monkey. I recollect a tame hoolak or black gibbon at a station in India which "ate apples and drunk drinks supplied to it", and was universally called by the natives round the *Jangalí Admí*, or wild man, which indeed is the literal meaning of our *Orang-otang*. And I remember, when a boy, seeing both the Siamese twins and the seven legs of Pin-cushion Jenny, a thorough-bred mare. Miss Biffin not only fed herself with her feet, but threaded her needle and did embroidery work therewith. As to the height of the giants and dwarfs, when very remarkable of their kind they make very exaggerated impressions upon everybody. It is not long since we have ceased to hear from respectable writers of elephants fifteen and eighteen feet high. The *Minocchi*, of course, I give up; they were doubtless factitious, if not fictitious, but the name is not like one that Odoric would give. The names he assigns generally represent some Oriental word; and this is probably an interpolation.

Live monsters are sometimes manufactured, as well as dead ones like

twelve parts; each one whereof is termed a *Singo*.[1] And of those twelve parts that of Manzi forms one which hath under it two thousand great cities. And, indeed, so vast is that empire of his, that if one wished to visit each of these provinces he would have enough to do for six months; and that exclusive of the islands, five thousand in number, which are not comprehended in the number of the twelve provinces. [Moreover, there be four chief ministers to govern the empire of this great lord.][2]

And that travellers may have their needs provided for, throughout his whole empire he hath caused houses and courts to be established as hostelries, and these houses are called *Yam*. In these houses is found everything necessary for subsistence, [and for every person who travels throughout those territories, whatever be his condition, it is ordained that he shall have two meals without payment].[3] And when any matter of news arises in the empire messengers start

Barnum's. I once saw, at Agra, going about as a show, a small bullock which had one or two (apparent) legs and hoofs growing out of its hump. These hung flabbily and boneless, but were certainly, as far as I could judge, vitally united to the flesh of the hump. My impression (be it just or not) was that they had been *grafted in*. Similar, perhaps, was the calf which Ælian says he saw at Alexandria, with a supernumerary foot hanging useless from the shoulder. (*De Nat. Animal.*, xi, 40.)

[1] "In the whole empire of the Kaan", says Rashideddin, "there are twelve *Sing*". And Klaproth annotates: "This word *Sing* is the Chinese *Sing* or *Ching*, by which is designated a province and its administration". (*As above*, p. 447).

It is correct that the empire of Cathay was divided, as Odoric says, into twelve great provinces, but not that Manzi constituted only *one* of those provinces. It is true, however, that the one province of Kiang-che embraced all the great cities south of the Kiang which he had visited, except Canton. The twelve provinces as constituted by Kublai and his successor, will be found stated in an extract from Rashideddin hereafter.

[2] MIN. RAM. This passage from the MIN. RAM. again shows the claims of that version to attention. The four chief governors are the four wazirs whom the Mongols called *Chingsang* (Chin. *Chhingsiang*). These were Mongolian princes, and were aided in their deliberations by four others, (*Fanchán*), who were Chinese, Uigurs, or Persians. (See extracts from *Rashideddin*, and notes, *infrà*).

[3] MIN. RAM.

incontinently at a great pace on horseback for the court; but if the matter be very serious and urgent they set off upon dromedaries. And when they come near those *yam*, hostels or stations, they blow a horn, whereupon mine host of the hostel straightway maketh another messenger get ready; and to him the rider who hath come posting up delivereth the letter, whilst he himself tarrieth for refreshment. And the other taking the letter, maketh haste to the next *yam*, and there doth as did the first. And in this manner the emperor receiveth in the course of one natural day the news of matters from a distance of thirty days' journey.[1]

But the despatch of foot runners is otherwise ordered. For certain appointed runners abide continually in certain station-houses called *chidebeo*, and these have a girdle with a number of bells attached to it. Now those stations are distant the one from the other perhaps three miles; and when a runner approaches one of those houses he causes those bells of his to jingle very loudly; on which the other runner in waiting at the station getteth ready in haste, and taking the letter hastens on to another station as fast as he can. And so it goes from runner to runner until it reaches the Great Khan himself. And so nothing can happen, in short, throughout the whole empire, but he hath instantly, or at least very speedily, full tidings thereof.[2]

[1] The MIN. RAM. describes these post-stations as "very high towers." But this seems a confusion arising from some knowledge of the beacon towers mentioned in a note below.

[2] With this account of the Chinese posts we may compare that given by Shah-Rokh's ambassadors about a century later. We find in it the *yam* and the *chidebeo* of Odoric both named: "This city (Sokcheu) is the first on passing the frontier of Cathay; thence to Kambálik, the emperor's residence, there are ninety-nine *yams* or post-houses.....Every *yam* is situated opposite to a city or town, and in the intervals between the *yams* you may count many *kargús* and *kidifús*. The word *kargú* is applied to a tower of some sixty cubits in height, where two men are constantly on duty. The tower is so placed that the next *kargú* is in sight from it; and when any event of importance occurs, like the approach of an enemy's army, the men on watch immediately light a fire, and this being seen from the next *kargú* they make haste to light another. And so the signal

41. Concerning the Khan's great hunting matches.

When the Great Khan goes a hunting 'tis thus ordered. At some twenty days' journey from Cambalech, there is a fine forest of eight days' journey in compass; and in it are such multitudes and varieties of animals as are truly wonderful. All round this forest there be keepers posted on account of the Khan, to take diligent charge thereof; and

passes from one to another, till in the space of one day and night a piece of news passes over a distance of three months' march. Despatches are also sent along without stopping, being passed from hand to hand and from one *kidifu* to another. The word *kidifu* is the name applied to a party of men attached to a station with the following duty. Immediately that a letter or a piece of news reaches them, one who is waiting all ready starts off with it to the next *kidifu*, and so on till it reaches the foot of the imperial throne. The distance from one *kidifu* to another is ten *mereh*; sixteen of which are equal to a *parasang*. The men posted at the *kargú* are ten in number, and are relieved every ten days. But those of the *kidifu* live at their post, building themselves houses there and engaging in agriculture." (From *Notices et Extraits*, xiv, 396.) The *kidifu* is Odoric's *chidebeo*, but I have not been able to make sure of the language or etymology. I may observe however that Ibn Batuta applies to the posts or stages of the foot-runners in India the term *dáwuh* (vol. iii, pp. 96, 145, 191), and the term may possibly be *kad-i-dáwuh* or *kad-dáwuh*, "the house of the runners or foot-post". On the other hand, Martini tells us that the arch which indicated a post station was called in Chinese *P'u*. And the word may be a hybrid, *Kad-i-Pu*, analogous to the equally hybrid *Dak-House* of India. *Kargú* is doubtless connected with the *Karághúl* "Excubitores," and "Viarum Custodes," of Pococke's *Abulpharagius* (363, 369). The double system of horse and foot posts was also found by Ibn Batuta established in India in 1333. The posts of Timur are noticed by Clavijo (p. 105). And Baber describes his own post between Agra and Cabul, using the word *yam*, but adding that it was called in India *dak-choki*, the term in use in all Northern India to this day. (*Erskine's Baber*, p. 393.) Pauthier thinks *yam* to have been taken from the Chinese *yi-mu*, "horse-post". (*Marc. Pol.*, p. 335).

Burnes was told of the continued existence of both post and fire beacons between Yarkund and Pekin. The distance is more than five months' journey as usually travelled, but an express went in thirty-five days, and under very great emergency in fifteen.

The Chinese inns for the lodgment of public officers were, according to Martin, at eighty *li*, or a day's journey apart. According to Magalhaens there were 1145 of these royal inns, or as we should say in India "Government Dak bungalows."

every third or fourth year he goeth with his people to this forest. On such occasions they first surround the whole forest with beaters, and let slip the dogs[1] and the hawks trained to this sport, and then gradually closing in upon the game, they drive it to a certain fine open spot that there is in the middle of the wood. Here there becomes massed together an extraordinary multitude of wild beasts, such as lions, wild oxen, bears, stags, and a great variety of others, and all in a state of the greatest alarm. For there is such a prodigious noise and uproar raised by the birds and the dogs that have been let slip into the wood, that a person cannot hear what his neighbour says; and all the [unfortunate][2] wild beasts quiver with terror at the disturbance.[3] And when they have all been driven together into that open glade, the Great Khan comes up on three elephants[4] and shoots five arrows at the game. As soon as he has shot, the whole of his retinue do likewise. And when all have shot their arrows (each man's arrows having a token by which they may be discerned), then the Great Emperor causeth to be called out "*Syo!*" which is to say as it were *Quarter!*[5] to the beasts (to wit) that have been driven from the wood. Then [the huntsmen sound the recall, and call in the dogs and hawks from the prey][2] the animals which have escaped with life are allowed to go back into the forest, and all the barons

[1] Min. Ram. "And lions and lionesses and other tamed beasts trained to this business."

[2] Min. Ram.

[3] Id. "Like slender reeds shaken by the strong and raging Boreas or Aquilo, both because of what is passing before their eyes, and from their remembrance of being so entrapped before; and so they are near to die of fear."

[4] On some kind of litter carried by the elephants it may be supposed. Elephants are rather out of their latitude at Pekin; and were not in use by the Mongols, as Polo tells, until Kublai's capture of a number in the war with Mien or Ava. A few continued to be kept at the Chinese Court at Timkowski's visit in 1821; I know not if any are still maintained.

[5] May possibly be meant for *Pers.* Sheo, *Este! Desine! (Meninski)*, or *Turkish* Sáo, *Siste! (Ib.)*

come forward to view the game that has been killed and to recover the arrows that they had shot (which they can well do by the marks on them); and every one has what his arrow has struck. And such is the order of the Khan's hunting.[1]

42. Concerning the four great feasts that the Khan keepeth.

Every year that emperor keepeth four great feasts, to wit, the day of his birth, that of his circumcision,[2] and so forth. To these festivals he summons all his barons and all his players, and all his kinsfolk; and all these have their established places at the festival. But it is especially at the days of his birth and circumcision that he expects all to attend. And when summoned to such a festival all the barons come with their coronets on, whilst the emperor is seated on his throne as has been described above, and all the barons are ranged in order in their appointed places. Now these barons are arrayed in divers colours; for some, who are the first in order, wear green silk; the second are clothed in crimson: the third in yellow. And all these have coronets on their heads, and each holds in his hand a white ivory tablet[3] and wears a golden girdle of half a span in breadth;

[1] Father Ripa's account of the Emperor Kanghi's hunting in the last century closely resembles this; and so does the historian Mirkhond's of the great hunts maintained by the Mongol sovereigns in accordance with the Yasa or Ordinances of Chinghiz. (*Not. et Extraits*, v, 212).

[2] The statement of the four feasts from MIN. RAM. is probably more correct. "The first is for his birthday; the second for the day of his coronation; the third for the day of his marriage when he took the Queen to wife; the fourth for the birthday of his first-born son." No Mongol Khan of Cathay ever professed Islam, though the Khans of the three Western Empires all adopted it in succession. Buddhism was the state religion of Kublai and his house from about 1260, when he formally adopted it.

[3] Rubruquis, speaking of certain envoys of a Corean nation whom he saw at the court of Karakorum, says: "The principal envoy had in his hand a tablet of polished ivory, about a cubit long by a palm broad, and whenever he addressed the Khan or any other great personage he kept his eyes fixed on this tablet, looking neither right nor left, as if he read there what he had to say" (p. 290). The use of this tablet, called *Kwei*, was a very ancient Chinese etiquette. It is mentioned in Demailla's ver-

and so they remain standing and silent. And round about them stand the players with their banners and ensigns. And in one corner of a certain great palace abide the philosophers, who keep watch for certain hours and conjunctions; and when the hour and conjunction waited for by the philosophers arrives, one of them calls out with a loud voice, saying, "Prostrate yourselves before the emperor[4] our mighty lord!" And immediately all the barons touch the ground three times with their heads. Then he will call out again: "Rise all of you!" and immediately they get up again.[1] And then they wait for another auspicious moment, and when it comes he will shout out again, "Put your fingers in your ears!" and so they do. And then, "Take them out:" and they obey. And then they will abide awhile, and then he will say, "Bolt meal!" and so they go on with a number of other such words of command, which they allege to have a deep import. And there be also many officers to look diligently that none of the barons or of the players are absent. For any one of them who should absent himself would incur heavy penalties. And when the proper hour and moment for the players comes, then the philosophers say, "Make an entertainment for the lord!" and incontinently they all begin to play on their instruments of every kind, with such a clamour of music and song that 'tis enough to stun you. Then a voice is heard saying, "Silence all!" and they all cease. And after this all those of the famous princely families parade

sion of the Chinese annals in connexion with Yu, one of the most notable worthies of ancient China, who is said to have flourished B.C. 2286.

[1] So the Dutch envoys in 1656 were "commanded by a herald to kneel three times, and bow their heads to the ground. After a short pause the herald spoke aloud in Chinese the following words: *Ka Shan*, i.e., "God hath sent the Emperor!' *Que e*, 'Fall upon your knees'; *Ke e*, 'Stand up!' lastly, *Ko e*, 'Range yourselves on one side'!" The Chinese Kowtow had been fully adopted as the practice of the Mongol court. (*Astley*, iii, 425; 476; 476; 574; *D'Ohsson*, ii, 217). Odoric is here curiously corroborated by the official account of the Court Ceremonial of the Mongol Emperors, translated by Pauthier in his notes to Polo (p. 290 *seq.*)

with white horses. And a voice is heard calling, "Such an one of such a family to present so many hundreds of white horses to the lord"; and then some of them come forward saying that they bring two hundred horses (say) to offer to the lord, which are ready before the palace. And 'tis something incredible the number of white horses which are presented to the lord on such an occasion.[1] And then come barons to offer presents of different kinds on behalf of the other barons of the empire; and all the superiors of the monasteries likewise come with presents to the Khan, and are in duty bound to give him their benison. And this also do we Minor Friars. And when all this ceremony has been gone through, then come certain singing men before him, and also certain singing women who sing so sweetly that it is quite delightful to listen to them [and this pleased me most of all].[2] Then come mummers leading lions whom they cause to salute the lord with a reverence.[3] And jugglers cause cups of gold full of good wine to fly through the air and offer themselves to the lips of all who list to drink of it.[4] Such

[1] Polo says 100,000 white horses were presented to the Khan on new years' day. The Tartar chiefs continued, at least to the time of Kanghi to present a tribute of white horses to the emperor. (*Huc and Gabet*, Eng. Tr. 239).

[2] HAK.

[3] The same is mentioned by Polo, i, 18.

[4] Says Marco, "When the monarch sits at table in his hall of state, and the cups are ten paces distant, full of wine, milk, and other beverages, they cause them by their magical spells to rise from the pavement, and place themselves before the prince, without anyone touching them; this is done in the presence of 10,000 men: and the fact is real and true, without any lie" (i, 24; see also i, 7). This must have been a very ancient Eastern juggle. At the collation given by the Brachmans to the king of their country in presence of Apollonius of Tyana, the company were served by tripods which handed round the wines and dishes spontaneously. (*Philostratus*, Fr. tr. iii, c, 27).

So Homer also tells of Vulcan's art: *Iliad*, xviii, 373 in Pope's version:

> "That day no common task his labour claimed;
> Full twenty tripods for his hall he framed,
> That placed on living wheels of massy gold
> (Wondrous to tell) instinct with spirit rolled
> From place to place around the blest abodes,
> Self-moved, obedient to the beck of gods."

things and many more are done in that lord's presence. And any account that one can give of the magnificence of that lord, and of the things that are done in his court must seem incredible to those who have not witnessed it.

But no one need wonder at his being able to maintain such an expenditure; for there is nothing spent as money in his whole kingdom but certain pieces of paper which are there current as money, whilst an infinite amount of treasure comes into his hands.

43. Concerning a certain melon that produceth a beast like a lamb.

Another passing marvellous thing may be related, which however I saw not myself, but heard from trustworthy persons. For 'tis said that in a certain great kingdom called CADELI there be mountains called the CASPEAN Mountains, on which are said to grow certain very large melons. And when these be ripe, they burst, and a little beast is found inside like a small lamb, so that they have both melons and meat! And though some, peradventure, may find that hard to believe, yet it may be quite true; just as it is true that there be in Ireland trees which produce birds.[1] [And here I

[1] The myth of the bernacle geese to which Odoric here refers, and for which he was perhaps indebted to his travelling companion the Irish Friar James, came down to a comparatively recent period in full credit, and even Sir Thomas Brown only ventures to "awake considerations...whether the story be not too much enlarged." The curious history of its origin has been explained by Professor Max Müller in a lecture on mythology.

But the story of the Tartar lamb was also familiar in the seventeenth century, much as that of the sea serpent is now. A full account may be read in J. C. Scaliger. "It is found," he says, "in the lands of the noble Tartar horde called Zavolha. The seed is like that of a melon, but the plant, which is called *Borametz* or the Lamb, grows to the height of about three feet in the form of that animal, with feet, hoofs, ears, etc., complete, only having in lieu of horns two curly locks of hair. If wounded it bleeds; wolves are greedily fond of it; if well grown round with juicy herbage the plant thrives like a lamb in fat pastures; if the grass be cleared away it pines and dies," etc.

Sir T. Brown, after a description which seems to be derived from this of Scaliger's, adds: "And yet, if all this be no more than the shape of a

would make an end of speaking of the Great Khan, for I am

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lamb in the flower or seed upon the top of the stalk, as we meet with the forms of bees, flies, and dogs in some others; he hath seen nothing that shall much wonder at it."

The plant about which these fables have gathered seems now to be referred to the fern genus *Cibotium*, formerly to *Aspidium*. The Eng. Cyclopædia says, "The Rhizoma of *Aspidium Baromez* presents a rude resemblance to an animal. It is covered with a silky down, and when cut into has a soft inside with a reddish, flesh-coloured appearance, sufficient to account for the origin of the fables with regard to its animal nature. It is not improbable that this fern dries up when the grass does, but of course the one has no dependence on the other."

The word *baromez* is said to mean *lamb* in Russian. The locality of the plant, according to the Cyclopædia, is "an elevated salt plain to the west of the Wolga." The Zavolha country to which Scaliger refers it is defined by one of Ramusio's authorities as being between the Caspian, Black Sea, Caucasus, and Wolga, whilst another places the tribe between the Wolga and the Jaik.

These indications enable us to explain the locus assigned by Odoric to this marvellous plant-animal. The Caspian mountains are of course Caucasus, or some part of it, whilst the kingdom of *Cadeli* is the country on the Ethil, Adil, or Herdil, *i.e.*, the Wolga. The *c* is constantly substituted for an aspirate by the Italian travellers (*e.g.*, Polo's Cormos for Hormuz), whilst the name Athil was sometimes applied to the country on the banks of the Wolga, or to the chief city there before the Tartar conquest, at one time the seat of a Chaldean bishop (on this point, see *Le Quien, Oriens Christianus*, ii, 1301). The "Caspian Hills" and the Wolga are at some little distance, but that distance does not subtend a great angle from China where Odoric heard the story!

The vegetable curiosity which is the subject of this note, is thus apostrophised by Dr. Darwin:—

> "Cradled in snow, and fanned by Arctic air,
> Shines, gentle BAROMETZ! thy golden hair;
> Rooted in earth each cloven hoof descends,
> And round and round her flexile neck she bends;
> Crops the gray coral-moss, and hoary thyme,
> Or laps with rosy tongue the melting rime.
> Eyes with mute tenderness her distant dam,
> Or seems to bleat, a *Vegetable Lamb*."

See *Loves of the Plants*, 1799, ii, 37-39, which has a plate. Erman, I see, thinks the whole story a mythical view of the cotton plant.

It may be noticed that the Chinese also have their barnacle stories in more than one shape, as related by Martini and Kircher.

(*Vulgar Errors*, i, 377, 366; *J. C. Scaligeri Exotericæ Exercitationes de Subtilitate*, etc., 1537, f. 248, v; *Eng. Cyc. Nat. Hist.*, sub. v. *Aspidium*; *Ramusio*, ii, 71, 76; *Kircher, Ch. Illust.*, 178; *Martini* in *Thévenot*, p. 81.)

certainly unable to tell the thousandth part of what I have seen. In any case I think it best to pass to other matters.][1]

44. The friar, passing from Cathay, describeth sundry lands as of Prester John and others.

Departing from that land of Cathay and travelling westward for fifty days through many cities and towns, I arrived at the country of Prester John;[2] but as regards him not

[1] MIN. RAM. These words are the conclusion of that version. It makes Odoric say that he *saw* the Tartar lamb at the court of the Khan: "One day among other creatures, I saw a beast as big as a lamb, all white, whiter than snow, and with wool like the skin of a silkworm when moulting," etc. The allusion to the Irish production is given more fully in HAK. and MUS., with the name *Bernakles*, and the latter MS. adds: "This is perfectly understood by those who have read the *History of Ireland*;" which reminds one of "the great Robinson Crusoe that we read of in history."

[2] Deferring a notice of Prester John to a later part of this collection, it is here to be remarked that the Prester John's country of the text appears to be the Tenduc of Marco Polo, which he states to have been "the chief seat of Prester John when he ruled over the Tartars", and also the residence of his descendants in their reduced and subordinate position. Klaproth produced Chinese sources to show that *Thiante* or *Thiante-Kiun* was the name of a district or cluster of cities near the Yellow River lying to the north-east of the territory now called that of the Ortus in our maps. This entirely agrees with the indications of Polo, who describes Tenduc between the province of Tangut and Shangtu, and who in another passage speaks of the Karamoran or Hoang-Ho in its lower course as "coming from the lands of Prester John". It is remarkable that the French version of Odoric by Long John of Yprès gives the land of Prester John the singular name of *Penthexoire*, which has been adopted by Mandeville in his pretended travels. I suspect this name may be genuine, and that it may represent *Tendek-Shahr*.

M. Pauthier, in a pamphlet published in 1862 as a specimen of an edition of Marco Polo, which he had then in the press (and has issued since this went to the printer), though assigning the same substantial position to the Tenduc of Polo, finds somewhat acrimonious fault with Klaproth's identification of the *name* Tenduc with Thiante, because the latter was a denomination belonging to an age long past, the city of Thiante having been destroyed in 960. He himself considers Tenduc to be a corruption of *Tathung*, which was the name of a circle of administration immediately east of that of Ninghia, embracing a part of the present Ortu territory, and extending to the eastward of the great northern bight of the Hoang Ho. On this one may venture to remark that the more that

one hundredth part is true of what is told of him as if it were undeniable. His principal city is called TOZAN, and chief city though it is, Vicenza would be reckoned its superior. He has, however, many other cities under him, and by a standing compact always receives to wife the Great Khan's daughter.[1]

Travelling thence for many days I came unto a certain

sources of illustration have been opened, the more accurate Marco's nomenclature (with which such liberties used to be deemed lawful) has proved to be. And it would be hard to believe that he could find no nearer approximation to the sound *Tathung* than that of *Tenduc*. The original of the last may have been some Tartar appellation not yet discovered. But it is at least conceivable that the old name of Thiante-Kiun, though it had disappeared three centuries before from Chinese official statistics, might have been retained among the Tartars, from whom rather than from the Chinese Marco takes his names of men and places; the city of Thiante when it still stood, having been, according to an authority quoted by Pauthier himself, "*the military post of Tathung*". And the very passage cited by Klaproth *from a Chinese author of the Mongol era*, describes the Hoang Ho as *passing through the territory of the ancient Chinese city of Thianté*. I may add that Klaproth was quite aware of the denomination Tathung, for a map representing the geography of the Mongol time in his *Tableau Historique de l'Asie*, indicates Tathung as the name of a district covering a part of the Ortu country, and extending beyond the Yellow River to the north and north-east.

But neither Klaproth nor Pauthier have noticed Odoric, who here in TOZAN names this identical Tathung as the seat of the Presbytero-Joannides! Tathung, according to Pauthier, is still a department of the Province of Shansi. Indeed, it appears in Stanford's new map of Asia.

The fifty days assigned by Odoric to his journey from Cambalu is too long if meant as a measure of the distance. This would be some 400 or 450 miles (152 leagues, according to the Imperial Geography cited by Pauthier), and is more fitly put by John Montecorvino at twenty days. The position thus assigned to Prester John's country entirely suits the next step in Odoric's itinerary. Both Gerbillon and Huc note numerous ruined cities in this region, and the Imperial Geography mentions the remains of forty such. (*Klaproth* in *Jour. As.*, i, ser. iv, 299-306; *Ritter*, ii, 248; *Polo*, i, 61, ii, 50; *Astley*, iv, 729, 737; *Huc* and *Gabet*; *Pauthier, Le Pays de Tanduc*, etc., *Paris*, 1862, pp. 13-23.)

[1] Polo says the Khans often gave their female relations in marriage to the kings of this line (ii, 50). And other intermarriages were frequent. *E.g.*, the Christian mother of Gayuk Khan, and Dokuzkhatun the Christian queen of Hulagu, were both princesses of the Kerait royal family, *i.e.*, apparently of Prester John's. The mother of Hulagu was of the same family, and Chingiz, as well as several of his sons, took wives from it.

province which is called KANSAN,[1] and that is the second best province in the world, and the best populated. For where it is most narrow it hath a width of fifty days' journey, and its length is more than sixty. And everywhere it has such a population that when you go forth from the gate of one city you already see the gate of another. And it hath also great store of victuals, but above all of chestnuts. Rhubarb likewise grows in this province, and that in such abundance that you may load an ass with it for less than six groats. And this province is one of the twelve divisions of the empire of the Great Khan.

45. Concerning the realm of Tibet, where dwelleth the Pope of the Idolaters.

Quitting this province, I came to a certain great kingdom called TIBET, which is on the confines of India Proper, and is subject to the Great Khan. They have in it great plenty of bread and wine as anywhere in the world. The folk of that country dwell in tents made of black felt. But the chief and royal city is all built with walls of black and white, and all its streets are very well paved.[2] In this city no one shall

[1] This great and populous province, one of the twelve, abounding in chesnuts and in rhubarb, is undoubtedly the Quengianfu of Polo, governed in his time by Mangala, the son of Kublaj (i, 39). The Kansan of Odoric and Quengian of Marco represent the name Kenchán or Kenján, which was applied by the Mahomedans, as we gather from Rashideddin, to the city of Singanfu, and to the province under its government. Previously to 1285 this province embraced not only Shensi and a large part of Kansu but the whole of Szechuen. And I suspect it was of this greater province that Odoric had heard those great dimensions which he states. Szechuen is noted for its chesnuts (*Martini*, p. 87), and Shensi for rhubarb. (See *Klaproth* in *Jour. As.*, ser. 2, i, 102-3.)

Odoric's expressions as to the populousness of this territory resemble those of Martini as to the empire in general:—"I have often thought that if the great wall surrounded the whole of China, this great country would be like one great city, full of houses and inhabitants; for you no sooner quit one place closely cultivated and densely peopled, than you find yourself entering another which is equally so" (p. 17).

[2] This no doubt was Lhassa. The only account of that city that I know

dare to shed the blood of any, whether man or beast, for the reverence they bear a certain idol which is there worshipped. In that city dwelleth the *Abassi*, i.e. in their tongue the Pope, who is the head of all the idolaters, and who has the disposal of all their benefices such as they are after their manner.

is so unsatisfactory (Huc and Gabet's) that no picture of any distinctness can be formed from it. They say the chief streets are broad, well laid out, and tolerably clean, but do not specify if they are paved. I know not if it is worth while to refer to their account of a suburb in which the walls of the houses were inlaid with black and white horns of sheep and oxen, arranged in fantastic designs. I may observe, however, that the ordinary way of building lofty houses in the higher Himalaya, and probably in Tibet, is with large longitudinal timbers inserted at frequent and regular intervals. The stone-work is generally whitewashed, whilst the timber darkens with age, and some photographs of this style of building which I have lately seen give quite the impression of alternate bands of black and white material.

A fatality has attended the accounts of Lhassa that *should* have been. Grueber and Dorville, who were there in 1661, give no account of the city. Father Desideri who travelled thither by Ladakh in 1715-16, a route not known to have been travelled by any second European in modern times, gives no detail of his journey beyond Ladakh, and says nothing of Lhassa. The journal of Samuel Vanderput, a Dutchman who in the time of the Emperor Yungching reached Lhassa from India, acquired the language and the friendship of the Lamas, and accompanied a deputation of them to Peking, was never published, and appears to have perished. Nothing tangible is to be got out of the notices of Giorgi in the Alphabetum Tibetanum. Thomas Manning, an Englishman who reached Lhassa from Calcutta in 1811, was arrested and sent back by the Chinese, and died without publishing any particulars of his journey. For nearly thirty years the spirit of geographical exploration has been at a sadly low ebb in India; may it revive before foreign nations snatch the honour from us of solving such problems as the true course of the great river of Tibet, and the latitude of Lhassa, the last uncertain to the extent of *more than a whole degree.* (*Kircher*, Ch. Illust.; *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. xv; *Jour. As.* 2de. Ser., x, 322, and xiv, 191; and *Prinsep's Tibet Tartary and Mongolia*, 1851).

[1] The title *Lo Abassi*, which Odoric gives to the Great Lama, is a difficulty: for a wonderful hotchpotch of misplaced erudition on the subject, see *Giorgi's Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 688.

Three possible solutions have suggested themselves to me. *First:* in the journey of Evesko Petlin, a Russian, in Tartary (1620) which is given by Bergeron, the Mongol Lamas are called *Lobaes.* This seems to suggest some mode of pronunciation not unlike *Lo abassi.* (*Berg. Traité des*

And the fashions of this kingdom are thus. The women have their hair plaited in more than one hundred tresses, and they have a couple of tusks as long as those of wild boars.[1] And another fashion they have in this country is this.[2] Sup-

Tartares, p. 107). *Secondly:* The term *Ubashi* is applied to *some* class of the Lamas among the Mongols. (*Revilly, Desc. du Thibet*, p. 36; *Huc and Gabet* in *Jour. As.* iv, ser. xi, 538). *Lastly:* among the Persian and Arabic writers the name regularly applied to the members of the Buddhistic religious orders is *Bakshi*, supposed to be a corruption of the Sanscrit *Bhikshu*, "a mendicant", which is one of their orthodox appellations. This term is used by Polo (*Baksi*, see i, 24), and by Ricold of Montecroce, who calls them "*Baxitæ*, sc. quidam pontifices ydolorum," on which his editor can only observe in rather a helpless manner, "*Fortasse hoc vocabulum cohæret cum Russico* Bog, *Deus*" (*Peregrinatores Quatuor*, Lips., 1864, p. 117). This last (*Bakshi*) is probably the word intended by Odoric.

Whatever be the origin of the name it is not improbable that it was brought into the precise form presented, by a lodgment in the head of Odoric or his scribes of the name of the *Abassi* Khaliffs, the Popes of the Saracens. Compare these two passages:

Odoric.	*Benjamin of Tudela* (p. 95).
"In this city dwelleth Lo Abassi, i.e. in their tongue the *Pope, the Head of all the Idolaters*, and who has the disposal of all their benefices," etc.	"The Khalif Emir Al Mumenin Al Abassi.....who is the chief of the Mohammedan religion, and holds the same dignity over them which *the Pope enjoys over the Christians*."

[1] The plaits of hair covered with pieces of turquoise, etc., may be seen in most drawings of Tibetan women. The boar's tusks (if there be no misapprehension) must be a rash generalization; though the disfigurement of the women in other respects by certain fashions that they have adopted is noticed in strong terms by both old and recent travellers. There is a hideous figure of a goddess (*Prasrinmo*), which is represented with boar's tusks, and is very common in Tibet.

But I suspect that the statement is an error of the scribe's. For the women in Tibet do commonly use boar's tusks as ornaments, both attached to the head and hung round the neck. (*Giorgi, Alph. Tibet.*, p. 688; *Voyages de Tavernier*, (small edition) iv, 179; *Journ. Asiat.*, Ser. 2, iv, p. 247).

[2] Rubruquis says the people of Tibet used to eat their dead parents, but had left off the practice. "But they still make fine goblets from the heads of their parents, that, as they drink from these, in the midst of their jollity they may keep their kin in mind. This was told me by an eye-witness" (p. 289). Carpini heard of the same custom *pro certo* (p. 658). And Giorgi thus describes the Tibetan funeral rites: "The naked corpse, being doubled up like an unborn infant in the womb, is tied in a sack and

pose such an one's father to die, then the son will say, "I desire to pay respect to my father's memory"; and so he calls together all the priests and monks and players in the country round, and likewise all the neighbours and kinsfolk. And they carry the body into the country with great rejoicings. And they have a great table in readiness, upon which the priests cut off the head, and then this is presented to the son. And the son and all the company raise a chant and make many prayers for the dead. Then the priests cut the whole of the body to pieces, and when they have done so they go up again to the city with the whole company, praying for him as they go. After this the eagles and vultures come down from the mountains and every one takes his morsel and carries it away. Then all the company shout

carried outside the walls, followed by crowds of monks and neighbours, to an enclosed field in which dogs are kept. There the sextons, or I should rather say the butchers, tear all the flesh from the bones and fling it to the mastiffs to eat. They then either break the bones into small pieces, and give these also to the dogs, or they cast them entire into the river. The *top part of the skull,* or some other entire bones, well cleansed, are given to the family to take home and keep devoutly" (*Alph. Tib.* p. 444). To much the same effect is the account in Father Hyacinth's translation of the Chinese Description of Tibet (*Journ. As.*, u.s., p. 254). These practices appear to be less common now in Tibet, but not extinct.

Klaproth quotes passages showing a knowledge of this mode of disposing of the dead from Strabo, Cicero's Tusculan Questions, and Justin. Strabo also ascribes to the Caspii the opinion that those whose bodies the birds appropriated were blessed. Herodotus and Mela ascribe such practices to the Issedonians and Scythians, "Corpora ipsa laniata et cæsis pecorum visceribus immista epulando consumunt. Capita ubi fabri expolivere auro vincta pro poculis gerunt" (*Pomp. Mela,* ii, 1).

Whatever spice of exaggeration there may be in Odoric's narrative is easily accounted for. Tibetan Buddhists deal much in dead men's bones. A trumpet of human thighbone is a common appendage of their devotees; whilst the representations of some of their divinities show goblets or crowns of human skulls. Giorgi also mentions a symbolical performance, which consisted in dancing round the effigy of a boy. This in the course of the dance was cloven open by a leading performer, who seized the heart and devoured it; the others followed, tearing limb from limb and also devouring. This, even if it were not a cannibal tradition, might easily provoke the charge of cannibalism. (*Journ. Asiat.*, u.s.; *Schlagintweit's Buddhism in Tibet,* 269, 216; *Alph. Tib.*, 462).

aloud, saying "Behold! the man is a saint! For the angels of God come and carry him to Paradise." And in this way the son deems himself to be honoured in no small degree, seeing that his father is borne off in this creditable manner by the angels. And so he takes his father's head, and straightway cooks it and eats it; and of the skull he maketh a goblet, from which he and all of the family always drink devoutly to the memory of the deceased father. And they say that by acting in this way they show their great respect for their father. And many other preposterous and abominable customs have they.

46. Of a rich man in Manzi, and how he was fed by fifty maidens.

When I was still in the province of Manzi, I passed by the foot of the palace wall of a certain burgess whose manner of life is thus. He hath fifty damsels, virgins, who wait on him continually; and when he goeth to dinner and taketh his seat at table the dishes are brought to him by fives and fives, those virgins carrying them in with singing of songs and the music of many kinds of instruments. And they also feed him as if he were a pet sparrow, putting the food into his mouth, singing before him continually until those dishes be disposed of. Then other five dishes are brought by other five maidens, with other songs and kinds of music, whilst the first maidens retire. And thus he leadeth his life daily until he shall have lived it out.[1] Now this man hath a revenue of xxx *tuman* of *tagars* of rice. And each *tuman* is ten thousand, and each *tagar* is the amount of a heavy ass-load.[2] The court of the palace in which he dwells hath an

[1] There are some things in this quaint story which Odoric heard in Mangi, resembling what Marco tells of the splendid effeminacy of the dethroned king of that country, The idea of being served only by a company of musical maidens was set forth not long ago in a novel by Mr. Peacock as realized in an English country house. The description of the demesne, and reference to hills of gold, etc., reminds us of the accounts of the island called *Kinshan* or Golden Hill in the Yangtse Kiang.

[2] *Taghár* (*Turk.* and *Pers.*), "a large sack, of which horsemen carry a

extent of two miles; and the pavement thereof hath one tile of gold and another of silver in turn. And in the said court there is a hill made of gold and silver, upon which are erected monasteries and bell-towers, and the like [in miniature] such as men make for their amusement. And 'tis said that there be four men such as he in the realm of Manzi.

Moreover 'tis the mark of gentility in that country to have the nails long; and some let their thumb-nails grow to such an extent that they grow right round the hand. And with the women the great beauty is to have little feet; and for this reason mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born to them, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least.[1]

47. Of the old man of the mountain, and his end.

After I had left the lands of Prester John and was travelling towards the west, I came to a certain country which is called Millestorte, a fair and very fertile region. In this country used to dwell a certain one who was called the Old Man of the Mountain.[2] Between two of the mountains of

pair slung over the horse, to contain provender" (*Meninski*). The *taghar*, according to Timkowsky, contains about four *poods*, or one hundred and forty pounds, of flour. Revenues continued to be estimated in China in sacks of rice until lately, if they are not so still. In Burma they are always estimated in baskets of rice.

[1] It is remarkable that neither of these well-known Chinese fashions is mentioned by Polo. That of the men letting their nails grow long appears to have been becoming obsolete in Duhalde's time; and I am not aware of any recent notice of it.

[2] This account of the Old Man of the Mountain (*Shaikh-ul-Jibal*) and his Paradise, is almost exactly the same as that given by Marco Polo. But it would be a mistake to suppose that it is therefore copied. Both related the story in the popular form in which it spread over the East. The Mussulman account in Deguignes is substantially the same; so, according to Zurla, is another Arabic account translated in the *Mines de l'Orient*. And an extract from a Chinese history, given by Klaproth, tells the same story. (*Polo*, ii, 18 and 19; *Deguignes*, i, 341; *Zurla, Dissert.*, etc., i, 276; *Klap. Mem. Rel. à l'Asie*, i, 171.)

The sect in its original form was a branch of the Shíyas, which was called Ismaelian, from Ismail the eldest son of the fifth Imám, whom they

that region he had built a wall, and this he carried right round one of the mountains. And inside this wall were the most delightful fountains of water, and beside them were set the most charming virgins on the face of the earth, as well as splendid horses and everything else that could be thought of for the gratification of man's senses. Wine and milk also were made to flow there by certain conduits; and the place had the name of Paradise. And when he found any youth of promise he caused him to be admitted to his Paradise.

recognised as his father's successor in opposition to the mass of the Shíyas. Their doctrine took the form of a sort of gnosticism, giving a non-natural sense to all revelation, from which they had the name also of *Bathenians*, from a word signifying "esoteric". Hassan Sabah, son of an Arab at Rai, one of their converts in Persia, put himself at the head of the sect in that country, and about 1090 made himself master of the mountainous part of Irak Ajami immediately south of the Caspian. This region included many strong castles, and at one time the power of his successors extended to the gates of Ispahan. From its character the country was called by the Arabs *Ballád-ul-Jibal*, "the Hill Country", and hence the chief's title. This was also applied to the head of a branch society which had its seat in Syria and became well known to the Crusaders. The name of Assassin is now, I believe, generally allowed to be derived from *hashísh*, the drug under the influence of which the emissaries of the society acted. (*D'Ohsson*, book iv, ch. iv.)

The Old Man of the Mountain seems to have made his way into respectable political society, for it is mentioned that the Emperor Frederic II took occasion on the "Saracen Easter" (*i.e.*, the termination of their fast) to give a grand dinner to the ambassadors of the Sultan and of the *Vetulus de Montanis*, at which many bishops and lords were present. Probably this, however, was the Syrian Old Man. (*Hist. Diplom. Frid.* II; iv, 370.)

The Chinese author quoted by Klaproth calls the country of the Shaikh *Mulahi*; Rubruquis, Polo, Benjamin of Tudela, and the Armenians call it *Mulhet* or *Mulehet*. These terms are from (*Arab.*) *Mulâhidah*, "atheists or impious persons", one of the names applied to the sect by the orthodox. The name given by Odoric, *Melistorte*, evidently contains the same element. If the termination do not arise from some error, it may represent some such form as *Malhadistán*, "The Land of the Heretics". Wadding indeed mentions, after Bartholomew of Pisa, that the Franciscans had several houses "in Great Tartary near Millescorte", which might be quoted to show that there was a region so called. But, in fact, Bartholomew is here only building on Odoric's own narrative and misunderstanding it. (*Wadding*, vii, 258.)

And then when he desired to cause any king or baron to be *assassinated,* or poignarded, he called on the officer who was set over that paradise to select some one who was most fitted for the business, and who most delighted in the life led in that paradise of his. To this young man a certain potion was given which immediately set him fast asleep, and so in his sleep he was carried forth from that paradise. And when he awoke again, and found himself no longer in paradise, he went into such a madness of grief that he knew not what he did. And when he importuned that Old One of the Mountain to let him back again into paradise, the reply was: "Thither thou canst not return until thou shalt have slain such a king or baron. And then, whether thou live or die, I will bring thee back into paradise again." And so through the youth's great lust to get back into his paradise, he got murdered by his hand whomsoever he list. And thus the fear of this Old One was upon all the kings of the east, and they paid him heavy tribute. But when the Tartars had conquered nearly the whole of the east, they came also to the land of that Old Man, and at last took his dominion from him. And when they had done this, he sent forth many of his assassins from his paradise, and by their hands caused many Tartars to be assassinated and slain. And when the Tartars saw this, they came to the city wherein the Old Man dwelt, and besieged it, and quitted it not until they took it and the Old Man also. Him they bound in chains, and caused to suffer a miserable death.

48. How the friars deal with devils in Tartary.

In those regions God Almighty hath bestowed such grace upon the Minor Friars that in Great Tartary they think it a mere nothing to expel devils from the possessed, no more indeed than to drive a dog out of the house. For there be many in those parts possessed of the devil, both men and women, and these they bind and bring to our friars from as

far as ten days' journey off. The friars bid the demons depart forth instantly from the bodies of the possessed in the name of Jesus Christ, and they do depart immediately in obedience to this command. Then those who have been delivered from the demon straightway cause themselves to be baptised; and the friars take their idols, which are made of felt, and carry them to the fire, whilst all the people of the country round assemble to see their neighbour's gods burnt. The friars, accordingly, cast the idols into the fire, but they leap out again. And so the friars take holy water and sprinkle it upon the fire, and that straightway drives away the demon from the fire; and so the friars again casting the idols into the fire, they are consumed. And then the devil in the air raises a shout, saying:—"See then, see then, how I am expelled from my dwelling-place." And in this way our friars baptise great numbers in that country.[1]

49. The Friar telleth of a certain valley wherein he saw terrible things.

Another great and terrible thing I saw. For, as I went through a certain valley[2] which lieth by the River of Delights, I saw therein many dead corpses lying. And I heard also

[1] Wadding, in his account of Odoric, ascribes these performances to our traveller himself, which must have been from careless reading. For the felt idols of the Tartars see *Rubruquis* (pp. 223, 287) and *Carpini* (p. 618).

[2] The account of the terrible valley is one of the most striking bits of narrative in Odoric's story. Whether its exaggeration be wilful, or the unconscious work of an excited imagination, it seems based on some real experience or combination of experiences.

The account of the sandy hill, on which he heard the sound of invisible *nakkaras* or drums, strikingly recals the phenomenon of the *Khwája Regruwán*, forty miles north of Kabul, near the foot of the Indian Caucasus. Burnes describes the sounds heard there as loud and hollow, *very like those of a large drum*, whilst Sultan Baber speaks of *the sounds of drums and nagarets*, the very instruments specified by Odoric. A still more apt comparison is afforded by Captain Newbold's fuller account of the like phenomenon in the Sinai desert, at the sand hill known as *Jibal Nákús*, "the Hill of the Bell." Dr. Wallin also was told, in crossing a Wadi of the Sinai desert called Hamade, near Wadi Araba, that sometimes very

therein sundry kinds of music, but chiefly nakers, which strange sounds, like those of kettle drums (*nakkaras* again) were heard to rise from the earth, without any discoverable cause.

The awful and gigantic face in the cliff by the valley side, might perhaps have been suggested by the great figures at Bamian in the same region as the Regruwan, or some like image. Burnes gives a formidable description of the valley north of Bamian; the precipitous sides of the defile rising to two thousand and three thousand feet, and so closely as in some places to exclude the midday sun. It is not unlikely that Odoric crossed Hindu Kush on his journey from Tibet of which we have no particulars. It was through Badakshan that the Persian merchants used to go into Tibet (*D'Ohsson*, i, 272), and Badakshan would probably be entered and left by one of the passes of the Hindu Kush. It is just about this quarter that Fra Mauro's map places the *Valle dita* Fausta, *ne la quale se vede e aldesse spiriti e altre cose monstruose,*" etc. If we could trace what Odoric means by the *Flumen Deliciarum*, it might enable us to fix the locality better. The name may be either a translation, or (more probably) a misapprehension of the amanuensis. Suppose that Odoric in dictating called it (as Ramusio does in his Italian version) *Fiume di Piaceri*, we might perhaps recognize in this the river PANCHSHIR, which the Reg Rawán immediately adjoins. And Wood tells us that the valley of Koh-Daman, into which the Panchshir debouches, is full of places to which superstitious legends attach. Moreover Baber tells us that the Pass of Panchshir was that by which were constantly made the inroads of the robbers of Kafiristan, *who used to slay great numbers of the people* in the neighbourhood.

The belief that wildernesses are haunted places is a very old and general one. Our blessed Lord himself in a very solemn passage adopts the Jewish phraseology as to this matter (Luke xi, 24.) Pliny says that in the deserts of Africa phantoms in human shape appear to travellers and immediately vanish again (vii, 2). But the belief is especially prevalent among the nations of Central Asia. By them "deserts.....and the like, where nature shows herself in vast forms, and in all the terrors of her influences, are held to be the especial headquarters and rendezvous of malignant spirits.....hence the wildernesses of Turan, and particularly the great sand-waste of Gobi, have from hoar antiquity had an evil fame" (*Schmidt*, p. 352). The Turks have a saying that evil spirits play at ball in desert places; both Fahian and Marco Polo allude to the evil genii of the deserts of Central Asia, and Rubruquis tells of a frightful defile, where the demons were said to snatch travellers off their horses. The Afghans believe each of the numerous solitudes in the mountains and deserts of their country to be inhabited by a lonely demon, whom they call the *Ghodlee Beaban*, or Spirit of the Waste; a gigantic and frightful spectre which devours passengers.

In an interesting little book, *The Romance of Travel*, which has a chapter upon Odoric, the story of the dreadful valley is alleged to be still part of the staple of the professed story-teller in Turkey. The author also refers to gigantic rock-sculptures as one of the elements at the base of

were marvellously played upon. And so great was the noise thereof that very great fear came upon me. Now, this valley is seven or eight miles long; and if any unbeliever enter therein he quitteth it never again, but perisheth incontinently. Yet I hesitated not to go in that I might see once for all what the matter was. And when I had gone in I saw there, as I have said, such numbers of corpses as no one without seeing it could deem credible. And at one side of the valley, in the very rock, I beheld as it were the face of a man very great and terrible, so very terrible indeed that for my exceeding great fear my spirit seemed to die in me. Wherefore I made the sign of the cross, and began continually to repeat **Verbum caro factum**, but I dared not at all to come nigh that face, but kept at seven or eight paces from it. And so I came at length to the other end of the valley, and there I ascended a hill of sand and looked around me. But nothing could I descry, only I still heard those nakers to play which were played so marvellously. And when I got to the top of that hill I found there a great quantity of silver heaped up as it had been fishes' scales, and some of this I put into my bosom. But as I cared nought for it, and was at the same time in fear lest it should be a snare to hinder my escape, I cast it all down again to the ground.

the story, and describes the awe which certain such images in the defiles of Asia Minor were calculated to impress.

One would almost think that John Bunyan had been reading this bit of Odoric in Hakluyt's version when he wrote his account of Christian's passage through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. E.g., "This frightful sight was seen, and those dreadful noises were heard by him for several days together; and coming to a place where he thought he heard a company of fiends coming to meet him, he stopt and began to muse what he had best do.....but when they were come even almost at him he cried out with a most vehement voice, '*I will walk in the strength of the Lord God;*' so they gave back and came no further," etc. (*Journ. R. A. S.*, vii, p. 78-83; *Burnes*, ii, 174; *Wood's Journey to the Oxus*, pp. 180-182; *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 2; *Rubruquis*, p. 295; *Polo*, ii, 34; *Macfarlane's Rom. of Travel*, 1846, ii, 22 and 70; *Elphinstone's Caubul*, 1839, i, 291; *Erskine's Baber*, p. 145, 146.)

And so by God's grace I came forth scathless. Then all the Saracens, when they heard of this, showed me great worship, saying that I was a baptised and holy man. But those who had perished in that valley they said belonged to the devil.[1]

50. Friar Odoric attesteth the truth of his story.

I, Friar Odoric the Bohemian of Friuli,[2] from a certain town called Pordenone, of the Order of Minorites and the Province of St. Anthony, do solemnly declare and attest to my reverend father the Friar Guidotto, the Minister of the Province aforesaid of St. Anthony in the March of Treviso, in accordance with my vow of obedience and the injunction which he hath laid upon me, that all these things hereinbefore written I either beheld with mine own eyes or heard from men worthy of credit. And as for such things as I saw not myself, the common talk of those countries beareth witness to their truth. And many things I have left out and have not caused to be written lest they should be deemed too hard for belief by such as have not seen them with their own eyes. But, as for me, from day to day I prepare myself to return to those countries in which I am content to die, if so it pleaseth Him from whom all good things do come.

Now, all the things hereinbefore contained were faithfully taken down in writing by Friar William of Solagna,[3] just as the aforenamed Friar Odoric the Bohemian uttered them,

[1] Here the scribe of the Palatine MS. inserts "*Finita la diceria di Frate Oderico. Deo Grazias!*" An end of Friar Odoric's long stories at last.

[2] I have here placed this attestation as it is in the FARSETTI and BOLLANDIST versions. No one MS. has the whole of the matter from this to the end arranged exactly as here, but it is, I believe, the original arrangement, and the only one admitting of the introduction of the postscripts of *both* William of Solagna and Marchesino of Bassano.

[3] The position of the name-place of this friar appears to have caused some considerable amount of writing to the Italian critics. It seems to be settled that Solagna is a village on the Brenta, near Bassano. (*Nuova Raccolta d'Opuscoli*, etc., Venezia, 1794, vol. xxv, art. 9.)

in the year of the Lord M.CCC.XXX, in the month of May, and at the house of St. Anthony in Padua. Nor did he trouble himself to adorn the matter with difficult Latin and conceits of style, but just as the other told his story so Friar William wrote it, so that all may understand the more easily what is told herein.

51. Friar Marchesino of Bassano addeth his say; and telleth a pretty passage that he heard of Odoric.

I, Friar Marchesino of Bassano,[1] of the Order of Minorites, desire to say that I heard the preceding relations from the aforesaid Friar Odoric when he was still living; and I heard a good deal more which he has not set down. Among other stories which he told, this was one :—He related that once upon a time, when the Great Khan was on his journey from Sandu to Cambalech, he (Friar Odoric), with four other Minor Friars, was sitting under the shade of a tree by the side of the road along which the Khan was about to pass. And one of the brethren was a bishop.[2] So when the Khan began to draw near, the bishop put on his episcopal robes and took a cross and fastened it to the end of a staff, so as to raise it aloft; and then those four began to chaunt with loud voices the hymn, **Veni Creator Spiritus!** And then the Great Khan hearing the sound thereof, asked what it meant? And those four barons who go beside him replied that it was four of the Frank Rabbans (*i.e.*, of the Christian monks). So the Khan called them to him, and the bishop thereupon taking the cross from the staff presented it to the Khan to kiss. Now at the time he was lying down, but as soon as he saw the cross he sat up, and doffing the cap that he

[1] I take this from FAR. and BOLL. The story as told by Marchesino in their versions is more simple and genuine than as related in the other manuscripts.

[2] This may have been the venerable John of Monte Corvino, or one of his suffragans appointed in 1312. The Khan was almost certainly Yesontimur, called by the Chinese Taiting, a great-grandson of Kublai, who reigned from 1323 to 1328.

wore, kissed the cross in the most reverent and humble manner. Now, the rule and custom of that court is that no one shall venture to come into the Khan's presence empty-handed. So Friar Odoric, having with him a small dish full of apples, presented that as their offering to the Great Khan. And he took two of the apples, and ate a piece of one of them whilst he kept the other in his hand, and so he went his way.

Now, it is clear enough from this that the Khan himself had some savour of our Catholic faith, as he well might through the Minor Friars who dwell at his court continually. And as for that cap which he doffed so reverently before the cross, I have heard Friar Odoric say that it was a mass of pearls and gems, and was worth more than the whole March of Treviso.[1]

52. The blessed end of Friar Odoric.

Now, the blessed man Odoric,[2] after he had come back from foreign parts to his own province, to wit, the March of Treviso, became desirous of visiting the Supreme Pontiff, in order to obtain leave from him to take away with him again a body of fifty friars, no matter from what province, provided they had the will to go. So he departed from Friuli,

[1] FAR. here has the following nonsense, which is so great a falling off from the preceding pretty anecdote that I will not introduce it into the text: "Also I heard another thing from him. For he said that once every year the Great Khan sends one of his Tartars to the Soldan of Babylon, who receives him with great fear. And on an appointed day, the Soldan takes his place on one bank of a small stream, whilst the Tartar takes his on the other bank, with a bow bent in his hand, and a strongly poisoned arrow fixed therein. The Soldan takes his place with his knees bent and his hands clasped; he hath nought on his head, and nought on his back but a shirt. And the Tartar after giving him a great deal of harsh language calleth on him three times, saying: 'Confess then that thou hast thy life at the hand of the Great Khan, and that thou art his slave!' And the Soldan in great fear answereth that it is even so. And if he did not the other would incontinently slay him. Now this the Khan causeth to be done in token of his power; and I think it ought not to be let pass into oblivion."

[2] This is from FAR., comparing BOLL.

the district of his birth. But when he got to Pisa he was seized with a sore illness which forced him to return to his own province. And so it was that in Udine, a city of Friuli, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation M.CCC.XXXI, and the day before the Ides of January, he passed triumphantly from this world to the glories of the blessed. And his virtues and miraculous powers have been there most brilliantly displayed. For through his means the blind, the lame, the dumb, the deaf, are, by the Lord's permission, made perfectly whole. Glory to God, Amen!

II.

LETTERS AND REPORTS OF MISSIONARY FRIARS FROM CATHAY AND INDIA.

II.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

THE two first letters in this part of our collection are from the pen of John of Monte Corvino, the founder of those Catholic missions in China which enjoyed so much apparent prosperity during the continuance of the Mongol dynasty, and also the first Archbishop of Cambalec or Peking. They are transcribed by Wadding from an old chronicle which he assigns to Odoric of Pordenone, erroneously as we have seen.[1]

The third document also, I believe, for reasons which will be given, to contain a letter from the same ecclesiastic, of earlier date than the two preceding.

The birth of this John is fixed to about the year 1247, by an incidental allusion in the first of these letters. The place of his birth is doubtful, as the honour has been claimed by two towns or villages of the name; one in the Capitanata near Lucera, and the other about fifteen miles east of Salerno in the Principato Citra.[2]

The first mention of him that I have found is on the occasion

[1] *Ante*, p. 17.

[2] Wadding (vi, p. 94) mentions the double claim. The former village is marked in Murray's Map as Pietra Montecorvine, about twenty-two miles west of Foggia.

of his being sent in 1272, already a Franciscan, by the Emperor Michael Palæologus to Pope Gregory X, with a communication on the subject of that union of the Greek Church with Rome, which the Emperor, in his own supposed interest, professed to promote, though his efforts ended only in his being excommunicated by one of Gregory's successors, and denied Christian burial by his own.

John was sent back to the east with several companions, probably soon afterwards, and appears to have remained abroad till 1289, when he returned to the Papal Court bringing intelligence of the wide reception of the Faith in Western Asia, and of the desire of the princes and people for the preaching of the Word, the favourable dispositions of Argun, the reigning Khan of the House of Hulagu,[1] being especially eulogised. The Pope thought it well to send back to the field of labour with additional aid a missionary so experienced as John now was, giving him letters of commendation to Argun, to the King and Queen of (Lesser) Armenia, to the Patriarch of the Jacobites and Bishop of Tauris, and also to the great Kublai himself, and to Kublai's rival, Kaidu of Turkestan.

John remained at Tabriz till 1291, and then proceeded to the far east in order to fulfil his mission to Kublai, travelling by the way of India as he tells us in the first of the following letters. It is not likely that he reached Cambalec in the lifetime of the old Khan, who died in the beginning of 1294, for voyages were slow, and he stayed long at St. Thomas's and other places on the coast of Maabar or Coromandel.[2]

It will be well here to say something of the third letter in the

[1] Reigned 1284-1291.

[2] A party of friars had already been dispatched in April 1278 by Pope Nicholas III on a mission to Cathay and with a very long letter from the Pope to Kublai Khan, who was then alleged to have been baptised. He is addressed "*Quolibey, Magnus Cham, Imperator et Moderator Omnium Tartarorum Illustris.*" The members of the mission were Gerard of Prato, Antony of Parma, John of St. Agatha, Andrew of Florence, and Matthew of Arezzo, all Minorites. There seems to be no further knowledge of them. The words of John of Montecorvino in the first of his letters seem to make it pretty certain that they did not reach Cambalec. (See *Mosheim*, p. 68, and *Append.*, Nos. xxii, xxiii.)

collection, which purports to be written from that coast. This is derived from a MS. in the Laurentian Library, of which I found the indication in Quétif's *Script. Ord. Prædicatorum.*[1] The transcriber Friar Menentillus of Spoleto, in sending a copy or abstract of this letter to gratify the curiosity of an inquiring friend, informs him that it was written by a certain Franciscan missionary proceeding to the court of the Sovereign of all India, and who had been in company with their friend and brother Dominican Nicholas of Pistoia, when the latter died in India. Now we know from one of Montecorvino's authenticated letters that *he* was the Franciscan who was in company with Nicholas of Pistoia, when he died at St. Thomas's, or the modern Madras. And moreover this very document which we have here in an anonymous form is quoted as "a letter of Friar John the Cordelier," or Franciscan, by a contemporary author, the celebrated physician and reputed sorcerer Peter of Abano.[2] The document itself as given by Friar Menentillus is none of the most lucid, and reads like a translation by a not very intelligent person, rather than like a transcript of the original.

Besides these letters of Montecorvino's already spoken of, Wadding has handed down the fragment of another, written on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1306 (13th February). In this John mentions that a solemn deputation had come to him from a cer-

[1] The original, which is in quaint Italian, was published by Professor Kunstmann of Munich, in *Münchner Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1855, Nos. 21 and 22, and I am indebted to his kindness for a copy which I had failed to procure otherwise. There is also a brief notice by the same author in one of his papers already referred to. (*Phillips* and *Görres*, Bd. 37, p. 26-7.) Before I obtained the papers from Professor Kunstmann I had got a transcript of the MS. from Florence, from which the translation was made. I have now been able to correct some passages of this by comparison with Professor Kunstmann's edition.

[2] "Moreover, almost quite recently hath Friar John the Cordelier written a letter respecting the inhabitants of the climate in question from the territory of Mohabar in India, in the coast where lieth the body of the Apostle Thomas. And in this he saith that you find it ever summer and never simmer (*semper æstas et non æstus*), because there be continually breezes which moderate the heat"—and so on, quoting several periods out of this very letter. (*Petri Aponensis*, etc., *Conciliator.*, Venet., 1521, f. 97; see note on Introductory Notices of Marignolli, *infra.*)

tain part of Ethiopia, begging him to go or to send preachers thither, for they had had no preachers since the time of St. Matthew the Evangelist, etc., (see below at the end of John's second letter this fragment in full).[1]

This is a singular circumstance, and difficult to elucidate, even supposing that the deputation consisted only of some whom accident or trade had brought to such a centre of attraction as Cambalec. For even this is so improbable that I think we may adopt the suggestion of Professor Kunstmann that this fragment is really only the end of John's second letter from Cambalec, from which it had been accidentally separated. The date, which is absent in the second letter, fits in perfectly, and as it will be seen that in the end of that letter the writer was recurring to his experiences in Southern India, we should then see that he is speaking of the Ethiopian party as having visited him in that country, and not in China.[2] There is an old legend that St. Matthew preached in Ethiopia, which is referred to Nubia by Ludolf, as the Abyssinians have no tradition of his visiting them.[3] On the whole, however, perhaps no place to which the name of Ethiopia could be applied is more likely to have been the country of these people than Socotra, an island in which the traces of a debased Christianity still faintly lingered in the 17th century.[4]

[1] Wadding under 1307, § vi.

[2] *Kunstmann* in *Phillips* and *Görres*, Bd. 37, p. 236.

[3] The monk Burchard in the middle of the thirteenth century also speaks of *Æthiopia quæ hodie Nubia dicitur* as the field of St. Matthew's preaching.

[4] This is suggested by Assemanni (p. 516).

The Christianity of the people of Socotra is mentioned by the Arab voyagers edited by Renaudot and again by Reinaud. That work alleges that Socotra was colonised with Greeks by Alexander the Great in order to promote the cultivation of the Socotrine aloes, and that after the advent of our Lord, when the other Greeks had embraced Christianity, these colonists also adopted it, and had retained the profession till that day (the ninth century). Edrisi tells the same story. Marco Polo tells us that the people of Socotra, though greatly addicted to incantations, were baptised Christians and had an Archbishop subject to a patriarch at Bagdad. The next notice of the subject that I am aware of is found among the curious extracts given by Quétif from a MS. in the Colbertian library, of which some account will be given further on. The author, writing about 1330, seems to speak of Socotra in the following extract:—"As

The letter in question was brought home from Tartary by Friar Thomas of Tolentino, who had already for some years been

you proceed further to the south there is a certain island in the Indian Ocean of considerable size, where the people use both circumcision and baptism. And if it were but more pertinent to our subject it would be a very curious story to tell about that island, how I got there, as well as about the circumstances of the people, their manners and mode of living, their customs and laws and strange system of government." That the Socotran Christians practised circumcision is alleged also by Maffei, in his Indian History, in noticing the transactions of Albuquerque at Socotra, and this with others of their practices leads him to connect them distinctly with the Abyssinian church in which a kind of circumcision is well known to have been maintained. They had sunk into an almost savage state; but retained the practice of annual fasts, daily prayers (which he alleges were in Hebrew?), and veneration for the cross, which they all wore round the neck. Marco Polo perhaps considered them as Nestorians, and this also is asserted by Nicolo Conti, who spent two months on the island in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the beginning of the sixteenth Barbosa speaks of their nominal profession of Christianity as still maintained, though in great ignorance and without baptism. That some faint traces of their former Christianity lingered even to the middle of the seventeenth century we learn from the Travels of Father Vincenzo Maria, who was sent from Rome in that age to reconcile the differences of the Malabar Christians with the Roman hierarchy, a work containing many interesting particulars, and which might be worth the attention of the Hakluyt Society were it not so lengthy. He says the people still retained a Christian profession, though having no true knowledge of the faith. They had in his day but a jumble of doctrines and observances; worshipping and sacrificing to the moon; *circumcising*, abominating wine and pork. They had churches which they called *Moquame* [Ar. Maqám *locus, statio*], dark, low, and dirty, the walls of which they anointed daily with butter. On the altar they had a cross, and one candle in a candlestick. For the cross they retained a singular but ignorant reverence, carrying it in their processions. Three times in the day and three times in the night they were assembled in their churches by the striking on a piece of timber in lieu of a bell, and in their worship burned much incense and fragrant wood. The priests were called *Odambo*, were elected and consecrated by the people, and were changed every year. They dressed like the rest of the people, being distinguished only by a cross full of eyes, upon the breast. These priests were also the judges of the people. There was a fast of sixty days observed annually, beginning with the new moon of April, during which they abstained from meat, milk, and fish, eating only raw vegetables and dried dates. Of baptism and the other sacraments they had lost all knowledge, and their marriages were very lax. There were two apparently distinct races on the island, one of negroes with crisp hair; the other less black, of better aspect, and with straight hair;—the first living on dates, butter, and

preaching among the heathen in Asia; and the reports which he made at the Papal Court of John's great devotion and success probably led to the creation of the metropolitan see of Cambalec in the latter's favour.

This seems to have taken place in the spring of 1307,[1] and was accompanied or immediately followed by the appointment of seven other Franciscans to be suffragan Bishops under the new metropolitan. The powers conferred on the Archbishop were unusually ample, empowering him to rule like a Patriarch over all bishops and prelates of those parts, subject only to his recognition of the superiority of the Roman see, and to the reception of the pallium from it by himself and his successors.

The suffragan bishops thus nominated for Cathay were Gerard, Peregrine of Castello, Andrew of Perugia, Reader in Theology, Nicholas of Bantra or of Apulia, Minister (in the order) of the Province of St. Francis, Andrutius of Assisi, Ulrich Sayfustordt,

flesh; the others on fish. All used sour milk. They never shaved any part of the body, so many of them looked like absolute satyrs (compare in *Photii Bibliotheca* the notice from the Embassies of Nonnosus of a remote island in the Indian Sea inhabited by black hairy dwarfs who lived on fish and shell-fish). They had no houses, but lived in caves and holes. Their only art was that of weaving a coarse camlet of goat's hair. They cultivated a few palms and kept flocks; had no money, no writing, kept count of their flocks by bags of stones. Each family had a cave in which they deposited their dead without covering the bodies. They often put themselves to death when old or sick or vanquished. They had no remedies for disease except the aloe. When rain failed they selected a victim by lot and placing him within a circle addressed their prayers to the moon, and if without success they cut off the poor wretch's hands. They had many who practised sorcery, and being very shy of communication with strangers, shut themselves out from better knowledge. The women were all called *Maria*, which the author regarded as one of the relics of their Christianity. The mountains abounded in wild hogs, *wild asses*, and partridges. The whole account is very curious. (*Anciennes Relations*, etc., of Renaudot, p. 113; *Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 47; *Maffei, Hist. Indic.*, lib. iii; *Ludolf, Comment.*, p. 268; *Quétif, Scriptores Ord. Præd.*, p. 573; *Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, p. 252; *Marco Polo*, ii, 34; *India in the Fifteenth Century, Conti*, p. 20; *Viaggio all' Indie Orientali del P. F. Vincenzo Maria*, etc., Roma, 1672, pp. 132 and 442.)

[1] Only a fragment without date remains of the bull of appointment. But the letter nominating William de Villa Nova to be one of the Suffragans is dated from Poitiers, 1st May, 1307. (*Wadding*, vi, pp. 93, 147.)

and William of Villeneuve.[1] Of these, as we learn from the fourth letter in the present collection, only Gerard Peregrine and Andrew ever reached their destination. They consecrated the Archbishop, and in course of time all three in succession officiated as Bishops at Zaiton. The next three in the list were killed by their first experience of Indian climate, and William either never started or did not prosecute his journey, for he certainly did not reach Cathay, and sixteen years later he is found holding episcopal office in Europe.[2]

According to a story related by Wadding, the Emperor then reigning in Cambalec, and his mother, were eventually converted and baptized by John.* Shortly afterwards the Khan died, and was buried with imperial solemnity in the Convent church. When the troubles broke out thirty (fifty ?) years later, and the friars had to quit Cathay, they removed this imperial body with them to Saray, and when taken up it was found all fresh as when just buried. If the story of conversion were true the Emperor in question would probably be Ayur Balibatra, grandsonof Kublai, who died in 1311. But unfortunately there was scarcely a single Khan of the dynasty regarding whose conversion some story did not reach Europe; all probably alike baseless.[3]

In 1312 the same Pope Clement nominated three more bishops to serve under John of Montecorvino, by name Thomas, Jerome, and Peter of Florence.[4] This last we hear of, in *the Book of the Great Caan*, as presiding over one of the convents in Zaiton, whilst Andrew of Perugia ruled the other.

And this appears to be the latest notice bearing upon the history

[1] There are some differences in regard to this list of bishops among the annalists. It is not worth while to go into detail, and I have followed the list adopted by Dr. Kunstmann.

[2] Nominated to the diocese of Sagone in Corsica in 1323, and translated in 1328 to Trieste, where his tomb existed in the seventeenth century. (*Ughelli, Italia Sacra*, quoted by *Mosheim*, p. 98.) A certain Tuscan saintess is said to have prognosticated from the face of one of the bishops that he would not persevere in his mission. (*Mosheim, ib.*)

[3] Misled by such stories in relation to the Persian branch of the Mongol House, Edward II writes to Oljaïtu proposing that they should unite to destroy the abominable sect of the Mahomedans;—the Khan himself belonging to the said sect. (*Rymer*, quoted by *D'Ohsson*, iv, 592-4.)

[4] *Wadding*, vi, p. 184.

of this venerable man's life, excepting the anecdote related by Odoric,[1] and what can be gathered out of the letter of Bishop Andrew given below.

John died, aged upwards of eighty years, sometime about the year 1328, as we gather from a letter addressed to the Pope by certain christians of Cathay, which will be quoted in another section of this book.[2] Pagans as well as Christians followed him to the grave with demonstrations of the deepest grief and veneration.[3] No character so worthy of respect, except Benedict Goës in later days, appears among the ecclesiastical travellers with whom our subject brings us into contact.

He appears to have been not only the first, but the last effective Archbishop of Cambalec. In 1333, after the news of John's death had reached Avignon, one Friar Nicholas was appointed to the See, and was sent forth accompanied by twenty friars and six laymen. But it is not known what became of the party. Their arrival at Almalig and civil treatment there were heard of,[4] but nothing beyond; there is no indication of their having ever reached the Court of Cathay.

The mission of John de' Marignolli and his companions succeeded, but there was no bishop at Cambalec in their time. Some time before 1370 a certain Cosmas had been appointed, for we find that in that year he was transferred from the see of Cambalec to that of Saray, and Friar William of Prato (Du Prè?) named in his place.[5] Probably the Pope was not aware of the revolution which had recently ejected the Mongol family, and he could not be aware of its full effect on European intercourse. Gulielmus Pratensis and the friars who followed him are heard of no more.

A list embracing several other Archbishops or Bishops of Cambalec is indeed to be found in Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus*. Some of these it is probable were in fact prelates titularly named

[1] *Ante*, p. 160. [2] See Introductory Notices of Marignolli.

[3] See the *Livre du Grant Caan*, infra.

[4] See a letter from Pope Benedict XII to the Khan of Chagatai, thanking him for his good reception of Nicholas. (*Mosheim*, p. 111, and *App.* No. lxxix.)

[5] *Mosheim*, p. 120.

to the see, though not approaching it within thousands of miles, but others were certainly bishops of a different diocese, which has been confounded with that of Cambalec.[1]

There is a curious notice of the proceedings and success of John of Montecorvino to be found in the chronicle of John of Winterthur, a Suabian Minorite,[2] who finished his annals about the middle of the century. After mentioning the death of the friars at Tana in India, he goes on to say that a few years before that event, a certain Franciscan of Lower Germany had set out on a pilgrimage of evangelisation, and had written a letter to the chief of the Northern Vicariate, which the chronicler had seen, and in which a detailed account was given of the traveller's proceedings. The substance of this letter is then recited, and we find it to be in fact the same as that of the first letter of John Montecorvino from Cambalec, though his name is never mentioned but all is supposed to relate to the acts and sufferings of the Low German friar. Professor Kunstmann[3] identifies this person with that Friar Arnold of Cologne whom Montecorvino mentions as having joined him about the year 1303-4. It is possible that this Arnold is in some way connected with the mistake, but it seems pretty certain that what the chronicler had seen was merely a copy of Montecorvino's letter. There are one or two slight circumstances in the chronicle which are not mentioned in that letter but they look very like such amplifications as would be natural in such a case.

John in the first of these letters makes interesting mention of a certain King George of the family of Prester John. This George is mentioned by Marco Polo as exercising a secondary sovereignty in Tenduc, the position of which has been explained in a note on Odoric (p. 146). Marco also names the same George as one of the generals of Kublai's army in a great battle with Kaidu, the Khan's inveterate rival.[4] This seems the most suit-

[1] *Le Quien*, iii, coll. 1346-1356. This see, as Prof. Kunstmann points out, is that of *Cembalo* in the Crimea (I presume the Symbolōn Limēn of Strabo), and now famous under the name of Balaklava.

[2] In *Eccard, Corpus Historicum*, etc., i, coll. 1895-7. Winterthur is in the modern Swiss canton Zurich.

[3] *Phillips* and *Görres*, xliii, 677.

[4] Marco Polo, ii, 50, iii, 44.

able place to introduce some account of the personage whose name of Prester John is so constantly recurring in the narratives of that age.

The first notice of a potentate so styled appears to have been brought to Europe by the Syrian Bishop of Gabala who came in 1145 as envoy from the King of Armenia to Pope Eugene III. For he reported that not long before a certain John, inhabiting the extreme east, king and Nestorian priest, and claiming descent from the three wise kings, had made war on the King of the Medes and Persians, and had taken Ecbatana his capital. He was then proceeding with his army to Jerusalem, but was stopped by the Tigris which he could not cross, etc.[1] We shall see hereafter what facts appear to lie at the bottom of these rumours of a conquering christian prince in Central Asia in the first half of the twelfth century. But the Nestorians probably were glad to catch at a story which raised the importance of their sect, whilst the Catholics also greeted with joy this intelligence of a counterpoise to the Mahomedan power rising in a quarter so unexpected.

[1] "Vidimus etiam ibi tunc prætaxatum de Syria Gabulensem episcopum .... Narrabat etiam quod ante non multos annos Joannes quidam (qui ultra Persidem et Armeniam in extremo oriente habitans, rex et sacerdos, cum gente suâ Christianus est sed Nestorianus) Persarum et Medorum reges fratres Samiardos dictos, bello petierit, atque Ecbatani .... sedem regni eorum expugnaverit. Cui dum præfati reges cum Persarum Medorum et Assyriorum copiis occurrerent, triduo utrisque mori magis quam fugere volentibus dimicatum est, Presbyter Joannes (*sic enim eum nominare solent*) tandem versis in fugam Persis, cruentissimâ cæde victor extitit. Post hanc victoriam dicebat prædictum Joannem ad auxilium Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ procinctum movisse, sed dum ad Tygrim venisset, ibique nullo vehiculo traducere exercitum potuisset, ad septentrionalem plagam, ubi eundem amnem hyemali glacie congelari didicerat, iter flexisse. Ibi dum per aliquot annos moratus gelu expectaret, sed minime hoc impediente aeris temperie obtineret, multos ex insueto cœlo de exercitu amittens, ad propria redire compulsus est. Fertur enim iste de antiquâ progenie illorum, quorum in Evangelio mentio fit, esse Magorum, eisdemque quibus et isti gentibus imperans, tantâ gloriâ et abundantiâ frui, ut non nisi sceptro smaragdino uti dicatur. Patrum itaque suorum, qui in cunabulis Christum adorare venerunt, accensus exemplo, Hierosolymam iter proposuerat, sed prætaxata causa impeditum fuisse asserunt. Sed hæc hactenus."—*Ottonis Frisingensis Chronicon*, lib. vii, cap. 33, in *Germanic. Historic. Illust.* etc., *Christiani Urstisii Basiliensis*, Francofurdi, 1585.

The reports of Prester John's power, opulence, and sanctity expanded without limit, and letters were circulated throughout Europe, and survive in many continental libraries, which he was alleged to have addressed to the Emperor of the East and other Christian princes. In these his great power and glory were vaunted with the most extravagant details; India and the tomb of St. Thomas being always claimed as a prominent part of his dominions. Large extracts from such a letter may be seen in Assemanni, and a translation has been given by Mr. Layard.[1] By the circulation of these letters, glaring forgeries and fictions as they are, the idea of this great Christian conqueror was planted in the mind of the European nations, and twined itself round every rumour of revolution in further Asia that penetrated to Europe. Even when the noise of the real conquests of Chinghiz began to make itself audible in the west, he was invested with the character of a Christian king, and more or less confounded with the mysterious Prester John.[2] After this delusion was dispelled and the diffusion of the Mongol power had opened up the east, travellers naturally sought traces of the vast monarchy of which Europe for a century past had heard so much, but with invariable disappointment. Eventually the Chief of the Keraite tribe of Tartars became identified as the representative of Prester John, but a portion of the facts which combined with so much fable to form the legend have another source.[3]

[1] *Assemanni*, p. 488-493; *Layard's Nineveh*, i, 250.

[2] See *Eccard, Corpus Historic.*, ii, 1451, "Relatio de Davide Rege Tartarorum Christiano." The name Prester John does not, I think, occur in this, but the idea seems to be there.

[3] There is a letter in the Ecclesiastical Annals of Baronius, quoted from the Chronicle of Roger Hoveden, addressed, in 1177, from Venice by Pope Alexander to "*Carissimo in Christo filio illustri et magnifico Indorum regi, sacerdotum sanctissimo.*" The Pope recites how he had heard from his beloved son, Master Philip the physician, about the king's pious desire to have instruction in Catholic doctrine, etc., and to possess a church in Rome and an altar in Jerusalem. He found it too difficult, on account of the length and obstructions of the way, to send any one *a latere*, but he would despatch the said Philip to communicate instruction to him. It is not stated that Philip had actually been to the king's court, but only that he had heard of his majesty's pious desires from conversation with honourable persons of his kingdom, whom the physician

Plano Carpini, the first traveller to Mongolia whose narrative we have, says nothing of Prester John. Rubruquis, a few years later, goes into considerable detail on the subject.[1]

"At the time," he says, "when the Franks took Antioch the sovereignty in these regions of Northern Asia was held by a certain Coir-Khan. *Coir* was his proper name, *Cham* his title, the word having the meaning of soothsayer, which is applied to their princes, because they govern the people by means of divination.[2] And we read in the history of Antioch that the Turks sent for succour against the Franks to King Coir-Cham; for all the Turks came originally from those parts of the world. Now this Coir was of Cara Catay: *Cara* meaning *Black*, and *Catay* being the name of a nation, so that *Cara Catay* is as much as to say the Black Cathayans. And they were so called to distinguish them from the proper Cathayans, who dwell upon the ocean in the far east, of whom I shall tell you something hereafter. But these (Black)

had met with in those parts (*in partibus illis*). Baronius refers this to "the King of the Indians, vulgarly called *Pretejanni*, reigning far and wide over Ethiopia," and supposes it possible that the church possessed in his own time by the Abyssinians, at the back of the apse of St. Peter's, might have been granted on this occasion. The commentator, Pagius, rejects this, and considers the king to have been Prester John of Asia.

But I suspect that Baronius is right, and that the King of Abyssinia is in question. The *illis partibus* is vague, and may refer to Egypt or to Palestine, where Doctor Philip might well have met with Abyssinian pilgrims. There is no mention of the term *Prester John* in the document itself; and the application of that title to the Abyssinian king was probably a good deal later than this, though earlier than has generally been supposed, as will appear hereafter (*Annal. Eccles.*, Lucæ, 1746, vol. xix, p. 450).

A letter given by Matthew Paris, which was written from the Holy Land, in 1237, by Philip, Prior of the Dominicans there, speaks of the heads of the various sects of oriental Christians; and among others, of one who was over all the Nestorians in the east, and whose prelacy extended over India the Greater, and the kingdom *Sacerdotis Johannis*, and other realms still nearer the sun rising. Here it is, doubtless, the Asiatic potentate who is spoken of (*Rerum Angliæ Scriptores*, etc., Francofurti, 1601, p. 301).

[1] Page 259 *et seq.*

[2] The old "medicine-men" of the Tartars, before the introduction of Buddhism, were really called *Kams* (*Qámán* of the Persian writers, see *D'Ohsson*, i, 17, and also between 429 and 435). But I do not suppose there is any connexion between *Khán* or *Qán* and this *Kam*.

Cathayans inhabited certain mountain pastures (*Alpes*) which I passed through; and in a certain plain among those mountains dwelt a certain Nestorian who was a mighty shepherd, and lord over the people called Naiman, who were Nestorian Christians. And when Coir Chan died that Nestorian raised himself to be King (in his place), and the Nestorians used to call him King John, and to tell things of him ten times in excess of the truth. For this is the way of the Nestorians who come from those parts of the world; out of a mere nothing they will spin the most wonderful stories, just as they have spread all about that Sartach is a christian, and have told the same of Mangu Cham, and of Ken Cham; the fact being merely that they treat Christians with more respect than other folk, but all the while are not christians a bit. However in this way great tales went forth about this King John; though even when I passed over the lands that had been his pasture grounds nobody knew anything about him except a few Nestorians. Those pastures are now occupied by Ken Cham, whose court was visited by Friar Andrew, and I passed that way myself on my journey back. Now this John had a brother, who was also a great pastoral chief, whose name was Unc, and he dwelt on the other side of those Alps of Caracatay, some three weeks' journey distant from his brother, being the lord of a certain little town called CARACORUM, and ruling over a people called Crit and Merkit.[1] These people were also Nestorian Christians, but their lord had abandoned Christianity and had taken to idolatry, keeping about him those priests of the idols who are all addicted to sorcery and invocation of demons. Beyond his pastures again, some ten or fifteen days, were the pastures of the Moal,[2] a very poor tribe without any captain, and without any religion except soothsaying and sorceries, such as are followed by all the people in those parts. Next to the Moal again was another poor tribe called Tartar.[3] Now King John being dead without leaving an heir, his brother Unc was brought in and caused himself to be called Cham, and his flocks and herds were spread about

[1] The Kerit or Kerait, and the Merkit, two of the great tribes of Mongolia.

[2] The Mongols.

[3] The tribe of Tartars proper dwelt to the eastward, near Lake Buyar.

even to the borders of the Moal. And at this time there was a certain Chingis a blacksmith among the tribe of Moal, and he took to lifting the cattle of Unc Cham whenever he had a chance, so that great complaints were made by the herdsmen of Unc Cham to their lord. So Unc got together an army and made a raid into the land of the Moal denouncing Chingis, and the latter fled into the land of the Tartars and hid himself there," etc.

In this passage we have the two sources of the story of Prester John, to which we have alluded, mixed up together, as will be seen by a short statement of the histories referred to.

The empire of Kara Khitai was founded by a prince of the Khitan dynasty of Leao, who escaped with a body of followers from Northern China, on the overthrow of that dynasty by the Kin in the beginning of the twelfth century. This chief, called by the Chinese Yeliu Tashi, and by Rashideddin, Fushi Taifu, was well received by the Uigurs, and some others of the tribes west of the desert who had been subject to the Khitan empire. Gathering an army, he commenced a course of conquests which eventually extended over the whole of Eastern and Western Turkestan, including Khwarizm. In 1125 he took the title of Gur-Khan, or Universal Khan, fixing his residence at Bela-Sagun, and establishing the Buddhist faith, to which he adhered, as dominant in this new empire, which was known as Kara Khitai. A son and grandson successively occupied the throne after him; and the latter was still reigning in 1208, when the son of the last Khan of the Christian tribe of Naimans sought and found shelter at the court of Kara Khitai, and received the daughter of the Gur-Khan in marriage. But he formed a plot to displace his benefactor, and was eventually successful in capturing him, and in mastering a large part of his dominions: he abandoned Christianity for Buddhism at the persuasion of his wife, and eventually was attacked by the Mongols under Chinghiz in 1218, and slain in the mountains of Badakshan.[1]

Here we see not only the source of a part of the story of Rubruquis, the domination of Coir Cham (the Gur-Khan) over Kara Khitai, and the usurpation of the chief of the Naiman

[1] *D'Ohsson*, i, 163, *seq.*; 441, *seq.*

tribe of Nestorians in his place, but also the probable original of the stories of the conquering lord, brought to Europe by the Bishop of Gabala not many years after the first Gur-Khan had overrun Turkestan to the borders of Persia. This Gur-Khan was indeed a Buddhist, and not a Christian; but we shall have occasion to note hereafter the constant confusions of rumour between the two religions as they existed in Eastern Asia. The source of the other part of Rubruquis's story, and that which in the latter part of the thirteenth century had superseded the memory of the Gur-Khan in connexion with the legends of Prester John, requires the recapitulation of a different history.

The Nestorians, in the centuries succeeding the condemnation of their doctrine in the Roman empire, had sought to penetrate eastward. Their success may be gathered from their old establishment in India and in China, and from the long list of their metropolitan sees in the middle of the thirteenth century, embracing the regions from Armenia and the Persian Gulf in the west to Tangut and Cambalec in the east.[1]

It is related by the Christian historian, Gregory Abulfaragius, that between 1001 and 1012 the patriarch of Baghdad received a letter from the metropolitan of Merw, in Khorasan, which related the miraculous conversion of the King of KERITH, a sovereign living far to the north-east, in the interior of the land of the Turks, who had sent to Merw to demand a Christian priest, and 200,000 of whose subjects were ready to follow him to

[1] These Metropolitan sees were as follow. 1. Of Elamitis or of Jandishapur (*Khuzistan*). 2. Nisibis. 3. Perath Mesenæ (*Basrah*). 4. Assyria and Adiabene (*Mosul* and *Arbela*). 5. Beth Garma or Beth Seleucia and Carcha in Assyria. 5. Halavan or Halaha (*Zohab* on confines of Assyria and Media) 7. Persia or of Urumiah, Salmasa and Van. 8. Marw, or Khorasan. 9. Hara or Heriunitis, i.e. *Herat*. 10. Razichitis, or Arabia and Cotroba (said to be an island in the Sea of Oman). 11. Of the Sinæ (*China*). 12. Of India. 13. Of Armenia. 14. Of Syria or Damascus. 15. Adherbijan. 16. Of Rai and Tabaristan. (*Rai*, an ancient city of which vast traces exist near Tehran). 17. Dailam, south of the Caspian. 18. Samarkand. 19. Cashgar. 20. Balkh. 21. Segestan (*Seistán*). 22. Hamadan. 23. Khanbaleg (*Peking*). 24. Tanchet (*Tangut* or N. W. China). 25. Chasemgarah and Nuachet. (These seem to be Indian names, Hassan- or Kasimghar and Nyakot? but I do not know where.) See *Assemanni*, p. 630, and the list as given by *Layard* in his *Nineveh*, i, 257.

baptism.[1] The patriarch gave the needful orders for the despatch of priests and teachers. The Christianity of the Keraits, as a tribe, is also attested by Rashid-eddin, the Mahomedan historian of the Mongols.[2]

The seat of these Keraits lay originally about the sources of the Amur; but on being invaded by the Khitan in the ninth century, a large body of them took refuge in the mountains north of the Hoang Ho, called Inshan, and there became powerful, spreading across the river into the territory called in our maps the Ortu country; the region so occupied by them on both banks being, as we have seen,[3] the Tenduc of Marco Polo. Here they lived on good terms with their neighbours of the adjoining empire. The connexion between these people in Tenduc, or Tathoung, and those of their tribe who had remained north of the desert, appears to have been maintained or renewed; but the light on this point is not very distinct. Certainly, however, we find that the chief of the Keraits in the time of Chinghiz and his father occupied the country about Kara Korum; whilst it is seen from Marco Polo that Tenduc was a part of the same chief's dominions. Tribes of Keraite lineage are found to this day in the country which Polo called Tenduc.

The chief of the Kerait just alluded to is he who is introduced as Unc Cham in the second part of the story of Rubruquis, and whom Marco Polo, whilst giving him the same name, identifies with Prester John. His proper name is called Tuli by the Chinese, and Togrul by the Persian historians, the name of Unc being a corruption of the Chinese title *Wang*, or King, which had been conferred on him by the Kin sovereign of Northern China, after which he called himself Wang-Khan. The circumstance mentioned by Rubruquis of his having abandoned Christianity, does not appear to be alluded to by the eastern writers; but one would rather hope that it was true, for his career does no credit to Christianity. He at first obtained the sovereignty of the Keraits by the murder of two of his

[1] So says *Assemanni*, pp. 484, 485. But I cannot find the story in *Pococke's Abulfaragius*.

[2] Quoted by *St. Martin, Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, ii, 280.

[3] See note on Odoric, p. 146.

brothers and several nephews. His father's brother, Gur-Khan by name (and here we have probably the origin of a part of the confusions of Rubruquis), who had taken refuge with the Naimans, got the chief of that tribe to take arms in his favour, and succeeded in displacing Tuli-Wang-Khan. The latter fled for help to Yessugai, the father of Chinghiz, who gave it so effectually that Tuli was again restored to his dominions. After a reign of many years, however, he was again ejected, and reduced to a destitute condition. Hearing, by-and-by, of the rising influence of Temugin, afterwards called Chinghiz Khan, the son of his old friend, he visited him, was received in the most cordial manner, and was treated with the greatest consideration and liberality. This was in 1196. For some years the two chiefs conducted their raids in alliance, but differences sprang up between them; the son of Wang-Khan entered into a plot to kill Temugin, and in 1202-3 they were in open war with one another. In the latter year, Temugin completely defeated the old Kerait in a battle fought between the Tuli and Kerulan rivers; and the vanquished chief as he fled through the Naiman country, was slain by two of that tribe. This *Potente*, as Marco Polo calls him, it is whom that traveller identifies with Prester John, and in this Polo is followed by Montecorvino and Odoric. The idea must have been derived from the oriental Christians; for the title of *Malik Yuhana* (King John) is applied expressly by Abulfaragius to the same Tuli-Wang-Khan. But we have seen that the name reached Europe more than a century before that chief's time.[1]

There seems to have been discovered no corroboration from oriental sources of the restoration of a measure of power and dignity to the descendants of the Kerait king who had wronged Chinghiz so grievously. But for this Marco's authority might well suffice, even were it not so fully confirmed by Montecorvino.

Much ingenuity has been expended by learned men to little purpose in devising an origin for the name of Prester John.

[1] *Pococke's Abulfaragius*, p. 280; and for the preceding paragraphs see *D'Ohsson*, i, 48-83; *Klaproth* in *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. i, tom. ix, 299-306, *Pauthier, Le Pays de Tanduc et les Descendants du Prêtre Jean*, Paris, 1862; *Ritter*, vol. ii, pp. 253-295; and especially *D'Avezac* in his introduction to Carpini.

The *John* alone has been derived from the Chinese title Wang, or has been connected with the old legends of the immortality of John the Evangelist. *Prester John* has been interpreted as a corruption of *Firishtaján*, *Paraster Khan*, *Presbyter Cohen*, and what not, down to the Pedro Juan, and Preto Joam, or Black John, which the Portuguese applied to the king of Abyssinia, and the *Pretiosus Joannes*, with which one of the Popes actually addressed that potentate.

The history of the transfer of the name to the King of Abyssinia, as the phantom conqueror of Central Asia faded into thin air, would too much lengthen this digression. It is sufficient to remark that though this transfer is usually referred, as by Ludolf, to the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese began to get acquainted with the quasi-Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, there is proof in this collection that the name was applied to the African monarch already in the first half of the fourteenth century.[1]

[1] See Marignolli in this collection. Friar Jordanus had already, according to my understanding of him, placed Prester John in Africa. In the middle of the next century Fra Mauro expressly identifies him with the King of Abyssinia. In connection with this subject I may notice that a critic in the *Spectator* (April 2nd, 1864, p. 397) blames me for referring in a note on this passage of Jordanus to the remarks of D'Avezac on Prester John "as if they supported my views," whilst, he says, on turning to those remarks he found they did just the contrary.

The implied censure has no ground. I did not refer to D'Avezac's Essay as supporting any views, but as containing a comprehensive "dissertation on Prester John and the confusions which transferred a Christian prince of Central Asia to Central Africa," and this it certainly does contain. Incidentally D'Avezac indicates the view that the India Tertia of Jordanus is somewhere in Asia or in the far East, and not in Africa as I assumed. But this affects nothing in the reference to him. That the India Tertia and Ethiopia of Jordanus were both in Africa as a matter of fact is plain, whatever the friar's own notions as to their whereabouts might be. India Tertia is the country of rhinoceroses, civet-cats, horned adders, true negroes, ambergris, and zebras; that is to say it is in Africa. Between India Tertia and India Major (i.e., India proper) also lay the Male and Female Islands, which we know from Polo were believed to lie between Persia and Africa, and from Conti to adjoin Socotra. The Ethiopia again of Jordanus is no Asiatic region, but simply Abyssinia. It adjoins India Tertia; its emperor rules over more than fifty kings, according to the old fable regarding the king of Abyssinia (see *Ludolf*, bk. ii, c. 18, § 1, and *Suppt.*, p. 15); its people are all Christians but heretics; and its king, according to another old legend, received a large tribute

The fourth letter in the present section, written in 1326, is from the pen of ANDREW OF PERUGIA, Bishop of Zaiton, the last survivor of the six bishops sent out twenty years before by Pope Clement. Like the first two letters it is derived by Wadding from the chronicle which he ascribed to Odoric, now preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris.[1] The impression which the letter gives of Bishop Andrew is not quite a favourable one, and it is plain that he did not pull well with Archbishop John. I have elsewhere suggested the possibility that this bishop might have been that Andrew the Frank who came to Pope Benedict in 1338 as the head of the Great Khan's embassy.[2] Even an aged man might have been tempted to revisit the Latin world before he died, and Andrew need not have been a very aged man in 1338.

We hear of but one successor to Andrew as Bishop of Zaiton, and of him only his death. Under 1362 Wadding records that "Friar James of Florence, Archbishop of Zaiton, and Friar William the Campanian, two Minorites, were slain as Christian confessors in the empire of the Medes."[3]

from the Sultan of Egypt (as a bribe not to stop the Nile; see note on *Marignolli; infra*). I may add that Friar Burchard the Dominican, nearly a century before Jordanus, knows Ethiopia as including Nubia (see above, p. 168).

It is very probable that the application of the name of India to a part of Africa connected itself with geographical notions alluded to by the Reviewer, of which there are indications in Ptolemy and Marcianus of Heraclea, and more plainly in Edrisi, and according to which Africa ran far to the East, and so as to meet, or nearly to meet, the coast of S. E. Asia. Even in Fra Mauro's map the African coast trends considerably eastward from the Red Sea (see cut in *Marignolli, infra*). But I believe the India Minor, India Major, and India Tertia of Jordanus will be found to answer pretty closely to the SIND, HIND, and ZINJ of the Arabs, and that these names are the origin of the three Indias.

[1] Wadding, vii, p. 53. There is an Andrew of Perugia mentioned by Quétif as writing against the Emperor Lewis in 1330. But even if he were not a Dominican (which Quétif is not sure of) it is most improbable that this should have been our Andrew come back from the East. (*Quét.* and *Echard*, p. 567.)

[2] See introduction to Marignolli.

[3] See this expression (*Empire of the Medes*) explained in a note on the seventh letter below.

The next letters are those of FRIAR JORDANUS the Dominican, the author of the *Mirabilia*, of which a translation was published by the HAKLUYT SOCIETY in 1863. There are a few remarks to make in addition to what was said of Jordanus in the preface to that translation.

We have nothing to guide us as to the age of Jordanus at the time of his appointment to be Bishop in India. But it is just possible that we trace the journey of his party to the East as early as 1302, when Thomas of Tolentino took out with him to Asia twelve friars, of whom it is reported incidentally that they proceeded first to Negropont, and afterwards to Thebes. Now, it is obvious from the second and third pages of the *Mirabilia* that this was precisely the route followed by Jordanus, and as it seems a somewhat peculiar one the coincidence is worthy of note. The company doubtless was chiefly composed of Franciscans, but so was that party with which he went to India.[1]

One of the letters translated here appears perhaps to imply that Jordanus had been to Columbum before his landing at Tana with the Franciscans.[2] And it seems to me certain that he wrote the *Mirabilia* before he went out again as bishop. His appointment to that office appears to have taken place in 1328,[3] though he did not leave Europe till 1330, and as the heading of the book sets forth his episcopal designation, it is probable that he noted down the *Mirabilia* in the interval between those two dates.

That he had been at Columbum before he was made bishop is confirmed by the following circumstance. Among the Ecclesiastical Records, besides the Pope's letter to the Christians of that place there is another in like terms commending the new bishop "to the whole body of Christian people dwelling in *Molephatam*."[4]

[1] Wadding, vii, p. 11.

[2] *Loca sunt tria ubi Fratres multum fructificare poterunt et communiter vivere*, quas ego scio: *et unus est Supera...et alter est in contracta de Parocco ...et alter Columbus.*" This is the only place I know in which the latter name appears in the nominative case, so that it would seemingly have been more correct to call it Columbus than Columbum as I have done, following the French editor of the *Mirabilia*.

[3] *Bzovii Annal. Ecclesiast.*, Coloniæ, 1618, tom. xiv, col. 531.

[4] *Odoric. Raynaldi Annales Ecclesiast.*, 1330, lv. Molephatam (*Malifatan*) is mentioned by the historian Rashideddin as one of the cities of

Now, this kingdom is mentioned by no one else that we know of except Jordanus himself in his *Mirabilia*, where he spells the name precisely as in the Pope's letter, a very unusual agreement when Asiatic names are in question. Hence, to me it seems certain that the information which led the Pope to write to Molephatam was given by Jordanus himself, and derived from his personal knowledge.

Indications of date, though slight, may also be gathered from the book. In it (p. 54) he speaks of Elchigaday as the reigning sovereign of the second Tartar (or Chagatai) empire. Ilchikdaï became Khan in 1321, and the date of his death is not given. Some of the histories, indeed, put the death of his successor in 1327, but this is certainly inaccurate as will be shown below. Still, as that successor (Tarmashirin Khan) appears to have had a reign of some length and certainly was dethroned about 1334 at latest, it seems pretty clear that Ilchikdaï must have been dead long before Jordanus could have *returned* from exercising his episcopate in India. Hence he must have written his work before he went on that mission.

Before the printing of the *Mirabilia* the name of Jordanus was known, from his connexion with the friars put to death at Tana, but it was not known of what country he was. Hence the Portuguese claimed him as a countryman, and the Portuguese Hagiologist Cardoso declares that Jordanus himself was eventually a martyr to the faith, but with no particulars or evidence.[1] It is not known that he ever reached Columbum as bishop; we only know that there is no mention of him or any other bishop on Marignolli's visit twenty years later.

I have taken the opportunity of inserting at the end of these remarks a few additional notes to the *Mirabilia* of Jordanus, in correction of my own mistakes or in further illustration of the author's text.

The last letter is one from PASCAL, a young Spanish Franciscan on a mission to Tartary, written in August 1338 from Almalig,

Ma'abar, in a passage quoted at the end of the third letter in this collection.

[1] *Kunstman* in *Phillips* and *Görres*, xxxvii, p. 152.

the capital of the Khans of Turkestan or Chagatai. It describes his proceedings from his quitting his convent at Vittoria in Spain to his arrival at Almalig, and shows a burning zeal for his work, which had the consummation which he seems almost to have anticipated, in the martyrdom which befel him together with several of his brethren, probably within less than a year from the date of this letter.[1]

The letter is derived from Wadding, who also relates the story of the martyrdom. Its circumstances are likewise briefly told by John de' Marignolli, who was at Almalig the year after they occurred. And another reference to the story, of earlier date perhaps than the composition of Marignolli's book, is found in John of Winterthur's chronicle.[2] The narrative is given most fully by one of the Franciscan hagiologists, Bartholomew of Pisa, who wrote later in the same century, and his account, with which Wadding's is nearly identical, runs as follows:[3]

"In the Vicariat of Cathay or Tartary, in the city of Armalec in the Middle Empire of Tartary, in the year 1340, the following Minorites suffered for the faith—viz., Friar Richard the Bishop of Armalec, Friar Francis of Alessandria, Friar Pascal of Spain, Friar Raymond of Provence; these four were priests; also Friar Lawrence of Alessandria, and Friar Peter of Provence, both lay brethren, and Master John of India, a black man, belonging to the third order of St. Francis, who had been converted by our friars. All these had been very well treated in that empire by the emperor then on the throne. Indeed, he had been cured of a cancer by Friar Francis of Alessandria (more by prayer than by physic), and on this account the emperor used to call Friar Francis his father and physician. And so it came to pass that he bestowed upon the brethren lands and privileges and full authority to preach, and even made over to them his own son, then seven years of age, to be baptised; and so he was accordingly, by the

[1] Compare note on Marignolli, with the remarks on that traveller's chronology in the introductory notice. The data appear to fix the death of the friars to 1339, whilst the time of year assigned by the ecclesiastical writers (midsummer) would be probably correct.

[2] *Eccard, Corpus Histor.*, i, col. 1877-78.

[3] *Barthol. Pisan., De Conformitate*, etc. (as above, p. 5) f. lxxx *ver.*

name of John. But by the permission of God, the emperor himself, on his way to a hunting match, was taken off by poison, and his four sons also were put to death. Then the empire was seized by a certain villain of a falconer,[1] a Saracen of the blood-royal, whose name was Alisolda. And as the brethren by their preaching had made many converts to the faith, this new emperor ordered that all the Christians should be made Saracens, and that whosoever should disobey the third order to this effect should be put to death. And so when the brethren aforesaid would not obey this order they were bound and all tied to one rope which was dragged along by the infuriated mob, who smote and spat upon them, stabbed and slashed them, cutting off their noses and ears, and otherwise mutilating them, till at length they fell by the sword and made a blessed migration to the Lord.

"But the aforesaid emperor before long was himself slain, and his house destroyed by fire. Now, these brethren suffered in the year before mentioned, about the Feast of St. John Baptist, and whilst Gerard Odo was General of the Order."[2]

It is impossible to reconcile the revolutions of government, as stated in this ecclesiastical story, with the chronology of the Chagatai empire as given by Deguignes.[3] But the latter admits the dates of succession to be very uncertain, and there seems some ground for believing that the Franciscan statements are substantially correct.

[1] *? Falcherius.*

[2] There is a little discrepancy in the list of friars. Wadding omits Raymond, and adds that William of Modena, a Genoese merchant, moved by their example, also suffered with constancy. Marignolli omits Raymond, calls Lawrence *of Ancona*, and gives Gilott as the name of the merchant.

The appointment of a bishop to Armalec seems to have escaped the notice of the annalists, nor is any other besides this Richard named by Le Quien in *Oriens Christianus*. He may have been sent in 1328, when John XXII is stated to have despatched bishops of the two orders with priests to various Asiatic states, including Khorasan and Turkestan. (*Wadding*, vii, 88.) But it is pretty clear that Pope Benedict himself did not know anything of the bishop, for in a letter to two ministers of the Khan of Chagatai, who were Christians, he praises their beneficence "*cuidam Episcopo* de Ord. Frat. Min. in civitate Armalech deputato." *Mosheim, App.*, p. 177.)

[3] *Deguignes*, i, p. 286; and iv, p. 311.

According to the lists of Deguignes Tarmeshirin Khan, the first Mussulman Khan of Chagatai, was dethroned in 1327 by his brother Butan Khan; Butan again was dethroned by Zenkshi or Jinkshi; he by his brother Yesuntimur; and he again by ALI-SULTAN of the descendants of Okkodai, who in 1332 was succeeded by Kazan, who reigned till 1346.

Again, in the narrative which is given in Astley's collection from Abulghazi and others, the succession of the princes is the same, but Tarmeshirin Khan dies in 1336, and no other date is given except the death of Kazan in 1348.

If the dates in Deguignes be correct, the Ali-Sultan of the history certainly cannot be the Alisolda of the Franciscans. The other statement has nothing inconsistent with this identification which so obviously suggests itself. Now, the first dates are *certainly* incorrect; for Ibn Batuta visited Tarmeshirin Khan not many months before he entered India, and that was in the end of 1333. About two years later, he tells us, he heard of the dethronement of Tarmeshirin by his cousin Buzan Oglu (Butan Khan ?).[1] This would place the event about 1334-5. Ibn Batuta also tells us that this Buzan was an unjust sovereign who persecuted Islam, and allowed the Jews and Christians to rebuild their temples, etc. This looks very like a counterpart, from the Mussulman point of view, of the favourable character given by the missionaries of the sovereign who patronised them.

There is, however, a letter written in 1338, from Pope Benedict XII to the Khan of Chagatai, thanking him for his kindness to the Christians in his territory, and especially to Archbishop Nicholas when on his way to Cambalec.[2] And another letter to the ministers of the Khan, already quoted, speaks of their having granted a piece of land to the mission to build a church on, etc. Now, this Khan is called in the Pope's letter *Chansi*, which seems to identify him with the Jinkshi of the historical lists; whilst the circumstances mentioned seem to identify him with the Khan

[1] There are some curious difficulties attending the chronology of Ibn Batuta's journey, but though their solution might throw the dates in question later, I believe it could not throw them earlier.

[2] *Mosheim, App.*, p. 175.

whose kindness to the mission is commemorated in the martyrology, and who would thus appear to be Jinkshi rather than Butan. As Nicholas was named Archbishop late in 1333, the date of his being at Almalig was probably 1335 or 1336. There is, under these circumstances, nothing inconsistent with the revolt and success of Ali Sultan taking place in 1338 or 1339, or with his being slain soon afterwards, as the ecclesiastical story tells; though there remain some minor discrepancies.

It may be added that we have the positive statement of Friar Pascal in the letter here translated, that when he arrived on the frontiers of Chagatai, the emperor thereof had lately been slain by his natural brother. The letter is dated August 10th, 1338, and the event in question, which might have occurred from half a year to a year earlier, must have been, it seems to me, the dethronement of Jinkshi by Yesontimur. We shall then have the data afforded by Ibn Batuta, the Pope's letter, the ecclesiastical story of the martyrdom, and Pascal's own letter, all quite consistent with one another, though all inconsistent with the accepted historians. The succession of sovereigns will then run:—

Ilchikdai dies probably about		... ...	1327.
Tarmeshirin Khan dethroned	by	Butan ...	1334.
Butan	„	by Jinkshi ...	1335.
Jinkshi	„	by Yesuntimur,	1337.
Yesuntimur	„	by Ali Sultan,	1338-9.
Ali Sultan	„	by Kazan ...	1339-40.

And this Kazan was no doubt reigning when Marignolli was so well treated at Almalig.[1]

Another piece inserted in this part of our collection is a short account of "The Estate and Governance of the Grand Caan" (*i.e.*, of the Empire of Cathay under the Mongols), which was written in Latin by a certain Archbishop of Soltania under instructions from Pope John XXII. I have not been able to hear of a copy of this Latin original, but at an early date the work was done into French by that diligent Long John of Yprès who wrought so largely in that way, and seems to be the true prototype of all the Ramusios, Hakluyts, and Purchases. Of this

[1] See Marignolli, *infra*.

translation two copies exist in the Bibliothèque Impériale,[1] and one did exist formerly in the Cottonian collection. This French version was printed at Paris in 1529, and subsequently, as mentioned in the bibliography relating to Odoric,[2] but I have not seen it.[3] It was again printed from the MS. by M. Jacquet in the second series of the *Journal Asiatique* (vi, pp. 57-72), and from that impression I have translated.

The names of several Archbishops of Soltania have been preserved, and as this work fixes its own date approximately as between the death of John Montecorvino, which it alludes to as recent, and that of Pope John, it must have been written about 1330, and therefore almost certainly by JOHN DE CORA, nominated to the see of Soltania by that Pope in the beginning of the year just mentioned (or somewhat earlier). It does not seem possible to determine from the text whether the author had himself been in Cathay, or only compiled from the reports and letters of others.[4]

This Archbishop John, a Dominican, was perhaps also, as Le Quien has suggested, the author of a curious work described in Quétif's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, as existing in the Colbertian library,[5] which was presented to the French king, Philip

[1] In MSS. Nos. 7500 and 8392. See the list of MSS. of Odoric, *supra*, p. 34.

[2] *Supra*, p. 35.

[3] I cannot find the work in the Br. Mus. Catalogue.

[4] Cora, this John's name-place, is a town of the Roman Campagna six miles from Villetri. M. d'Avezac says that the reference to Montecorvino's funeral implies the author's presence at it, but there appears to be a difference in the readings. The passage as given in Jacquet's publication in the *J. A.* runs thus:

"Cilz Arceuesques comme il plot a Dieu est nouuellement trespassez de ce siècle. A son obseque et à son sepulture *vinrent* tres grant multitude de gens crestiens et de paiens, et desciroient ces paiens leurs robes de dueil," etc. M. D'Avezac's quotation, which appears to be taken from the work as printed in 1529, has *vis* instead of *vinrent*.

[5] *Quétif and Echard*, pp. 571-4. It is entitled, "*Directorium ad faciendum passagium transmarinum editum per quemdam fratrem ordinis Prædicatorum scribentem experta et visa pocius quam audita, quod dirigitur serenissimo Domino Philippo Regi Francorum, comtatum anno Dni millesimo cccº trigesimo.*" There is a MS. of the same work in Magdalen College Library at Oxford.

of Valois in 1330, and in which are discussed the various ways by which an army might be conducted to the Holy Land, how the Byzantine Empire might be reconquered by the Latins, and its church subjected to Rome, how the Turks might be subdued, &c. Various passages quoted by Quétif from this work show that the author was in Persia already in 1308, and had more than twenty-four years' experience of residence among the infidels; that he had been a great labourer in the reconciliation of the Armenians to Rome; that he had seen armies of almost all the nations of the east go forth to war; that he had visited an island of the Indian sea, which appears to have been Socotra;[1] and that he had been present with Don Martin Zacharia, the Genoese Captain of Chios, in some of his victories over the Turks.[2] The rank of the author as Archbishop in the East is gathered by Quétif from the records of the French council, in which the proposals made in this work were discussed, vii Kal. August. 1330.

D'Avezac indeed says that the work in question was written by Fr. Burchard, the author of a celebrated description of the Holy Land, and informs us that this is stated in a French translation of the work, executed for the Duke of Burgundy in 1457, as well as in the catalogue of the Colbert MSS. drawn up by Baluze in the end of the seventeenth century. But there is certainly some mistake here, as Burchard or Brocard the Dominican, who wrote the *Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*, went to the Holy Land in 1232, a century before the date to which the *Directorium* described by Quétif most assuredly belongs. It is curious that so accurate and accomplished a writer as M. D'Avezac should have overlooked this.

[1] See *supra*, p. 168.

[2] See *Jordanus*, p. 56, and additional notes to Jordanus, *infra*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE MIRABILIA OF FRIAR JORDANUS.

(Hak. Soc. 1863).

Preface, p. iv. The MS. of Jordanus is stated by a reviewer in the *Spectator* to be now in the British Museum.

Page vii. *Bishop of Semiscat.* Prof. Kunstmann takes this place for Meshid, but we are both wrong. M. Coquebert-Montbret, the French editor, was right in identifying it with Samarkand, though the identification did not seem probable in absence of reasons alleged. But it is clear, from reading the records in reference to this appointment in Wadding or Mosheim, that Samarkand is meant. The bishop in question, Thomas of Mancasola, is commended by the Pope to Elchigaday, Emperor of *Turquestan*, in whose territories he had been previously labouring, and was now promoted to a bishopric *in civitate Semiscantensi*, as it is written in one place, no doubt, correctly. For we learn from Clavijo that Samarkand was also called *Cimesquinte*. It is called *Siemisekan* also in old Chinese annals, which is, perhaps, an indication of the same form (*Deguignes*, iv, 49).

Page ix. *Chronicle in the Vatican.* The doubts as to this chronicle being written by our Jordanus are confirmed by a reference to Muratori (*Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, vol. iv, p. 949 *et seq.*), who gives a number of extracts, and states the author's apparent interests to be Venetian and Franciscan.

Page xiv. *Note referring to Conti.* Being compelled to finish this preface in great haste, I made a mistake here, for which apology is due to Mr. Major. In the travels, as published in his *India in the Fifteenth Century*, the first name is *Peudefitania*, which Mr. Major explains as "Durmapatnam, near Tellicherry"; the second is *Buffetania*, which he explains as "Burdwan"; I believe, however, that the two names represent the same place, and I do not admit that either could mean *Burdwan*.

In the same note, for *Baranási* read *Baránasí*.

Page xvii. My surmise as to the reading of the first words of Jordanus is "emphatically wrong," a critic says, in the *Spectator;* and I believe he is "emphatically" right.

Text. Pages 4, 5. *The Catholic Archbishop, Zachary by name.* This personage, Zachary Archbishop of St. Thaddeus, is congratulated by Pope John XXII on his reconciliation and zeal for the Catholic faith, in a letter dated in November, 1321. St. Thaddeus was a celebrated convent immediately south of Ararat (*Od. Raynaldi Annales Eccl.*, sub an. 1321 vi; *Jour. Asiat.*, ser. v, tom. xi, 446).

Page 6. *The tomb of Hulagu.* Hulagu not only did build a castle, called Tala, on an island in the lake, in which were deposited his treasures; but he was himself buried there, and much gold, etc., cast into the tomb with him. His successor, Abaka, was also buried there (*D'Ohsson*, iv, 257, 406-7, 538).

Page 7. *Lake where Ten Thousand Martyrs were crucified*, etc. This lake is not Sevan, north of Ararat, but the great lake of Van, south of the mountain. The great city called Semur must be ancient Van, called by the Armenians *Shamirama Kerta* (the city of Semiramis). There are vast remains. And six miles from Van is a monastery on a hill called Varac, where they relate that ten thousand martyrs were crucified, as Jordanus says. Another authority, however, speaks of their being crucified on Mount Ararat, "under Adrian and Antoninus Pius," and being valorous soldiers who refused to sacrifice. They are said to be celebrated in one of the sermons of Ephraim Syrus (*St. Martin*, in *Journ. As.*, ser. ii, tom. v, 161; *Viaggi Orient. del P. Filippo*, Venice, 1667, p. 1089; *Breve Desc. dello Stato della Christianita, etc., nell' Armenia, per il R. P. Domenico Gravina*, Roma, 1615, p. 38).

Page 10. *Pix, dico seu Pegua.* There is rather a wild question in the note on this last word. I suppose now that it is a form of *pegola*, old Italian for *pitch*.

> "Tal non per fuoco ma per divina arte
> Bollia laggiuso una *pegola* spessa."
>
> Dante, *Inf.*, xxi, 16.

The word *pegola* is applied to the same thing, *viz.* the mineral pitch of Persia, by Cesar Frederic in *Ramusio* (iii, 386 v., ed. of 1606).

Page 12. *Risis autem comeditur atque* Sagina *in aquâ tantummodo cocta.* This is mistranslated; it should be "Rice, however, and *millet* are eaten merely boiled in water." *Suggina* in Italy is the tall Asiatic millet, or *sorghum*, which in India we call *jowar.* The common dictionaries, with their usual imbecility, explain it, some as *Turkey-wheat*, some as *buck-wheat*, some as both!

Page 13. *Pliny's Pala and Ariena, the Jack.* Ritter strangely assumes these to be the *banana.* "Humboldt," he says, "writes, that many Indians (of S. America) make their meal with a very little manioc and three bananas of the larger kind. Still less satisfied the Indian Brahmans, for one fruit of that kind was enough for four." And he refers to the above-cited passage in Pliny. Here the great geographer is all abroad. Four Brahmans would be as ill-pleased to dine off one plantain of the largest kind known in India, as four Germans off one potato. The only feature suggesting the plantain in Pliny's description is the greatness of the leaves; but the form (three cubits by two) is quite different, and the great leaves were probably suggested by the great fruit; also the production of dysentery by the fruit, which Pliny mentions, is entirely foreign to the plantain.

Page 18. *The Rhinoceros in Western India.* The following references will show that the rhinoceros was in Sindh and the Punjab, at least as late as Jordanus's time, and in Peshawur province two hundred years later (*Ibn Batuta*, iii, 100; *Baber*, pp. 292, 316; *Journ. Asiat.*, ser. i, tom. ix, 201; *Petis de la Croix, Timur*, p. 158).

Page 24. *Alleged Hindu Theism.* On this subject Gasparo Balbi says, that we must not assume that *idol* stands for *God* with those heathen, *perchè questa gente credono anch'essi che vi sia un Dio che regge e governa la machina di questo mondo;* ma adorano l'idolo come noi adoriamo nelle imagini quello che si rappresentano" (p. 68).

Page 30. *Island of naked folk.* The Carta Catalana exhibits this east of Java (which is there also called *Jana*), with the title "Insula nudorum in quâ homines et mulieres portant unum folium ante et retro alium."

Page 34. *A star of great size, etc., called Canopus.* Baber, on describing his first invasion of Cabul, and his passage of the Indian Caucasus, says: "Till this time, I had never seen the star *Soheil* (*Canopus*); but on reaching the top of a hill, Soheil appeared below, bright to the south. I said, 'This cannot be Soheil!' They answered, 'It is, indeed, Soheil!' Baki Chegha-niani recited the following verses:

'O Soheil! how far dost thou shine, and where dost thou rise?
Thine eye is an omen of good fortune to him on whom it falls!'"

Baber, p. 133.

Page 37. *Even the Devil, too, speaketh to men, etc.* "This, for certain, I can affirm, that oftentimes the Devil doth cry with an audible voice in the night: 'tis very shrill, almost like the barking of a dog. This I have often heard myself, but never heard that he did anybody any harm" (*Robert Knox's Hist. Rel. of the Island of Ceylon*, p. 78; see also *Campbell's Excursions*, etc., i, 311).

Page 40. *Note.* On Fandaraina and Singuyli, see *note* to Odoric (p. 75).

Page 45. *Fifty-two kings under the Lord of Ethiopia.* On the numerous tributaries ascribed to the "Emperor of Ethiopia," *i. e.*, the King of Abyssinia, sometimes one hundred and twenty (as in Fra Mauro), sometimes sixty, sometimes fifty, sometimes forty, see *Ludolf*, book ii, c. xviii, § 1, and suppt., p. 15.

Page 53. *Moorish Sea.* Read Black Sea (*Mare Maurum*), and see note near beginning of Odoric.

Page 54. *Dua, Cayda, Capac, and Elchigaday.* Both Kaidu and Dua reigned in the Turquestan or Chagatai division of the Mongol dominions in the latter part of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Kaidu long disputed with Kublai the supreme *Khanate*, whilst Dua was the inheritor of the special Khanate of Chagatai. Capac, the *Guébek* of D'Ohsson or Kapak of others was the fourth Khan from Dua, dying in 1321, and succeeded by *Ilchikdai*, the Elchigaday of our author.

Page 56. *A very noble Genoese, by name Martin Zachary, etc.* The story of this worthy, and how the Emperor (Andronicus Senior) got Chios from him, and took him prisoner, may be read in *Nicephorus Gregoras*, ix, 9, vi, and in *Joannes Cantacuzenus*, ii,

c. 10 and 11. In 1338 Pope Benedict XII and King Philip of France wrote to the Emperor of the East to obtain Martin's liberation, and probably with success, for a Genoese Martin Jaqueria is found in command of the Pope's galleys two years later (*Ducange, Hist. de Constant.* Pt. ii, p. 103).

Page 57. *Andreolo Cathani.* For *camp* read *castle.* This castle was that of Phocæa Nova or Foglia Nuova as the Latins called it, three hours from ancient *Phocæa* on the coast of Ionia. Here certain Genoese obtained a grant of the alum-mines in an adjoining hill during the time of Michael Palæologus, and worked them to great profit. When the Turkish power became predominant they made terms with their Mussulman neighbours, and the position was maintained by the Genoese at least till late in the fifteenth century. Andrew Catanea or Cathani, the chief of the settlement in the reigns of the Andronici, is mentioned by several of the Byzantine Historians. The process of extracting the alum at Phocæa is described much as by Jordanus, in the Byz. History of Michael Ducas. (*Ducange, Hist. de Constant.* ed. 1729. Pt. ii, p. 136; *Georg. Pachymeres*, v, 30; *Ducæ Michaelis Nepotis Hist. Byz.*, cap. xx).

Page 58. *St. John supposed to be asleep at Ephesus.* I find this belief is spoken of not only by Sir John Mandeville (p. 136), but by Saint Augustine himself as reported to him by respectable Christian folks of Ephesus. (*Romance of Travel*, ii, 88).

LETTERS AND REPORTS OF MISSIONARY FRIARS.

NO. I. FIRST LETTER OF JOHN OF MONTECORVINO.

. . . . . .

I, Friar John of Monte Corvino, of the order of Minor Friars, departed from Tauris, a city of the Persians, in the year of the Lord 1291, and proceeded to India. And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptized in different places about one hundred persons. The companion of my journey was Friar Nicholas of Pistoia, of the order of Preachers, who died there, and was buried in the church aforesaid.

I proceeded on my further journey and made my way to Cathay, the realm of the Emperor of the Tartars who is called the Grand Cham. To him I presented the letter of our lord the Pope, and invited him to adopt the Catholic Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, but he had grown too old in idolatry.[1] However he bestows many kindnesses upon the Christians, and these two years past I am abiding with him.

The Nestorians, a certain body who profess to bear the

[1] The expression "*nimis inveteratus est idololatria*" might seem to point to old Kublai. But the expressions that follow seem to imply that the same emperor continued to reign up to the date of the letter. This was Timur, grandson of Kublai (1294-1307), who had a strong propensity to the Lamas and their doctrines (*Quatremère's Rashideddin*, p. 191).

christian name, but who deviate sadly from the christian religion, have grown so powerful in those parts that they will not allow a christian of another ritual to have ever so small a chapel, or to publish any doctrine different from their own.

To these regions there never came any one of the Apostles, nor yet of the Disciples. And so the Nestorians aforesaid, either directly or through others whom they bribed, have brought on me persecutions of the sharpest. For they got up stories that I was not sent by our lord the Pope, but was a great spy and impostor; and after a while they produced false witnesses who declared that there was indeed an envoy sent with presents of immense value for the emperor, but that I had murdered him in India, and stolen what he had in charge. And these intrigues and calumnies went on for some five years, And thus it came to pass that many a time I was dragged before the judgment seat with ignominy and threats of death. At last, by God's providence, the emperor, through the confessions of a certain individual, came to know my innocence and the malice of my adversaries; and he banished them with their wives and children.

In this mission I abode alone and without any associate for eleven years; but it is now going on for two years since I was joined by Friar Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne.

I have built a church in the city of Cambaliech, in which the king has his chief residence. This I completed six years ago; and I have built a bell-tower to it, and put three bells in it. I have baptised there, as well as I can estimate, up to this time some 6,000 persons; and if those charges against me of which I have spoken had not been made, I should have baptised more than 30,000. And I am often still engaged in baptising.

Also I have gradually bought one hundred and fifty boys, the children of pagan parents, and of ages varying from

seven to eleven, who had never learned any religion. These boys I have baptized, and I have taught them Greek and Latin after our manner. Also I have written out Psalters for them, with thirty Hymnaries and two Breviaries. By help of these, eleven of the boys already know our service, and form a choir and take their weekly turn of duty[1] as they do in convents, whether I am there or not. Many of the boys are also employed in writing out Psalters and other things suitable. His Majesty the Emperor moreover delights much to hear them chaunting. I have the bells rung at all the canonical hours, and with my congregation of babes and sucklings I perform divine service, and the chaunting we do by ear because I have no service book with the notes.

A certain king of this part of the world, by name George, belonging to the sect of Nestorian christians, and of the illustrious family of that great king who was called Prester John of India, in the first year of my arrival here attached himself to me, and being converted by me to the truth of the Catholic faith, took the lesser orders, and when I celebrated mass he used to attend me wearing his royal robes. Certain others of the Nestorians on this account accused him of apostacy, but he brought over a great part of his people with him to the true Catholic faith, and built a church on a scale of royal magnificence in honour of our God, of the Holy Trinity, and of our lord the Pope, giving it the name of the *Roman Church*.[2]

This King George six years ago departed to the Lord a true christian, leaving as his heir a son scarcely out of the cradle, and who is now nine years old. And after King George's death his brothers, perfidious followers of the errors of Nestorius, perverted again all those whom he had brought

[1] "*Tenent chorum et hebdomadas.*" The passage is quoted under *Hebdomadæ* by Ducange, with the explanation of that word which the text gives.

[2] Probably in Tathung, towards the Hoangho; see note to Odoric, p. 146.

over to the church, and carried them back to their original schismatical creed. And being all alone, and not able to leave his Majesty the Cham, I could not go to visit the church above-mentioned, which is twenty days' journey distant.

Yet, if I could but get some good fellow-workers to help me, I trust in God that all this might be retrieved, for I still possess the grant which was made in our favour by the late King George before mentioned. So I say again that if it had not been for the slanderous charges which I have spoken of, the harvest reaped by this time would have been great!

Indeed if I had had but two or three comrades to aid me 'tis possible that the Emperor Cham would have been baptized by this time! I ask then for such brethren to come, if any are willing to come, such I mean as will make it their great business to lead exemplary lives, and not to make broad their own phylacteries.

As for the road hither I may tell you that the way through the land of the Goths, subject to the Emperor of the Northern Tartars, is the shortest and safest; and by it the friars might come, along with the letter-carriers, in five or six months.[2] The other route again is very long and very

[1] "This is precisely the distance which the Imperial Geography assigns as the distance from the capital of the country occupied by the tribe of *Urat* [a branch of the old Kerait still occupying the country adjoining Tathung], that is to say, 1,520 *li*, or 152 leagues, of which about 7½ go to a day's journey." *Pauthier, Le Pays de Tanduc*, etc., p. 38.

[2] This first route is the way by Tana and Sarai as described by Pegolotti. He, however, makes upwards of eight months actual travelling from Tana to Cambalec.

Respecting the Goths of Gazaria see Rubruquis (p. 219) and Barbaro in Ramusio (ii, 97 vers). Both of these travellers attest the Germanic dialect, and the latter had a German servant who spoke with them. "They understood each other reasonably well, much as a man of Forli might understand a Florentine." Busbeck, who was the emperor's ambassador at Constantinople between 1554 and 1560, saw two of these Crimean Goths, and gives a list of some forty of their vocables, which are pure Teutonic, some of them pure English (one at least pure Scotch, *criten*, to weep or *greet*); other words which he gives are apparently not Teutonic

dangerous, involving two sea-voyages; the first of which is about as long as that from Acre to the province of Provence, whilst the second is as long as from Acre to England. And it is possible that it might take more than two years to accomplish the journey that way.[1] But, on the other hand, the first-mentioned route has not been open for a considerable time, on account of wars that have been going on.[2]

It is twelve years since I have had any news of the Papal court, or of our order, or of the state of affairs generally in the west. Two years ago indeed there came hither a certain Lombard leech and chirurgeon, who spread abroad in these parts the most incredible blasphemies about the court of Rome and our Order and the state of things in the west, and on this account I exceedingly desire to obtain true intelligence. I pray the brethren whom this letter may reach to do their possible to bring its contents to the knowledge of our lord the Pope, and the Cardinals, and the agents of the Order at the court of Rome.

I beg the Minister General of our Order to supply me with an Antiphonarium,[3] with the Legends of the Saints, a

at all. Their numerals are Germanic up to 100, but 100 itself and 1000 are Persian (*Sada* and *Hazar*). (*Busbequii Opera Omnia*, Amst., 1660, p. 321-326.) The Goths of the Crimea are also mentioned by the comrade of Plano Carpini, Benedict the Pole (776), who calls them *Saxons;* by Nicephorus Gregorias (*Hist. Byzant.*, i, 5); by Laonicus Chalcondylas (iii, p. 68), and probably by many others.

[1] This alternative route is that which John himself had followed to Cathay. The first sea voyage alluded to is that from Hormuz to Malabar, and the second that from Malabar, or from St. Thomas's (Madras) to China. The distances do fairly correspond with the voyages from Acre which he adduces in illustration.

[2] The wars carried on, since thirty years, against the Grand Khan by Kaidu; or perhaps rather the wars of succession in Turkestan after his death (see *D'Ohsson*, ii, 451, 512, etc.)

[3] The *Antiphonæ* now are short anthems from the Psalms and similar parts of Scripture, which are chanted in whole or in part before the appointed Psalms, and in whole after these. The Antiphonæ, or part of one, before the Psalms, determines the pitch for the intonation of these. It would seem that the etymological meaning of the term has been

Gradual,[1] and a Psalter with the musical notes, as a copy; for I have nothing but a pocket Breviary with the short Lessons,[2] and a little missal: if I had one for a copy, the boys of whom I have spoken could transcribe others from it. Just now I am engaged in building a second church, with the view of distributing the boys in more places than one.

I have myself grown old and grey, more with toil and trouble than with years; for I am not more than fifty-eight. I have got a competent knowledge of the language and character which is most generally used by the Tartars.[3] And I have already translated into that language and character the New Testament and the Psalter, and have caused them to be written out in the fairest penmanship they have; and so by writing, reading, and preaching, I bear open and public testimony to the Law of Christ. And I had been in treaty with the late King George, if he had lived, to translate the whole Latin ritual, that it might be sung throughout the whole extent of his territory; and whilst he was alive I used to celebrate mass in his church according to the Latin ritual, reading in the before mentioned language and character the words of both the preface and the Canon.[4]

abandoned. But an *Antiphonarium* is or was also a name applied to a book containing all that is sung by the choir during vespers.

[1] *Graduale* is a psalm or part of a psalm sung at mass between the Epistle and Gospel, some say because read on the steps of the altar. But *Graduale* is also a name applied to a book containing all that is sung by the choir in the service of the mass.

[2] The *Lectio Brevis* is a short passage of Scripture read at the end of *Prime* and the beginning of *Complines*.

[3] The original seems to be corrupt here, and does not bear closer rendering: "*Didici competenter linguam et litteram Tartaricam, quæ lingua usualis Tartarorum est.*" *Tartaricam* can scarcely be the true reading. Perhaps it should be *Tarsicam*; see a passage in the following letter.

[4] *Præfatio* is that part of the service of the mass commencing with the words *Sursum Corda* which immediately precedes the *canon*, by which name is implied the series of prayers and ceremonies followed in the consecration of the Eucharist. In explaining these terms of the Roman service I have consulted Ducange; a modern Italian encyclopædia (*N. Encic. Popol. Italiano*); and an Italian priest of my acquaintance.

And the son of the king before mentioned is called after my name, John; and I hope in God that he will walk in his father's steps.

As far as I ever saw or heard tell, I do not believe that any king or prince in the world can be compared to his majesty the Cham in respect of the extent of his dominions, the vastness of their population, or the amount of his wealth. Here I stop.

Dated at the city of Cambalec in the kingdom of Cathay, in the year of the Lord 1305, and on the 8th day of January.[1]

NO. II. SECOND LETTER OF JOHN OF MONTECORVINO.

To the Reverend Father in Christ the Vicar General of the Order of Minor Friars, and to the Vicar of the said Order, and to the Master of the Order of Preachers, and to the Friars of either Order abiding in the province of the Persians;

From Friar John of Montecorvino of the Order of Minor Friars, an unprofitable servant of Christ, Preacher of the Holy Christian Faith, Legate and Nuncio of the Apostolic See of Rome;

Health and Love in Him who is the True Love and Health of all.

The requirements of blessed brotherly love demand that those who are separated far and widely, and especially those who are Missionaries of Christ's Law in distant lands, when they cannot see each other face to face, should at least send one another comforting communications by letter.

[1] I think that here January 1305 must mean *our* January 1305, and not 1306. The next letter we shall find to be written about a year after this one. And that next letter had been read by the Pope when he created John Archbishop, for the fragments of his bull on that occasion (see *Wadding*, vi, 93; or *Mosheim*, App., p. 124) contain allusions to its contents. Now, though the date of this bull is not preserved, it is fixed by other circumstances to the spring of 1307. Hence, letter No. II could not have been written later than 1306, nor this letter, No. I, later than 1305.

I have been thinking that you had some reason to be surprised that during my long residence in so distant a region you had never yet received a letter from me.[1] And I also was surprised that until this year I never received a letter from any friend or any Brother of the Order, nor even so much as a message of remembrance, so that it seemed as if I was utterly forgotten by everybody, And most of all I was grieved at this when I heard that rumours of my death had reached you.

But now I wish to tell you that last year, in the beginning of January, by a certain friend of mine who was attached to the court of the Lord Kathan Khan,[2] and who had come to his majesty the Cham, I sent a letter to the father vicar and the friars of the Province of Gazaria, giving a short account of the whole state of affairs with me. And in that letter I begged the said vicar to send you a copy; and now I have learned from some persons who have just arrived with the messengers of the aforesaid Lord Kathan to his majesty the Cham, that my letter did reach you, the bearer of it from this having after a while gone on from the city of Sarai to Tauris. I do not therefore think it necessary to detail the contents of my former letter nor to write them over again. I will only mention that the first matter spoken of was about the persecutions which the Nestorians raised against me, and the second was about the church and houses which I had completed.

I have now had six pictures made, illustrating the Old and New Testaments for the instruction of the ignorant;[3]

[1] This is clearly what he means. But he *says: Vos non sine causâ mirari quod tot annis in provinciâ tam longinquâ consistentes, nunquam meis litteris recipistis.*"

[2] "*Qui fuit ex sociis Domini Kathan Cham.*" This seems to refer to Ghazan Khan, sovereign of Persia; but, according to Deguignes and D'Ohsson, he died in 1304. It is, therefore, perplexing that in 1306 the writer should still speak of the "Messengers of the said Lord Kathan" as just arrived, which he does a little further on.

[3] This is the passage alluded to in the Pope's bull appointing John to the archbishopric (see note above, p. 203).

and the explanations engraved in Latin, Tarsic,[1] and Persian characters, that all may be able to read them in one tongue or another.

[1] "Tarsic letters," says Remusat, quoting this passage, are "those of the Uigurs, to whose country the relations of that age gave the name of *Tarsia* from a Tartar word signifying *infidel*, and which appears to have been applied in Tartary successively to the followers of Zoroaster, and to the Nestorian Christians." (*Nouv. Melanges Asiat.*, ii, 198).

The name of Tarse is applied expressly to the kingdom of the *Yogurs* by Hayton the Armenian; and Marino Sanudo the Elder also speaks of the kingdom of Tarse where the Tartars first learned letters and also idol worship; he is probably drawing from Hayton. (*Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, p. 235.) Carpini likewise (p. 709) has *Tarci* in his list of nations conquered by the Mongols, but the reading is doubtful. *Tharze* appears in Fra Mauro and *Tarssia* in the earlier Catalan Map, somewhere about Turkestan. The author was apparently also following Hayton, as he states that the Three Kings came from that country. Trigautius tells us that in his time (the beginning of the seventeenth century) the Mahomedans in China spoke of the old professors of Christianity in that country as *Terzai*, the origin of which appellation he was ignorant of; but he heard from an Armenian that the Armenian Christians in Persia were called by the same name. (*De Christiana Exped. apud Sinas*, 1617, p. 137). The word is apparently that given by Meninski as "*Tarsá*, a Christian, an infidel, a fire-worshipper." Its application to the Uigurs and their character perhaps indicates the extensive prevalence of Nestorian Christianity among them.

Quatremère quotes the author of a book called *Tabakati Naseri*, as saying that the inhabitants of a certain city of Tibet professed the *Dín Tarsáyi*, which he renders *religion Chrétienne*, though considering that the writer had mistaken Buddhism for Christianity. (*Rashideddin*, p. 198.)

The Uigur character was the original source of those still used by the Mongols and Manchus, and was itself almost certainly derived from the old Syriac character through the Nestorians.

The modern Tartar characters are written (and, I presume, read) in vertical lines from top to bottom of the page, the lines succeeding each other from left to right. It seems doubtful whether the Uigur itself was thus written; at least, Remusat says that the only document in that character which was known to him was written in horizontal lines, though the language of Rubruquis as to the Uigur writing most precisely describes the vertical direction of the modern Tartar alphabets. Remusat thinks that the vertical direction may have been acquired by the frequent necessity of interlining Chinese documents, a suggestion which seems ingenious rather than convincing. It has, indeed, been maintained by some authorities that the ancient Syriac itself was vertical, and an old line is cited,

"E cœlo ad stomachum relegit Chaldæa lituras,"

but Remusat denies this.

As regards a third subject (I may add that) some of the boys whom I purchased and baptised have departed to the Lord. A fourth matter mentioned was that since my first coming to Tartary I have baptised more than five thousand souls.

In that same year of the Lord 1305, I began another new place before the gate of the Lord Cham, so that there is but the width of the street between his palace and our place, and we are but a stone's throw from his majesty's gate.

I may venture to remark that the direction in which a character is *read*, and not that in which it is written, is the essential distinction. Everyone has acquaintances whose characters run, if not vertically, at least in a resultant direction between vertical and horizontal; and the Indian Munshi in *writing* the Persian character on a paper in his hand, according to the usual practice, does really by some natural necessity write *e cœlo ad stomachum*, a practice which, by becoming systematised or copied by a people to whom writing was a new acquirement, might give rise to a modified character, *read* as well as written vertically.

The language of the Uigurs appears to have been Turkish. So Rubruquis, who shows unusual discernment for his time in all linguistic matters, expressly testifies. Rashideddin says that Mangu Khan had secretaries to write his orders in Chinese, Tibetan, Tangutan, and Uigur. Unless the latter represent Turkish, that language, which was spoken over so great a part of his empire, was omitted altogether.

Mr. Schmidt, the translator of Ssanang Setzen, maintains against the general opinion that Uigur was Tangutan or Tibetan; his arguments are not convincing, and his temper does not beget confidence. Whatever Uigur may have meant in Mongol authors, the people and language so called by the Western Asiatics were Turkish. The "Ugaresca" of the Genoese in the Crimea, and the Uigur character which Friar Pascal learned at Sarray (see below) could have nothing to do with Tibetan.

The knowledge of the name in Europe goes back to the seventh century, as may be seen in a passage from Theophylactes, quoted in the introductory essay.

Captain Valikhanoff speaks of the language now in use at Kashgar as being *Uigur*, but it is not clear whether he means that this term is known to the natives. (*Russians in Cent. Asia*, p. 67.)

On the original seat and migrations of the Uigurs, see D'Ohsson (*i*, 107 *seq.*, and 429 *seq.*)

(*Rubruquis*, p 288, 289; *Plano Carpini*, 651; *Klaproth* in *J. As.*, ser. i, tom. v, 203; *Remusat, Rech. sur les langues Tart.*, 38, 39, 60-63; *St. Martin, Mem. sur l'Armenie*, ii, 275; *Schmidt, Ssanang Setzen*, etc., pp. 211, 386, 396-8, 406, 412.)

Master Peter of Lucolongo, a faithful Christian man and great merchant, who was the companion of my travels from Tauris, himself bought the ground for the establishment of which I have been speaking, and gave it to me for the love of God. And by the divine favour I think that a more suitable position for a Catholic church could not be found in the whole empire of his majesty the Cham. In the beginning of August[1] I got the ground, and by the aid of sundry benefactors and well-wishers it was completed by the Feast of St. Francis with an enclosure wall, houses, offices, courts, and chapel, the latter capable of holding two hundred persons. On account of winter coming on I have not been able to finish the church, but I have the timber collected at the house, and please God I hope to finish it in summer. And I tell you it is thought a perfect marvel by all the people who come from the city and elsewhere, and who had previously never heard a word about it. And when they see our new building, and the red cross planted aloft, and us in our chapel with all decorum chaunting the service, they wonder more than ever. When we are singing, his majesty the Cham can hear our voices in his chamber; and this wonderful fact is spread far and wide among the heathen, and will have the greatest effect, if the divine mercy so disposes matters and fulfils our hopes.

From the first church and house to the second church which I built afterwards, is a distance of two miles and a half within the city, which is passing great. And I have divided the boys into two parties, putting one of them in the first church and the other in the second, and so each party performs the service by itself. But I act as chaplain and celebrate mass

[1] This may perhaps mean August 1304, though, if we look at the beginning of this paragraph only, we should suppose it to be August 1305. But in his preceding letter written in January 1305, he says he was already in *actu edificandi ecclesiam*. And from August to St. Francis's day (4th October) in the same year, seems too short a time for the amount of work reported.

in each church on alternate weeks, for none of those boys are priests.

As regards the regions of the East, and especially the empire of the Lord Cham, I give you to know that there is none greater in the world. And I have a place in the Cham's court, and a regular entrance and seat assigned me as legate of our Lord the Pope, and the Cham honours me above all other prelates, whatever be their titles. And although his majesty the Cham has heard much about the court of Rome, and the state of the Latin world, he desires greatly to see envoys arriving from those regions.

Here are many sects of idolaters holding various beliefs; and here also are many persons attached to religious orders of different sects, and wearing different habits; and these practise greater abstinence and austerity than our Latin monks.

I have seen the greater part of India and made inquiries about the rest, and can say that it would be most profitable to preach to them the faith of Christ, if the brethren would but come. But none should be sent except men of the most solid character; for those regions are very attractive, abounding in aromatic spices and precious stones. But they possess few of our fruits, and, on account of the great mildness and warmth of the climate, the people there go naked, only covering the loins. And thus the arts and crafts of our tailors and cordwainers are not needed, for they have perpetual summer and no winter. I baptised there about a hundred persons. . . . .

Here the letter, as given by the chronicler from whom Wadding copies, breaks off. But the same authority gives as the substance of part of another letter that had been presented, what in fact appears to have been the end of this letter, perhaps accidently separated from what goes before :[1]

"Besides what he wrote in the preceding year (*i.e.*, 1305)

[1] See introductory notice, *supra*, p. 167.

Friar John of Monte Corvino this year relates in another letter of his that a solemn deputation had come to him from a certain part of Ethiopia, begging him either to go thither to preach, or to send other good preachers; for since the time of St. Matthew the Apostle and his immediate disciples they had had no preachers to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and they had an ardent desire to attain to the true Christian faith.

"Friar John also said that after the Feast of All Saints he had baptised four hundred persons. And as he had heard that a number of friars, both Minors and of the other Order, had arrived in Persia and Gazaria, he exhorted them to preach fervently the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and so to win a harvest of souls. The letter was dated at Cambalec, a city of Cathay, in the year of the Lord 1306, on Quinquagesima Sunday and in the month of February."

NO. III. LETTER FROM FRIAR MENENTILLUS, A DOMINICAN, FORWARDING COPY OF A LETTER FROM JOHN OF MONTE CORVINO.

To you Friar Bartholomew of Santo Concordio,[2] your brother in all things, Menentillus of Spoleto, wisheth health and wisdom in Christ![2]

[1] This Bartolomeo a Santo Concordio, a Dominican monk, a Pisan by birth, and eminent for his learning in canon and civil law as well as his accomplishments in Latin and Tuscan literature, flourished in the early part of the fourteenth century and died in 1347. He was best known afterwards as the author of a *Summa de Casibus Conscientiæ*, arranged alphabetically, which he completed in 1338. This was printed at a very early date and often again, being apparently much used as a handbook by confessors, and known familarly as the *Magistruccia* or *Pisanella*. (*Quétif, Scriptores Ord. Praed.*, 623-625.) There is a work of the same author "*De origine civitatis Pisanæ*" in Muratori, *Ital. Rer. Scriptor.* tom. vi.

[2] The opening of this letter may be given as a sample of the style of the original:—

"A vo' in Cristo frate Bartolomeo de Santo Concordio suo per tutte le cose frate Menentillo di Spuleto salute e sapienzia! Perciò che conosco che voi grande cura avete in iscienzia, e molto sapete e vorreste tutte le cose sapere, spezialmente quelle che non sapete, e vorrest' avere sapimento

And because I wot of the great curiosity that you have in regard to all science, and that, much as you do know, you would fain know everything and especially things that are new to you; and in truth that you are one whose desire is to have knowledge and information of all kinds; therefore transcribe I for you certain matters just as they have been written from India by a certain Minorite Friar (the travelling companion of Brother Nicolas of Pistoia, who died in Upper India), when on his way to the court of the Lord of all India. The bringer of the letter I have seen and spoken with, and it was in his arms that the said Brother Nicholas did die. The letter was to the effect following:[1]

"The state of things [with regard to climate] in the Indies is such as shall now be related.

"In India it is always warm, and there never is any winter; yet the heat is not extravagant. And the reason is, that there be at all times winds which temper the heat of the air. And the reason why there can be no winter is the position of the country with respect to the zodiac, as I shall now tell. That is to say, the sun when entering Virgo, i.e. on the 24th day of August, sends down his rays, as I have seen and in particular noted with my own eyes, quite perpendicularly, so as to cast no shadow on either side. And in like manner when he is entering Aries, i.e. at the end of March. And when he has gone through Aries he passes towards the north, and casts shadows towards the south until . . . [the summer

e cognoscienzia di tutte le cose; imperciò scrivo a voi certe cose le quali aguale sono scritte delle parte d' India Superiore per uno frate Minore, lo quale fue compagno di frate Nicolaio da Pistoia, lo quale moritte in India Superiore, andando al Signore di tutta l'India. Lo messo viddi e parlai con lui, in delle cui braccia lo ditto frate Nicolaio moritte. E cosi testificava."

[1] Professor Kunstmann speaks of Menentillus having met John of Montecorvino at the court of the Khan and got the information that follows from him. But this must surely rest on some misunderstanding. Menentillus is merely a monk in Italy, who chances on a letter of John's and sends it to a learned friend to gratify his curiosity.

solstice] and then turns to Virgo, and after he has past through the sign of Virgo he then casts his shadows towards the north. And thus there is never so great an elongation[1] of the sun as to admit of cold, and there are not two seasons. Or as I have said before there is no winter or cold season.

"As regards the length of the day and the night I have tried to determine them by such measures and indications as I could. I have observed that at the two epochs before mentioned, when the sun's rays strike perpendicularly without casting any shadow, the day is fifteen hours long, and the night nine. And when the sun is at the solstice of Cancer, the day is a little less than fourteen hours long, and the night is a little more than ten, perhaps by a quarter of an hour. But when the sun is in the solstice of Capricorn, that is to say in the month of December, the day has a length of eleven hours and the night of thirteen. For the sun's elongation is somewhat greater when it is in Capricorn than when it is in Cancer.

"Moreover, the star which we call the Pole-star is there so depressed, i.e. so low, that it can scarcely be seen. And methought that if I had been on a lofty point I could have seen the other Pole-star which is in the opposite quarter.[3] I looked many a time for a sight of it, and I saw several constellations which moved round about it, from observing which I gathered that they were exceedingly near to it.[4]

[1] The transcript made for me gives *congiungimento*, but Professor Kunstmann's has *elongamento*.

[2] I am afraid we cannot throw the blame of these extraordinary statements on anybody but Friar John himself. He considers that at a given north latitude within the tropic the day is at its longest when the sun passes towards the north, and *diminishes* up to midsummer day, increases again till it repasses the given latitude, and then diminishes till midwinter.

[3] "*L'altra tramontana la quale è posta in contrario.*"

[4] This runs "Molto guardai di vederla e vidi più segni che gl' andavano intorno per li quai li *conovi* et parvemi ch' elli fusseno vicini veramente perchè le fumosità vi sono continue chontra quella parte *si tene* per li calori e per li venti ella è molto al disotto non me ne potei certificare."

But because of the continual haze on the horizon in that quarter, caused by the heat and the winds, and because of the stars being so low, I never could satisfy myself. However India is a very extensive region, and perhaps in some places it would be seen at a greater elevation, in others at a less. I have examined the matter to the best of my ability. So much as to [the climate of] Upper India, which is called MAEBAR, in the territory of St. Thomas.

"*Concerning the state of things as to the country itself in Upper India.* The condition of the country of India aforesaid is this. The land is well enough peopled; and there be great cities therein, but the houses are wretched, being built of sandy mud, and usually thatched with leaves of trees. Hills there are few; rivers in some places are many, in others few. Springs there are few or none; wells in plenty; and the reason is this, that water is generally to be found at the depth of two or three paces, or even less. This well water is indeed not very good to drink, for it is somewhat soft and loosens the bowels; so they generally have tanks or excavations like ponds, in which they collect the rain water, and this they drink. They keep few beasts. Horses there are none, except it be in possession of the king and great barons. Flies there be few, and fleas none at all.[1] And they have trees which produce fruit continually, so that on them you find fruit in every stage up to perfect ripeness at one time.[2] In like manner they sow and reap at almost all seasons, and this because it is always warm and never cold. Aromatic spices are to be had good cheap, some more so and some less so, according to what spices they be. They have trees that produce sugar, and others that produce honey, and others that produce a liquor that has a smack of wine. And

The words underlined are read by Prof. Kunstmann *Conobbi* and *Sottane*. The last I have adopted, but not the former, which he understands to be the name (Canopi) given to the stars, certainly a misapprehension.

[1] They must have come with the Portuguese then!

[2] The sentence is apparently corrupt, but this seems to be the meaning.

this the natives of those countries use for drink. And those three things are to be had at very small cost. And the pepper plant is here also. It is slender and knotty like a vine; and indeed 'tis altogether very like a vine, excepting that it is more slender, and bears transplanting.

"Ginger is a reed-like plant, and, like a cane-root, it can be dug and transplanted. But their canes here are more like trees, being sometimes a cubit in girth and more, with slender prickly branches round about, and small leaves.

"The Brazil tree[1] is a slender lofty and thorny tree, all red as it were, with leaves like fern. The Indian nuts are as big as melons, and in colour green like gourds.[2] Their leaves and branches are like those of the date tree.

"The cinnamon tree is of a medium bulk, not very high, and in trunk, bark, and foliage, is like the laurel; indeed, altogether it resembleth the laurel greatly in appearance. Great store of it is carried forth of the island which is hard-by Maabar.[3]

"As regards men of a marvellous kind, to wit, men of a different make from the rest of us, and as regards animals of like description, and as regards the Terrestrial Paradise, much have I asked and sought, but nothing have I been able to discover.

"Oxen are with these people sacred animals, and they eat not their flesh for the worship they bear them. But they make use of cows' milk, and put their cattle to labour like other folk.

"The rain falleth at fixed seasons.

"The state of things as regards the inhabitants of India

[1] *Bersi.*

[2] The word is *chocosse.* I can find nothing nearer than *cocuzza,* which is given as a South Italian word for a gourd (*cucurbita*). The comparison seems probable.

[3] Ceylon. I believe this is one of the earliest notices of the Ceylon cinnamon trade. Sir Emerson Tennent, I think, quotes Ibn Batuta as the earliest.

is as follows:—The men of this region are idolaters, without moral law, or letters, or books. They have indeed an alphabet which they use to keep their accounts, and to write prayers or charms for their idols; albeit they have no paper, but write upon leaves of trees like unto palm leaves. They have no conscience of sin whatever. They have idol-houses in which they worship at almost all hours of the day; for they never join together to worship at any fixed hour, but each goes to worship when it pleases himself. And so they worship their idols in any part of these temples, either by day or by night. They frequently set forth their fasts and feasts, but they have no fixed recurring day to keep, either weekly or monthly. Their marriages take place only at one time of the year; and when the husband dies the wife cannot marry again. The sin of the flesh they count not to be sin, nor are they ashamed to say so.

"In the regions by the sea are many Saracens, and they have great influence, but there are few of them in the interior. There are a very few Christians, and Jews, and they are of little weight. The people persecute much the Christians, and all who bear the Christian name.

"They bury not their dead but burn them, carrying them to the pile with music and singing; whilst apart from this occasion the relatives of the deceased manifest great grief and affliction[2] like other folk.

"But India is a region of great extent, and it hath many realms and many languages. And the men thereof are civil and friendly enough, but of few words, and remind me somewhat of our peasants.[3] They are not, strictly speaking,

[1] As to the great influence of the Saracens on the coast of Maabar see the extract from Rashid at p. 219, which shows that at this very time a "Saracen" was the king's chief minister and governor of the seaports of Pattan, Malipattan, and Káil (in the original *Wazír wa Mushír wa Sahib-i-tadbír*).

[2] *Rancori.* Kunstmann has *ramori.*

[3] "*Sono li omini assai dimestichi e familiari e di poche parole, e quasi come omini di villa.*"

black, but of an olive colour, and exceedingly well formed both women and men. They go barefoot and naked, except that they wear a cloth round the loins, and boys and girls up to eight years of age wear nothing whatever, but go naked as they came from their mother's womb. They shave not the beard; many times a day they wash; bread and wine they have none. Of the fruits that we make use of they have few or none; but for their daily food they use rice and a little milk; and they eat grossly like pigs, to wit, with the whole hand or fist, and without a spoon. In fact, when at their food they do look more like pigs than men!

"There is great security in the country. Bandits and robbers are seldom met with; but they have many exactions to pay.[1] There are few craftsmen, for craft and craftsmen have little remuneration, and there is little room for them. They commonly use swords and daggers like ourselves; and if actually they have a battle they make short work of it, however great the forces be, for they go to battle naked, with nothing but sword and dagger. They have among them a few Saracen mercenaries, who carry bows.

"The state of things in regard to the Sea of India is this. The sea aboundeth greatly with fish; and in some parts of it they fish for pearls and precious stones. The havens are few and bad; and you must know that the sea here is the Middle Sea or Ocean. Traversing it towards the south there is no continent found but islands alone, but in that sea the islands are many, more than 12,000 in number. And many of these are inhabited, and many are not.

"You can sail (upon that sea) between these islands and Ormes and (from Ormes) to those parts which are called [Minibar] is a distance of 2,000 miles in a direction between south and south-east; then 300 miles between east and south-east from Minibar to Maabar, which (latter however) you enter

[1] "*Pedaggi molti vi si pagano.*" This I take from Kunstmann. My transcript has *Per arti molti vi si pagano.*"

steering to the north; and from Menabar [Maabar?] you sail another 300 miles between north-east and north to SIU SIMMONCOTA.[1] The rest I have not seen, and therefore I say nothing of it.

[1] I have endeavoured to reduce to shape and congruity this passage, which is a good deal bungled in the MS. It runs thus: "*Navicavisi da isse* (or *da Issa*) *infine ad Ormesse et a quelle parti le quali si dice che siano due miglia migliaia di miglia e intra scilocco e levante da Minabar a Maabar ch' entra a tramontana ccc miglia intra levante e scirocco da Menabar a Siu Simmoncota altre ccc migliaia navicavisi intra greco e tramontana.*"

In the text I have taken *da isse*, as read by Kunstmann (for *esse*), to refer to the islands, and this requires rather a forced translation to be intelligible. But if it be a proper name, ISSA, as in my transcript, then we should read—"You can sail from Issa to Ormes and so to those parts," etc. In that case Issa must be a port of the Persian Gulf, perhaps Al-Ahsa, which is a port on the west shore below Al-Katif, and is mentioned by our author's contemporary, Rashid, in connexion with Indian trade, in a passage which will be given presently.

The first section of the voyage, then, I understand to be from the Persian Gulf to one of the ports of Malabar (called Minabar, see p. 74, *supra*); the second from the said port to some city on the Gulf of Manaar; and the third from the Gulf of Manaar to some place on the Coromandel coast, at least as far north as the church of St. Thomas, *i. e.*, Madras. I say "some city on the Gulf of Manaar," because we shall see presently that Mabar is, with the present writer, a city, and is probably to be identified with that where Marco Polo locates his chief king of Mabar. As Polo seems to specify this as sixty miles west of Ceylon, I judge that it must have been somewhere near Ramnad. It is not Cail, because he says distinctly that Cail was subject to another of the chiefs, and Cail is a good deal more than sixty miles from any part of the Ceylon.

The extreme point which our author visited, whether Siu Simmoncota or Giu Gimmoncota (for it is so read by Kunstmann), I cannot determine. It must have been *at least* as far up the coast as Madras, because he tells us in the first letter that his companion Nicholas of Pistoia was buried in the church of St. Thomas. Samulcotta (*S'yámala Kotta*—Black Fort, or Fort of Durga?), the nearest approach to the name that I can trace among existing towns seems to be too far north. The Buddhists were called *Samanas* and Samanals in South India, and *Saman-Kotta*, "The Fort of the Buddhist," might be a probable enough name.

The name, however, taking it abstractedly as it stands, would most nearly represent *Siva-Samundra-Kotta*. *Siva* appears constantly in popular pronunciation as *Siu* or *Seo*, as in *Seodasheogarh*, *Seopoor*, *Seoganga*, etc., and we find the analogous name of Dwara-Samudra to be written by the Persian and Arabian historians *Dur-sammund* and *Dur-Saman* (see *Dow's Ferishta*, i, 256, 281; *Masálak al-ábsár* in *Not. et. Extr.*, xiii, 170; and *Wassaf* in *Von Hammer*, op. inf. cit., ii, 202). The only place I can trace

"The shores of the said sea in some places run out in shoals for 100 miles or more,[1] so that ships are in danger of grounding. And they cannot make the voyage but once a year, for from the beginning of April till the end of October the winds are westerly, so that no one can sail towards the west; and again 'tis just the contrary from the month of October till March. From the middle of May till the end of October the wind blows so hard that ships which by that time have not reached the ports whither they are bound, run a desperate risk, and if they escape it is great luck. And thus in the past year there perished more than sixty ships; and this year seven ships in places in our own immediate neighbourhood, whilst of what has happened elsewhere we have no intelligence. Their ships in these parts are mighty frail and uncouth, with no iron in them, and no caulking. They are sewn like clothes with twine. And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed! Once every year therefore there is a mending of this, more or less, if they propose to go to sea. And they have a frail and flimsy rudder like the top of a table, of a cubit in width, in the middle of the stern; and when they have to tack, it is done with a vast deal of trouble; and if it is blowing in any way hard, they cannot tack at all. They have but one sail and

bearing at present the name of Siva-Samundra (the Sea or Lake of Siva) is a very holy and ancient site on an island in the Caveri south-east of Seringapatam, whilst the site we seek must have been on the coast. Perhaps, however, there is some indication of the existence of a place of importance on the coast in the name of which Samudra was an element, in passages of Firishta and Wassaf. The latter, in speaking of the civil wars of Maabar about this very time, says that the Raja had laid up 1,200 *krors* of gold besides jewels in the treasures of *Shahrmandi;* whilst the latter, after describing the prodigious spoils carried from the Peninsula by Malik Kafur in 1310, observes that he understood Dwara Samudra to have been since *destroyed by the encroachment of the sea,* and to lie in ruins. But Dwara Samudra the capital of the Belal Rajas was an inland city, which has been identified with Halabidu in Mysore (*Wassaf* in *Hammer Purgstall's Ilchane,* ii, 204; *Briggs's Firishta,* iv, 374).

[1] Here he refers apparently to the reefs and shoals between Ceylon and the mainland.

and one mast, and the sails are either of matting or of some miserable cloth. The ropes are of husk.[1]

"Moreover their mariners are few and far from good. Hence they run a multitude of risks, insomuch that they are wont to say, when any ship achieves her voyage safely and soundly, that 'tis by God's guidance, and man's skill hath little availed.

"This letter was written in MAABAR, a city of the province of SITIA in Upper India, on the 22d day of December in the year of the Lord MCCX(CII or CIII)."[2]

[1] *Resti.* I am doubtful of the meaning of the word.

[2] The date in the MS. at Florence is obscure, but M.CC.X... at least is legible. Quétif, in his mention of it in *Script. Ord. Prædicatorum*, gives the date as M.CCC.XX. But this is not correctly transcribed. John left Tauris in 1291, and on his way passed thirteen months in Southern India, Hence the date is doubtless M.CC.XCII or M.CC.XCIII. It is worth noting that as Marco Polo, if Rashid's statements quoted below be exact, could not have been later than 1292 in visiting Maabar on his way westward, the two Italian travellers may have met in that region.

The "Province of Sitia" is named by no other traveller that I know of. The island or peninsula of Ramisseram was, however, called *Sethu*, "The Bridge" or Causeway, from which the chiefs of the adjoining territory of Ramnad or Marawa derived their title of *Sethupati* or "Lord of the Bridge," and perhaps this name is disguised under the form Sitia. It is possible that the same name is intended in a passage quoted by Von Hammer Purgstall from the Persian historian Wassaf, where the chiefs of Maabar are mentioned, and where they are unaccountably spoken of (without attempt at comment or explanation on the part of the editor) as "sharing the lordship of the land of *Sind*." This may have been سیت or سیتو (*Set*, or *Setú*) misread as سنت or سنتو (*Sint* or *Sintu*); if it were not *Pandi*, misread as *Sindi*, which is equally possible.

It seems impossible to derive any distinct notion of the political state of this part of the peninsula at the end of the fourteenth century from the confused and mystified genealogies of the Tamul chronicles as exhibited by Professor Wilson and Mr. W. Taylor. Something however is to be learned from Marco Polo and his Persian contemporaries, whose statements are in remarkable agreement as to the leading facts.

Marco tells us that going sixty miles westward from Ceylon you come to the noble province of Maabar, which in his time was divided among five kings who were brothers (*the Ramusian Polo says* four *kings*). The chief of these, who reigned at Maabar proper, was called SENDER BANDI DAVAR; another, who reigned at Cail, was called ASCIAR (Ishwar?); the names of the others he does not state. It seems also to be implied that

the territory of these chiefs extended at least as far north as St. Thomas's. The brothers were constantly at strife, and Marco expresses his opinion that as soon as their mother, who tried hard to keep peace among them, should die, they would infallibly quarrel and destroy each other. He tells us also that the treasure accumulated by the sovereigns of this kingdom was immense: and that as no horses (or at least only ponies with crooked legs) were reared in the country, large revenues were expended in procuring them. "The merchants of Curmos (Hormuz), of Quisci (Kishm), of Dufar, of Soer (Shahar), and of Aden, whose provinces contain many steeds of fine quality, purchase, embark, and bring them to the king and his four princely brothers, selling them for 500 *saggi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver. I assure you," he says, "this monarch buys annually more than 2000," etc. (*Polo*, iii, 19-24.)

Now read what Rashideddin says on the same subject: "Maabar extends from Kulam to Siláwar (this should be *Niláwar*, i.e. Nellore, as we shall see presently) 300 *farsangs* along the shore,... The king is called DEWAR, which means in the Maabar tongue the "lord of Wealth." Large ships called *junks* bring merchandize thither from Chin and Machin ...Maabar is as it were the key of India. Within the last few years SINDAR LEDI" (ليدي *Ledi*, misread for بندي "BANDI), who with his three brothers obtained power in different directions, and Malik Taki-ullah bin Abdarrahman bin Muhammed Et-Tibi, brother of Shaikh Jamaluddin, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of FATAN, MALIFATAN" (the Molephatam of Jordanus, see p. 184), "and BAWAL" (probably a misreading for *Kávil* or *Kail*). "And because there are no horses in Maabar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamaluddin Ibrahim should send to the Dewar 1400 Arab horses obtained from the islands of Kais, and 10,000 (1000?) from all the islands of Fars, such as Katif, L'Ahsa, Bahrein, Hormuz, Malkat (Maskat?), etc. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 *dinars* of red current gold. In the year 692 H. (A.D. 1292) the Dewar died, and Sheikh Jamaluddin who succeeded him obtained, it is said, an accession of 7000 bullock loads of jewels and gold, and Takiuddin, according to previous agreement, became his lieutenant. Notwithstanding his immense wealth he established a rule that he should have the first option of purchasing all imports," etc. (In *Sir H. M. Elliott, Historians of Muham. India*, p. 44).

The statements of Wassaf are more diffuse, and have been confused either by the scribe or by Von Hammer in quoting them. The latter seems content, as we have seen, to accept the confusion of Sind with the peninsula, and proceeds on his own authority to confound Maabar with Malabar. An abstract of Wassaf's statements, as well as I can understand Von Hammer's extracts, may be given as follows: "Maabar is the coast which stretches from the Persian Sea through a length of 300 *farsangs* to NILAWAR. Its princes are called DIWAR or lord. Three princes at this time shared the dominion of the country, of whom the most powerful was Taki-uddin Abdarrahman bin Muhammed Et-Thaibi, who had a contract for the supply of horses with Jamaluddin, the Malik-ul-

Islam and Farmer-General of the Customs of the Persian Gulf, who resided at Kish. The contract price of the horses was fixed at 220 ducats a head, whilst the cost of those lost at sea was borne by the contractor in Persia. In the time of Abubekr, the Salghur Atabeg of Hormuz, when that kingdom was in its glory, 10,000 horses yearly used to be shipped to India, bringing to the sellers a revenue of 3,500,000 pieces of gold!

"Two of the native chiefs of Maabar who contended for the throne were SINDARBANDI and PIREBANDI, the former the legitimate, the latter the illegitimate son of Gilishdiur Raja of Maabar" (probably *Kulesa-Dewar*; Von Hammer does not seem to see that this *diur* is the title Dewar which has just been specified), "a prince who had reigned prosperously for forty years without ever having been laid up by illness or attacked by a foe. He had named Pirebandi his successor, which so enraged Sindarbandi that he slew his father, and took forcible possession of Shahrmandi, where his enormous treasures were laid up. Pirebandi gathered an army to avenge his father's murder, and a battle took place beside a lake which the people of India called Taláji" (*Talà*, a Tank? and perhaps the same as the *Celai* (for *Telai*) of Odoric, p. 65.) "Eventually Pirebandi, aided by his cousin Bermal (Perumal?) was successful; whereon Sindarbandi fled to the court of Dehli, and sought help from Alauddin against his brother." This led to the invasion of Kafur.

This historian also speaks of Jamaluddin Abdarrahman Et-Thaibi as the Farmer-General and Keeper of the Marches of Maabar, apparently the same whom Rashid states to have succeeded to the Dewar in 1292. His son Surajjuddin, it is also stated, was plundered of all his wealth by the army of Kafur, upon which his son Nizamuddin betook himself to Dehli to make complaint, and obtained, with some partial restoration of property, the administration of the finances in Maabar, which had been held by his father and grandfather. (See *Hammer Purgstall, Gesch. der Ilchane*, ii, 51 *seq.*, and 197 *seq.*) There are evident discrepancies between the accounts of Rashid and Wassaf, which it would be vain to attempt to reconcile without further knowledge. Nor do either their notices nor anything that I can gather from the works of Wilson and Taylor suffice to show to what dynasty belonged these princes of Maabar of whom Polo and the Persian historians speak. The names of the chiefs, Sindarbandi (Sundara-Pandi), Parebandi (Vira-Pandi) Gilish (Kalesa), are all indeed such as occur repeatedly among the half-mythical lists of the Pandyan dynasty of Madura, but there seems some reason to believe that the chiefs in question may have been rather princes of Marawa, or of some family of adventurers. The title *Dewar*, though not peculiar to the Setupatis has been specially *affected* by all the Marawas down to our own time, and Professor Wilson finds reason to believe that these were for a long time paramount over Madura, and for three reigns held the whole of that kingdom in their hands. (*Catal. of Mackenzie Coll.*, i, 195; *J. R. A. S.*, vol. iii, 165 and 223; *Madras Journ.*, 1836, p. 35, *seq.*) The time indeed of this is left undetermined, except that it was before the rise of Vijayanagar in the fourteenth century.

The nearest approach in the Tamul Annals to an indication of the

period with which we are dealing appears to be the following. After a great deal of stuff about reigns of many thousand years, it is said:—"After that the Pandyan race became extinct; the children of concubines and of younger brothers in former ages, fought against one another; and dividing the country into factions they caused themselves to be crowned in various parts of the Pandyan kingdom, and ruled each over his own town, and the surrounding neighbourhood. No one being permitted to rule in Madura, each party strove in battle against the other; and their several children continued for some generations to rule in those various places." (*Taylor, Orient. Hist. MSS.*, i, 25.) The Mahomedans are stated then to have come in during this state of anarchy, in the twelve hundred and forty-sixth year of Salivahana (A.D. 1324). But it is obvious that they had great power in the Peninsula thirty years before that date, and the invasion by the armies of Ala-uddin took place some years before.

M. Pauthier, in his new Marco Polo, has adduced curious references to Maabar, and to the five brother princes, from the Chinese Annals, and has also anticipated me in bringing forward the passage from Rashid at p. 219 in illustration of the traveller. It is curious that its remarkable concurrence with the latter's statements should have escaped Sir Henry Elliott from whom we both derive the extract. Whilst referring to this part of Marco's narrative it seems worth while to point out that when M. Pauthier concurs with Marsden and others in identifying the kingdom of MUTFILI, which the traveller describes, with *Masulipatam* he does the same injustice to his author's accuracy which he so severely blames in others. Masulipatam, he says, is *Machli*-patam and *Machli*-bander, "*d'où est venu sans doute le nom de* Mustfili." But Marco's name is *Mutfili*, and requires no torture. The name and place still exist. Mutapali or Mootapilly, which the Arab sailors would call Mutafilly, as they call Pattan Fattan, is a port in the Gantur district south of the Krishna, which still has, or had at the beginning of this century, a considerable amount of coasting trade. The kingdom of Mutafili was no doubt, as Marsden perceived, that of Warangal or Tiling. "It is subject to a queen of great wisdom, whose husband died forty years ago, and her love to him was such that she has never married another. During this whole term she has ruled the nation with great equity, and been beloved beyond measure by her people" (*Polo*, iii, 21). The just and good queen of whom Marco here speaks can also be identified as Rudrama Devi, the daughter of the ruler of Dewagiri, and widow of Sri Kumara Kakatiya Pratapa Ganapati Rudra Deva King of Warangal, who made extensive conquests on the coast. This lady ruled after her husband's death for twenty-eight, or thirty-eight years, and then in 1292 or 1295 transferred the crown to her daughter's son Pratapa-Vira-Rudra-Deva, the Luddur Deo of Firishta. (See *Taylor, Oriental Hist. MSS.*, ii, 81; *Ditto, Catalogue Raisonné*, etc., iii, 483; *C. P. Brown, Carnatic Chronology*, pp. 54-55. The latter does not mention the queen.)

P.S. After this went to press a brief examination of the passage quoted from Rashid (at p. 219) as it is in the MS. in the India Office Library, shows its readings as *Nilâwar, Sindar Bandi*, and *Kâil*, for *Silawar, Sindar Ledi*, and *Bawul*. That is, the letters will *bear* the readings stated, and not those of Sir H. Elliott's copy, but there are no diacritical points.

NO. IV. LETTER FROM ANDREW BISHOP OF ZAYTON IN MANZI OR SOUTHERN CHINA, 1326.

Friar Andrew of Perugia, of the Order of Minor Friars, by Divine permission called to be Bishop, to the reverend father the Friar Warden of the Convent of Perugia, health and peace in the Lord for ever!

. . . . On account of the immense distance by land and sea interposed between us, I can scarcely hope that a letter from me to you can come to hand. . . . . You have heard then how along with Friar Peregrine, my brother bishop of blessed memory, and the sole companion of my pilgrimage, through much fatigue and sickness and want, through sundry grievous sufferings and perils by land and sea, plundered even of our habits and tunics, we got at last by God's grace to the city of Cambaliech, which is the seat of the Emperor the Great Chan, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1308, as well as I can reckon.

There, after the Archbishop was consecrated, according to the orders given us by the Apostolic See, we continued to abide for nearly five years; during which time we obtained an *Alafa*[1] from the emperor for our food and clothing. An *alafa* is an allowance for expenses which the emperor grants to the envoys of princes, to orators, warriors, different kinds of artists, jongleurs,[2] paupers, and all sorts of people of all sorts of conditions. And the sum total of these allowances surpasses the revenue and expenditure of several of the kings of the Latin countries.

As to the wealth, splendour, and glory of this great em-

[1] *Arab.* 'alaf, *pabulum*, and 'ulúfa, *a soldier's wages, a stipend or provision.* (*Freytag.*) But Quatremère points out that the exact word used here, *'alafah* is employed by Rashideddin to signify (1) the allowance made by the prince for the keep of animals such as elephants, and (2) *an allowance for the entertainment of ambassadors and other like personages.* He refers to the passage in the text. (*Quat., Rashideddin*, p. 371.)

[2] "*Jaculatoribus*", but I suppose a misprint for *Joculatoribus.*

peror, the vastness of his dominion, the multitudes of people subject to him, the number and greatness of his cities, and the constitution of the empire, within which no man dares to draw a sword against his neighbour, I will say nothing, because it would be a long matter to write, and would seem incredible to those who heard it. Even I who am here in the country do hear things averred of it that I can scarcely believe. . . .

There is a great city on the shores of the Ocean Sea, which is called in the Persian tongue Zayton;[1] and in this city a rich Armenian lady did build a large and fine enough church, which was erected into a cathedral by the Archbishop himself of his own free-will. The lady assigned it, with a competent endowment which she provided during her life and secured by will at her death, to Friar Gerard the Bishop, and the friars who were with him, and he became accordingly the first occupant of the cathedral.

After he was dead however and buried therein, the Archbishop wished to make me his successor in the church. But as I did not consent to accept the position he bestowed it upon Friar and Bishop Peregrine before mentioned. The latter, as soon as he found an opportunity, proceeded thither, and after he had governed the church for a few years, in the year of the Lord 1322, the day after the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul,[2] he breathed his last.

Nearly four years before his decease, finding myself for certain reasons uncomfortable at Cambaliech, I obtained permission that the before mentioned *alafa* or imperial charity should be allowed me at the said city of Zayton, which is about three weeks journey distant from Cambaliech.[3] This

[1] Wadding has *Cayton*. No doubt it was Çayton, for we constantly find the ç for z. But printing it Cayton has led Ritter into the mistake of putting Bishop Andrew at Canton. (*Ritter's Lectures*, Berlin, 1861, p. 224.)

[2] July 7th.

[3] This is very short allowance, and an error in the number may be suspected.

concession I obtained as I have said, at my earnest request, and setting out with eight horsemen allowed me by the emperor, I proceeded on my journey, being everywhere received with great honour. On my arrival (the aforesaid Friar Peregrine being still alive) I caused a convenient and handsome church to be built in a certain grove, quarter of a mile outside the city, with all the offices sufficient for twenty-two friars, and with four apartments such that any one of them is good enough for a church dignitary of any rank. In this place I continue to dwell, living upon the imperial dole before-mentioned, the value of which, according to the estimate of the Genoese merchants, amounts in the year to 100 golden florins or thereabouts.[1] Of this allowance I have spent the greatest part in the construction of the church; and I know none among all the convents of our province to be compared to it in elegance and all other amenities.

And so not long after the death of Friar Peregrine I received a decree from the archbishop appointing me to the aforesaid cathedral church, and to this appointment I now assented for good reasons. So I abide now sometimes in the house or church in the city, and sometimes in my convent outside, as it suits me. And my health is good, and as far as one can look forward at my time of life, I may yet labour in this field for some years to come: but my hair is grey, which is owing to constitutional infirmities as well as to age.

'Tis a fact that in this vast empire there are people of every nation under heaven, and of every sect, and all and sundry are allowed to live freely according to their creed. For they hold this opinion, or rather this erroneous view, that everyone can find salvation in his own religion.[2] Howbeit we are

[1] In intrinsic value something less than £50; but with respect to both time and place equivalent to a vastly greater sum of money doubtless than £50 is to us.

[2] The Chinese "hold that all the sects may agree without dispensing with their own observances, and have a text which says *San chiao ye tao*, i. e., The doctrines are three, but the reason of them is one." (*Alvaro Semedo, Rel. della Cina*, 116.)

at liberty to preach without let or hindrance. Of the Jews and Saracens there are indeed no converts, but many of the idolaters are baptised; though in sooth many of the baptised walk not rightly in the path of Christianity.

Four of our brethren have suffered martyrdom in India, at the hands of the Saracens; and one of them was twice cast into a great blazing fire, but came out unhurt. And yet in spite of so stupendous a miracle not one of the Saracens was converted from his misbelief![1]

All these things I have briefly jotted down for your information, reverend father, and that through you they may be communicated to others. I do not write to my spiritual brethren or private friends, because I know not which of them are alive, and which departed, so I beg them to have me excused. But I send my salutation to all, and desire to be remembered to all as cordially as possible, and I pray you, father Warden, to commend me to the Minister and Custos of Perugia, and to all the other brethren. All the suffragan bishops appointed to Cambaliech and elsewhere by our lord Pope Clement have departed in peace to the Lord, and I alone remain. Friar Nicholas of Banthera, Friar Andrutius of Assisi, and another bishop,[2] died on their first arrival in Lower India, in a most cruelly fatal country, where many others also have died and been buried.[3]

Farewell in the Lord, father, now and ever. Dated at Zayton, A.D. 1326, in the month of January.

NO. V. LETTER OF FRIAR JORDANUS OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS.

To the reverend fathers in Christ, the Preaching and Minorite Friars dwelling in TAURIS, DIAGORGAN, and MAROGA,

[1] No doubt Odoric had brought this history to Zayton with the bones of the martyrs a year or two before.

[2] Probably Ulrich Sayfusstorf (see p. 170).

[3] Probably at Hormuz.

Friar Jordanus of the Order of Preachers, the least of all, after saluting them and kissing their feet humbly, commends himself with tears.[1]

All your venerable company of fathers is aware that I am left alone a poor pilgrim in India, where for my sins I have been allowed to survive after the passion of those blessed martyrs, Thomas the holy, James the glorious, Peter, and Demetrius. Nevertheless blessed over all be God who disposeth all things according to his will!

After their blessed martyrdom, which occurred on the Thursday before Palm Sunday in Thana of India,[2] I baptised about ninety persons in a certain city called PAROCCO,[3] ten days' journey distant therefrom, and I have since baptised more than twenty, besides thirty-five who were baptised

[1] It is needful to remark on this and the following letter, the former of which is taken from Quétif and the latter from Wadding, though both are understood to be derived from the same MS., that both begin in the same manner, an identity which continues down to "*all our books.*" My impression is, however, that these paragraphs belong properly to this first letter, and have been transferred to the other by some mistake. There is an intense despondency about the second letter of which there is no trace in these paragraphs. Nor is it easy to see how he could talk of leaving his things (*robbam*) and those of the deceased friars, and all the books, after he had been stripped to the shirt, as he represents himself in the second letter.

I have taken the names of the places partly from the version in Quétif, and partly from that in Wadding. In Wadding they run "Tauris, Diagorgan, and Merga." In Quétif, "Tauris, Tongan, and Maroga." When publishing the Mirabilia of Jordanus I supposed Tongan to stand for Daumghan in Northern Persia, not knowing the grounds on which the French editor suggested "Djagorgan." There is no doubt, however, that Diagorgan is the proper reading. This is *Dekergán* (properly Dehi-Kherkán or Dehi-Kherján), a city of some antiquity, and still the capital of a district, between Tabriz and Maragha. The name of Diacoregan appears several times in Wadding's Annals in connexion with the Pope's correspondence with the Armenian clergy. A Catholic bishop, Bernard of Gardiola, was appointed to the see of Diagorgan in 1329. There were also Latin bishops of Maraga. At least one, Bartholomew, is named in 1320. (See F. *Jordanus*, HAK. SOC., *pref.*; *Journ. R. G. S.*, x, 3, 4; *Lequien*, iii, p. 1378-1394.)

[2] See note to Odoric on the date of the event, p. 68.

[3] Baruch or Broach, originally *Barukachha.*

between Thana and Supera.[1] Praise be to Christ the Creator of all things; if I had but a comrade I would abide for some time longer. But now I will get ready a church for the friars who may be coming, and I will leave my things and those of the martyrs, and all our books.

I must come away myself, both on account of the canonization of the holy brethren above-mentioned, and on account of religious and other business of a sufficiently perplexed and difficult kind. The bearer hereof will be able to explain to you what I cannot write myself for lack of time. I will only say a word as to the harvest to be expected, that it promises to be great and encouraging. Let friars be getting ready to come, for there are three places that I know where they might reap a great harvest and where they could live in common. One of these is Supera, where two friars might be stationed; and a second is in the district of Parocco, where two or three might abide; and the third is Columbus; besides many others that I am not acquainted with. But I have been told by our Latin merchants that the way to Ethiopia is open for any one who wishes to go and preach there, where once St. Matthew the Evangelist did preach. I pray the Lord that I may not die until I have been a pilgrim for the faith into those regions, for this is my whole heart's desire. I bid you farewell; and pray ye for me and

[1] Respecting Supera, see note to *Jordanus*, p. vi, to which the following notices may be added. It is perhaps the Sibór of Cosmas, which he mentions as one of the five chief ports of (the west of) India. It has been plausibly supposed to be the Ophir of Solomon, and to be connected with the name which the Coptic language gives to India. It is called Subára by Ibn Haukal and Edrisi, the former placing it four days, the latter five days from Kambaia, and specifying it as one of the chief Indian entrepôts. It is the Sufálah of Abulfeda. Gildemeister says of it, "*de cujus situ omnis interiit memoria.*" The following references, however, may assist, with those in the note already quoted, to ascertain it. Supera or Sufála, according to Reinaud quoting Langlois, answers to the place called by the Sanscrit writers *Subahlika*, which, if true, shows that *Sufala* rather than Supera was the genuine form of the name. Now, Padre Vincenzo Maria, in the middle of the seventeenth century, when proceed-

commend me to all the faithful. Dated from CAGA[1] the 12th day of October, in the year of the Lord 1321.

NO. VI. A SECOND LETTER FROM FRIAR JORDANUS.[2]

. . . . . .

After the martyrs obtained their glorious crowns I came to Thana, as I have before related, and buried the bodies of those saints. Since then I have continued alone in the said city and the adjoining territory, for two years and a half, going out and in, but unworthy to partake of the crown of my happy comrades. Alas me, my fathers! alas me, thus left an orphan and a wayfarer in this pathless and weary wilderness! Alas for the evil and hateful day which, for the salvation of other souls, so haplessly separated me from my sainted comrades, unwitting of their coming crowns! Would that it had pleased the Lord most High that then the earth had swallowed me quick, and that I had not been left behind them, unhappy that I am, amid such miseries!

ing to Surat, tells us that he landed at *Suali*. Tavernier also says that ships for Surat moor at *Suali*, which is only four leagues from Surat, and two to the north of the Tapti; and Suali is shown in the same position by Rennell, agreeing with that assigned by Ptolemy to Suppara *north* of the Tapti. Is it rash to say that Suali, which is thus precisely identified, may mark for us the true site of Sufala or Supera? (*Montfaucon Coll. Nova Patrum*, ii, p. 336-339; *Jaubert's Edrisi*, i, 171; *Gildemeister*, pp. 45, 179, 189; *Reinaud, Mem. sur l'Inde*, 221; *P. Vincenzo Maria*, Viag., p. 109.) Lassen, however, gives *Súrpáraka* as the Sanskrit name of Suppara, without noticing the alleged *Subahlika* or the recently existing Suali, and identifies the ancient city in site with the modern Surat. (*Ind. Alterthumsk.*, i, 107; iv, 957, and Map in the third volume.)

[1] Not having seen these letters when I translated the *Mirabilia* of Jordanus, I was led by the French editor's remarks on them to suppose that Caga was to be looked for in the Persian Gulf. With the letters before us we see that it is obviously to be looked for in the west of India, and there can be little doubt that it is, as has been explained by Professor Kunstmann, the port of Gujerat, which we call *Gogo*, opposite to the Paroço and Supera of Jordanus. Gogo appears in the Catalan Map of 1375, and is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as Kúkah.

[2] The address and first part of this letter, as given by Wadding, are borrowed from the preceding letter. But the *address* probably *was* the same.

Who is able to tell all the hardships that I have since endured? For I have been taken by pirates, cast into prison by the Saracens, been accused, cursed, reviled, and left this long time past like some good-for-nothing vagabond, to go about in my shirt, without the habit of my holy order. O, what hunger and thirst, what cold and heat, yea burning rather, what curses, what diseases, what poverty and persecutions, what detraction from false Christians, what severities of climate, and what an infinite number of other hardships have I not endured since those holy martyrs won their crowns! Where shall I find tears sufficient to bewail my desolate position! But these things and more, even unto death, I am ready to bear gladly for the sake of the beloved Jesus; and may He in the end reunite me in blessedness to my blessed comrades.

In addition to all that I have mentioned, and to the extremity of poverty, I suffer continually from bodily ailments. Tortured by pains, sometimes in the head, sometimes in the chest, in the stomach, or in all my limbs in turn, here am I left in my solitude with no human aid. For there is a horrid schism among the people in reference to me. One day they are well disposed; another day quite the reverse, because of those who mislead them. I have, however, been happy enough to baptise more than a hundred and thirty of either sex, and there would be a glorious harvest if the holy friars would come; but they must be ready to bear all things with patience, and martyrdom with gladness. To you then I turn dear brethren, beseeching you with tears to grant this consolation to a hapless pilgrim bereft of his holy comrades. Let the holy friars come then, let them come with souls established in patience, that the harvest of baptised souls may be kept from the evil one, and after it has been threshed, in the Lord's own time may be treasured in His garner!

But I must say a word as to the voyage to Ethiopia, which

it would be very fitting that some friar willing to go thither to preach should undertake. He might go thither at small cost from the place where I now am, and, from what I have heard, it would be a glorious journey for the diffusion of the faith.

Let me tell you that the fame of us Latins is more highly thought of among the people of India than among us Latins ourselves. Nay, they are in continual expectation of the arrival of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books.[1] And, moreover, they are continually praying the Lord, after their manner, to hasten this wished-for arrival of the Latins. If our lord the Pope would but establish a couple of galleys on this sea, what a gain it would be! And what damage and destruction to the Soldan of Alexandria! O, who will tell this to his holiness the Pope?[2] For me, wayfarer that I am, 'tis out of the question. But I commit all to you, holy fathers. Fare ye well, then, holy fathers, and remember the pilgrim in your prayers. Pray for the pilgrim of Christ, all of you, that the Indian converts, black as they are, may all be made white in soul before the good Jesus, through his pitiful grace. I end my words with many a sigh, most heartily recommending myself to the prayers of all.

Dated in THANA of India, the city where my holy comrades were martyred, in the year of the Lord 1323, in the month of January, and on the feast of the holy martyrs Fabian and Sebastian.[3]

[1] These prophecies are also mentioned by Jordanus in his *Mirabilia* (p. 23). Nieuhof says the Chinese also had an old prophecy that a nation of white men from afar should one day conquer their country. The like tales of the Mexicans will be remembered; and such also were said to be current among the Karens of Burma.

[2] Marino Sanuto also looked forward to the Pope having a fleet in the Indian Ocean, but he was first to get Egypt under his thumb. (*Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, etc., p. 94.)

[3] 20th January. The date (January 1323) must mean, I think, our January 1324. For he has been *two and a half years* alone since the

NO. VIII. LETTER FROM PASCAL OF VITTORIA, A MISSIONARY FRANCISCAN IN TARTARY, TO HIS BRETHREN OF THE CONVENT OF VITTORIA, 1338.

Dearly beloved fathers, your sanctities are aware that when I quitted you I proceeded to Avignon in company with the dear father Friar Gonsalvo Transtorna. Thence we went, with the blessing of the reverend the general, to get the benefit of the Indulgence at Assisi; and after that we embarked at Venice on board a certain carrack, and sailed down the Adriatic sea. We next sailed through the sea of Pontus,[1] leaving Sclavonia to the left and Turkey to the right, and landed in Greece at Galata near Constantinople, where we found the father Vicar of Cathay in the Vicariat of the East. Then, embarking on another vessel, we sailed across the Black Sea,[2] whose depth is unfathomable, to Gazaria[3] in the Vicariat of the North, and in the empire of the Tartars. Then traversing another sea which has no bottom,[4] we landed at TANA.

And having got thither sooner than my comrade, I found my way with some Greeks by waggons as far as SARRAY;[5]

martyrdom, whereas if 1323 were meant the time would really be considerably under two years.

[1] The Propontis or Sea of Marmora, is what he calls Mare Ponticum. It is curious to find the country so near the capital of the empire called *Sclavonia*.

[2] "*Mare nigrum*."

[3] The Gazaria of Rubruquis is precisely the Crimea, but I believe the term sometimes is extended towards the Don.

[4] A curiously erroneous notion of the Palus Mæotis. *Tana* is Azov.

[5] *Sarai*, the capital of the Khans of Kapchak, founded by Batu, stood on the left bank of the Achtuba or northern branch of the Wolga. Pallas describes the remains of *two* cities on the river mentioned, one not far below its bifurcation from the main Wolga on a salt and sterile plain called Zarefpod, about two hundred and forty miles from the Caspian, the other at Selitrennoi Gorodok, much further down. The latter position seems more consistent with Pegolotti's statement that you could go from Gittarchan to Sarai in one day (even supposing that Gittarchan or old Astracan was somewhat higher than the present city), and also with the statements of Arabian geographers that Sarai was only two days from the

whilst my comrade, with some other friars, was carried on further to URGANTH.[1] I was willing enough to go with him, but after taking counsel on the matter, I determined first to learn the language of the country. And by God's help I did learn the Chamanian language, and the Uigurian character;[2] which language and character are commonly used throughout all those kingdoms or empires of the Tartars, Persians, Chaldæans, Medes, and of Cathay. My comrade turned back from Urganth and went to you again. But I could not bear to return, like a dog to his vomit, and I was desirous to obtain the grace conceded by his holiness the Pope, so I would not turn back. For you must know that all of us friars who come into these parts have the same

Caspian. There are modern Russian authorities on the site and ruins of Sarai referred to by Von Hammer and Reinaud, but these are not available to me. The name of the city merely means the *Palace* (Serai, Serail, Seraglio). Ibn Batuta says that starting at early morning to traverse the city he did not reach the opposite side till past noon. Sarai was twice taken by Timur, and was entirely destroyed by him. (*Pallas, Voyages*, Paris An. II, vii, 175, 388; *Hammer-Purgstall, Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 9 and 431, etc.; *Reinaud's Abulfeda*, II.)

[1] Urghanj or Jorjaniah, formerly the chief city of Khwarezm, the country now known as Khyva. It stood on both banks of the Oxus, with a bridge connecting them. It was the scene of awful devastation and massacre by the Mongols under Jenghiz in 1221, and a hundred thousand of the only class spared, the artizans, are said to have been transported to Mongolia. It must have recovered to some considerable extent in the next hundred years, from the notices in Pegolotti and Ibn Batuta; but the river deserted it and it fell into entire decay. It is the Urgence of Anthony Jenkinson, who describes it in 1558 as an ill-built mud town in a depressed state. New Urghanj, which is the present commercial capital of Khyva, is some sixty miles east of the site of the old city, near the present channel of the Oxus. The lists of Minorite convents in Kipchak, given by Wadding, contain a name which looks as if meant for Urghanj (*Organae, Orgune*), but it seems unlikely, considering the bigoted Islamism of the people, that this should have been the place.

Col. James Abbott visited the ruins of Urghanj on his journey from Khyva, but mentions nothing of much interest. (*D'Ohsson*, i, 265-270; *Wadding*, under 1400; *Abbott's Journey*, i, 214.)

[2] The Comanians were Turkish according to Klaproth, and Rubruquis says, "*Apud Iugures est fons et radix idiomatis Turci et Comanici.*" The name is supposed to be connected with the River Kuban. As to the character, see note above, p. 205.

privileges as those who go with licence to Jerusalem; that is to say, the fullest indulgence both *a pœnâ* and *a culpâ*, and those who persevere unto the end, a crown of life.

Therefore, my fathers, from the time when I had acquired the language, by the grace of God I often preached without an interpreter both to the Saracens and to the schismatic and heretical Christians. I then received a mandate from my vicar to the effect that on receipt of his letter I should in salutary obedience to him, as in duty bound, proceed to finish the journey which I had commenced.

I had now been staying more than a year in the aforesaid Sarray, a city of the Saracens of the Tartar empire, in the Vicariat of the North, where three years before a certain friar of ours, Stephen by name, suffered honourable martyrdom at the hands of the Saracens.[1] Embarking on a certain

[1] Pascal no doubt resided in one of the convents of his Order, of which there was one at Sarai, and a second, called St. John's, three miles from the city. The story of Stephen of Peterwaradin, belonging to the latter, may be read in Wadding, and is very interesting. This young monk, in 1334, resenting some severe discipline, deserted and publicly professed Islam; but was afterwards seized with remorse, and as publicly recanted his apostasy. The enraged Mahomedans hacked him in pieces in sight of the fire that was to have burnt him. (*Wadding*, vii, 159-166.)

Wadding prints, under 1400, but apparently referring to a much earlier period in the fourteenth century, old lists of convents of the Order in the empire of Uzbek. These amounted to ten convents in the Custodia of Sarai, besides four in that of Gazaria or the Crimea. Those of Sarai are as follows:—

Thana . . .	*i.e.*	Azov.
Agitarcan . .	„	Astracan.
Sarai . . .	„	The capital.
Comuch or Coinuch	„	The province of Kumuk or Land of the *Kumuk* Tribe south of R. Terek (*Gumik* of Masudi, ii, 40).
Tarchis . . .	„	Terki at the mouth of the Terek, previously *Samander*; now represented by Kisliar higher up. Distinct from modern *Tarkhu* (see *Laprimaudaie*, p. 269; *Hammer, Gold. Hord.*, p. 8; *Prairies d'Or*, ii, 7; *V. du Chev. Gamba*, ii, 351).
Mamuui or Mauuiti .	„	Perhaps Memak, near Sarai (*Hammer*, p. 10; *P. de la Croix*, i, 294; ii, 101).
Mager . . .	„	Majar on the Kuma; see Intr. to Ibn Batuta, *infra*.
Ugueth, Uguech .	„	Ukek, a city between Sarai and Bolgar on the Wolga (*P. de la Croix*, ii, 355, 383), Oukaka of Marco Polo, Ukak of Ibn Batuta (ii, 414). Perhaps Oweke of Anth. Jenkinson, which he places in 51° 40′.

*

vessel with some Armenians, I departed thence by the river called Tygris,[1] and then along the shore of the sea which is called VATUK,[2] till I came in twelve days' travel to SARACHIK.[3] From that place I got on a cart drawn by camels (for to ride those animals is something terrible), and on the fiftieth day reached Urganth, which is a city at the extremity of the empire of the Tartars and the Persians. The city is otherwise called HUS, and the body of the blessed Job is there.[4]

Thence I again mounted a camel-cart, and travelled with a party of accursed Hagarenes and followers of Mahomet, I being the only Christian among them, with a certain servant called Zinguo, until by God's grace we reached the empire of the Medes.[5] What my sufferings have been there, how

Ac-Sarai . . . „ { "White Building;" perhaps *Al Baidha* (same signif.), which Edrisi couples with Samander, and possibly the *Abserai* (for *Akserai*?) of the Catalan Map, on coast below Terki.

Organæ, Orgune . „ See Note 1, preceding page.

From another list given by Wadding under 1314, we may add *Beler*, probably Bolar or Bolgar on the Wolga, and S. Joannes, the Monastery of Stephen above-named.

[1] The Wolga; but why does he call it Tigris? Polo also calls the Wolga by this name, as Pauthier shows (p. 8); whilst Josafat Barbaro gives the same name to the Araxes (*Ram.*, ii, 98).

[2] Vatuk, for Bacuk or Bákú; the Caspian, see note, p. 50.

[3] Saraichik, "The Little Palace," on the river Jaic or Ural, at a day's journey from the Caspian, in a low bad situation, was afterwards the head-quarters of the Nogai Horde. Jenkinson mentions it as a place existing in 1558. Pallas found the fortifications still to be seen with a circuit of four or five versts (two and two-thirds to three and one-third miles). Ruins were traceable, with tiles of great size and many tombs.

[4] So Ibn Batuta says that between Sarai and Urghanj is a journey of thirty or forty days, in which you do not travel with horses, for lack of forage, but in carts drawn by camels. Water is found at intervals of two or three days (ii, 451, and iii, 2-3). Pegolotti makes the distance twenty days in camel-waggon. Jenkinson's companion, Richard Johnson, allows fifteen days only, but all his times appear too short.

I can find nowhere else any story connecting Urghanj with Job or Hus. It looks like some misapprehension. There is a tomb of Job in Oudh!

[5] This title, given by the writer to the Tartar Khanate of Chagatai or Transoxiana, is a curious misnomer, originating no doubt in a blunder easily explained. This empire, lying as it did intermediate between Cathay and Persia, was called "The Middle Empire," *Imperium Medium*, as we actually find in a letter of Pope Benedict XII addressed to its

many and how great, God himself knoweth, and it would be a long story to tell in a letter. However, the Emperor of the Tartars had been slain by his natural brother, and the caravan of Saracens with which I travelled was detained by the way in the cities of the Saracens, for fear of war and plunder.

Hence I was long tarrying among the Saracens, and I preached to them for several days openly and publicly the name of Jesus Christ and his gospel. I opened out and laid bare the cheats, falsehoods, and blunders of their false prophet; with a loud voice, and in public, I did confound their barkings; and trusting in our Lord Jesus Christ I was not much afraid of them, but received from the Holy Spirit comfort and light. They treated me civilly and set me in front of their mosque during their Easter;[1] at which mosque, on account of its being their Easter, there were assembled from divers quarters a number of their *Cadini*,[2] *i.e.*, of their bishops, and of their *Talisimani*,[3] *i.e.*, of their

sovereign (*Wadding*, vii, 212), and in John Marignolli. In Andrea Bianco's Map of the World in St. Mark's library it is called "*Imp. de Medio*, i.e., *seu Côbalek*" (for Armalek). But the Carta Catalana makes the same mistake as Pascal, calling it the empire of "*Medeia*", and the Portulano Mediceo also, in the Laurentian library, makes *Armaloc* capital of the "*Imp. Medorum.*" Media seems always to have bothered mediæval travellers and geographers who thought it their duty to find Medes extant as well as Persians. Hayton's Media embraces Kurdistan and Fars; Clavijo puts it between Persia proper and Khorasan.

[1] The *Bairam*, one of the great Mahomedan festivals entitled *'Id*, is (Herbelot says) "commonly called the Easter of the Turks." (See *Note* at p. 154.) The Christians applied this name to it, because of its following the fast of Ramazan, which was (more appropriately) termed the Mahomedan Lent. And the Mahomedans also conversely applied the term *Bairam* to the Easter of the Christians.

[2] *Kadhi* or *Kazi* is properly a judge, but from the quasi-identity of Mahomedan law and divinity, he deals with both. He is a Dr. Lushington rather than a bishop.

[3] I cannot make out what this word is. It is used (*Thalassimani*) in the same sense by Barbaro in Ramusio (ii, 107); and, as Mr. Badger tells me, also (*Talismans*) in Rycaut's *History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (p. 204). *Talismani* are also repeatedly mentioned in the Turkish Annals translated by Leunclavius, and in his *Pandectæ* appended

priests. And guided by the teaching of the Holy Ghost I disputed with them in that same place before the mosque, on theology, and regarding their false Alchoran and its doctrine, for five-and-twenty days; and in fact I was barely able once a-day to snatch a meal of bread and water.

But by the grace of God the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was disclosed and preached to them, and at last even they, in spite of their reluctance, had to admit its truth; and, thanks be unto the Almighty God, I carried off the victory on all points, to the praise and honour of Jesus Christ and of Holy Mother Church. And then these children of the devil tried to tempt and pervert me with bribes, promising me wives and hand-maidens, gold and silver and lands, horses and cattle, and other delights of this world. But when in every way I rejected all their promises with scorn, then for two days together they pelted me with stones, besides putting fire to my face and my feet, plucking out my beard, and heaping upon me for a length of time all kinds of insult and abuse. The Blessed God, through whom poor I am able to rejoice and exult in the Lord Jesus Christ, knoweth that 'tis by his marvellous compassion alone I have been judged worthy to bear such things for his name.

And now I have been graciously brought to ARMALEC,[1] a

thereto he explains *Talismani* to occupy a certain degree among the learned in Mahomedan law. He borrows a passage, which compares the chief mufti to the pope, the chief cadis to archbishops, cadis to bishops, hoggias (khwajas?) to presbyters, talismans to deacons, and dervishes to monks. (*Corpus Byzant. Histor.*, xxiv, pp. 318, 414, etc.)

My friend Mr. Badger thinks that the title has probably been "derived from *Tailasán*, a kind of hood of goat's or camel's hair, "*quale philosophi et religiosi, imprimis apud Persas, usurpare velut pro insigni solent*," just as *Cappuccino* comes from *Cappuccio*." If this is not the origin, may it be a Frank corruption of *talámiz*, scholars, students?

[1] Armalec, the *Almálik* of the Mahommedan writers, which again is the corruption of a Turkish name, and called by the Chinese *Alimali*, was the capital of the Khans of the family of Chagatai. It had been, however, the seat of a Turkish principality before the rise of the Mongols. (*D'Ohsson*, i, 111.) It stood on or near the Ili River; Klaproth says, "in the vicinity of the Kurgos of our day on the banks of the Alimatu, a tributary of the

city in the midst of the land of the Medes, in the vicariat of Cathay. And thus, beginning at Urganth, which is the last city of the Persians and Tartars, all the way to Armalec, I was constantly alone among the Saracens, but by word and act and dress, publicly bore the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. And by those Saracens I have often been offered poison; I have been cast into the water; I have suffered blows and other injuries more than I can tell in a letter. But I give thanks to God under all that I expect to suffer still greater things for his name, in order to the forgiveness of my sins, and that I may safely reach the kingdom of Heaven through His mercy. *Amen!*

Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ, and pray for me, and for those who are engaged, or intend to be engaged, on missionary pilgrimages; for by God's help such pilgrimages are very profitable, and bring in a harvest of many souls. Care not then to see me again, unless it be in these regions, or in that Paradise wherein is our Rest and Comfort and Refreshment and Heritage, even the Lord Jesus Christ.

And for that He hath said that when the Gospel shall have been preached throughout the whole world, then shall the end come, it is for me to preach among divers nations, to show sinners their guilt, and to declare the way of salvation, but it is for God Almighty to pour into their souls the grace of conversion.

Dated at Armalec, on the feast of St. Laurence, A.D. 1338, in the Empire of the Medes.[1]

Ili from the north." It is, perhaps, however *Old Kulja* (some twenty-six or twenty-eight miles above the modern Chinese frontier city of that name on the Ili), which is mentioned in recent Russian surveys. If this was Almalik it stood in about 80° 58½′ east longitude, and 43° 55′ north latitude. We shall find it spoken of again by Pegolotti and Marignolli. According to the translators of Baber the name of the city signifies in Túrki "a grove of apple-trees" (p. 1). The Russian Captain Valikhanof says that Almálik is now "a Turkestan village," and that he obtained gold coins and ornaments dug up on its site, but unfortunately he neglects to indicate that essential point. (*The Russians in Central Asia*, etc., London, 1865, pp. 62, 63).

[1] If souls transmigrate, that of Henry Martyn was in Friar Pascal!

NO. VIII. THE BOOK OF THE ESTATE OF THE GREAT CAAN, SET FORTH BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF SOLTANIA, CIRCA 1330.

(*Supposed to be the Dominican John de Cora.*)

Here beginneth the Book of the Estate and Governance of the Great Caan of Cathay, the Emperor Suzerain of the Tartars, and concerning the administration of his empire, and that of the others his princes, as these are set forth by a certain archbishop, called the Archbishop of Soltaniah,[1] *by command of Pope John the XXIInd of that name; translated from Latin into French by Friar John the Long, of Ypres, monk of the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer.*

1. The Great Caan of Cathay is one of the most puissant of all the kings in the world, and all the great lords of that country be his lieges and do him homage; and in chief three great emperors; to wit, the Emperor of Armalech,[2] the Emperor Boussay,[3] and the Emperor Usbech.[4] These three emperors send year by year live libbards, camels, and gerfalcons, and great store of precious jewels besides, to the said Caan their lord. For they acknowledge him to be their lord and suzerain. And great power and renown have these three emperors as it appeareth. For when the Emperor Usbech had war with the Emperor Boussaye and went forth to fight him, he brought upon the field 707,000 horsemen, without pressing hard on his empire.[5] What like then and how great must needs be the power of the Great Caan who hath such and so puissant barons for his lieges under him?

[1] "*Par un Arceusque que on dist larceusque Soltensis.*"

[2] This is *Cambalech* in the text, but it is obviously an error of transcription; Cambalech being correctly mentioned afterwards as the chief city of Cathay itself.

[3] The Ilkhan of Persia, Abusaid Bahadur, 1317-1335.

[4] Khan of Kipchak, 1313-1341.

[5] This was probably in 1318 when there was war between Abusaid and Uzbeg, and the latter threatened the northern frontier of Persia with a great army of horsemen. "He advanced," says the historian Wassaf, "with

His empire is called Cathan or Cathay.[1] It beginneth at the extremity of the east, and runneth down even unto Ynde the Greater; and stretcheth in a right line westward as far as one may travel in six months.

In this empire there be two great cities, Cambalec and Cassay. And all that are of the Caan's realm, great and small, be his serfs and slaves. And the folk of the land have so great obedience and fear for their lord the Great Caan of Cathay that they dare not to oppose him in any matter or transgress his commandment. Insomuch that once when one of his great princes had misbehaved in battle so as to deserve death, the Grand Caan when he knew it sent him a message desiring that he would send him his head. And as soon as he had read the letter, straightway there in the midst of his people without the slightest opposition or resistance he bowed his head and patiently let them cut it off. The Caan maintaineth justice right well, and that as well for great as for small.

Once a year, on the first day of the new moon of March, which is the first day of their year, the said emperor shows himself to his people dressed out in purple and gold and silver and precious stones. Then all the folk drop on their knees before him, and adore him, and say, "Lo this is our God upon earth, who giveth us in lieu of scarcity plenty and great riches, who giveth us peace and maintaineth justice!"

Then the emperor refuseth justice to no man, but thanks be to God Almighty, he delivereth the prisoners, and bestoweth his mercies and acts of compassion on all manner of people, who have need thereof, and require a favour at his hand. Only there be three manner of folk to whom he rendereth never mercy: to wit, such an one as hath laid

a vast army; the horses were clad in mail; the swords of countless horsemen flashed in the sun; every rider had three led horses behind him; like a roaring flood and a raging lion this host devastated the country round Darband." (*V. Hammer-Purgstall, Gesch. der Ilchane*, pp. 272, 372.)

[1] *Khitan*, and *Khitai*.

violent and reprobate hands upon his father or his mother; such as hath forged the king's money, which is of paper; and such as hath done any one to death by giving him poison to drink. To these three rendereth he never mercy.

On this day also he bestoweth many gifts, and great plenty of gold and silver and precious stones. And the smallest of the gifts that he bestoweth is worth at the least a *balisme*[1] of gold, whilst they are often worth .....[2] balismes. And one balisme is worth a thousand golden florins.

And the said emperor is pitiful and very compassionate. He provideth always for himself and for his lieges stores of wheat and of rice and of all manner of corn; and for this he hath barns and garners uncountable; and so when there is dearth in the land he openeth his garners, and giveth forth of his wheat and his rice for a half what others are selling it at. And thus he maketh great abundance to arise in the time of greatest dearth.[3] Likewise he maketh great alms to the poor for the love of God, and when any one is so infirm of body that he cannot win his bread, or so reduced to poverty that he hath not wherewithal to live, nor hath friends to do him good, then the emperor causeth provision to be made for all his needs.[4] And thus doth he throughout all his kingdom, nor doth he oppress any man throughout all his realm by extraordinary and strange exactions. And know ye for sure that he hath such riches from his revenues, and from the produce of his taxes and customs,[5] that his wealth and power are past telling. And he hath treasuries and great houses all full of gold and silver, and gems, and of other kinds of wealth and precious things, and especially in his chief towns.

Also in all his realm from city to city hath he other houses wherein dwell couriers who are sped both on foot and on

[1] See note to Odoric, p. 115. [2] Wanting in the original.
[3] On these magazines for public relief, see *Marco Polo*, i, 29.
[4] See *Jordanus*, p. 46, and *Marco Polo* as above.
[5] "*Gables de truuaiges et de malestouttes.*"

horseback. And these couriers and messengers have bells hung to their waists or to their whips. And so when one of these couriers cometh bringing the despatches of the emperor, and draweth near unto one of those houses aforesaid, he maketh his bells to jingle; and know that at this sound one of the other couriers in the house girdeth himself and taketh those despatches, and carrieth them off to another house; and so with the rest. And they stop not running, day nor night, until the letters be arrived whither they were to go. And thus the Emperor shall have in xv days news of a country that shall be as far off as three months' journey.[1] He receiveth also right courteously envoys and ambassadors from any foreign country or lordship, and furnisheth them with all that they require in coming and in going, throughout the extent of his realm.[2]

2. *Concerning the Sovereign Bishop, who is the Pope of the Empire of Cathay.*

This realm of Cathay hath a sovereign bishop, such as the Pope is with us. Those of the country and of his religion call him the *Grand Trutius*.[3] He is liegeman of the aforesaid Emperor the Great Caan, and obeyeth him as his sovereign lord. But the Emperor honoureth him above all other men. And when the Emperor rideth in his company he maketh him to ride close by his side. And the Emperor

[1] See *Odoric*, p. 138.

[2] See the narrative of Marignolli, and that of Shah Rukh's ambassadors in *Notices et Extraits*, tom. xiv. The rules for the provision of accommodation, etc., to ambassadors, may be seen in Pauthier's *Chine Moderne*, p. 212.

[3] Afterwards written the Grand *Trucins*. I cannot track the word, or say which is right. I suspect it is a mistranscription for *Tyuinus*. *Tuin* was a name used among the Tartars (among the Uigurs properly according to Quatremère) for a Buddhist priest. See *Rubruquis*, pp. 352, 355; *Quatremère's Rashideddin*, p. 198; *Hammer, Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, p. 217; *King Hethum's* Narrative in *Jour. As.*, s. ii, tom. xii, p. 289; and *Odoric, ante*, p. 83.

withholdeth from him no favour that he seeketh. This *Grand Trucins* hath always the head and the beard shaven, and weareth on his head a red hat, and is always clothed in red.[1] He hath the lordship and supremacy over all the clergy and all the monks of his law throughout all the said realm. And to him it belongeth to correct them in doctrine and in discipline; nor do the Emperors meddle with him or his orders. And among those clerks and monks of theirs be great prelates, bishops, and abbots, but all be subject to the Grand Trucins.

In every city of the said empire there be abbeys of men under vows, and also of women, who dwell in them according to the religion of that country, subject to the obedience and discipline of the Grand Trucins; so that there shall hardly be one city or town in the said empire wherein you shall not find an abbey, whilst in some there be eight or ten or more. And every abbey shall have at the least two hundred inmates. They be passing rich, and with that great wealth of theirs they do much alms before God. They live in great order, and keep their hours of service seven times a-day, and they get up early to matins. They have bells made of metal in the shape of a pent-roof on which they strike their hours. They keep chastity, and none of their clerks and monks do marry. They be idolaters and worship divers idols. And over these idols they say that there be four gods; and these four gods they carve in gold and silver, so as to stand out entire before and behind. And above these four gods they say that there is a greater God who is over all the gods, great and small.[2]

[1] See *Jordanus*, p. 46 and note.

[2] The four gods may be the four past terrestrial Buddhas who are found in Burma occupying the four sides of some temples, and the greater God over all may be the Adi Buddha of the Theistic Buddhists, who, according to Huc and Gabet, seems to be recognized in Mongolia and China, though unknown to the Buddhists of Ceylon and the Indo-Chinese countries.

3. *Concerning the state and condition of the realm of Cathay.*

The realm of Cathay is peopled passing well; and it hath no few cities that be greater than Paris or Florence; and a great multitude of places full of inhabitants, and smaller cities past counting. It hath likewise store of fine meadows and pastures, and of sweet-smelling herbs. And there be many great rivers, and great sheets of water throughout the empire; insomuch that a good half of the realm and its territory is water. And on these waters dwell great multitudes of people because of the vast population that there is in the said realm. They build wooden houses upon boats, and so their houses go up and down upon the waters; and the people go trafficking in their houses from one province to another, whilst they dwell in these houses with all their families, with their wives and children, and all their household utensils and necessaries. And so they live upon the waters all the days of their life.[1] And there the women be brought to bed, and do everything else just as people do who dwell upon dry land. And if you ask of those folk where were they born? they can reply nought else than that they were born upon the waters, as I have told you. And seeing that there be these great multitudes dwelling thus both on water and on land, the folk are in such great numbers that the cattle of the country suffice not for them, wherefore they have to bring them from other countries and for that reason flesh-meat is dear there. But in this country there is great store of wheat, rice, barley, and other kinds of corn. And so the Great Caan year by year collecteth of this great plenty, and storeth it in his garners, as hath been told above. And they have a rice harvest twice in the year.

There groweth not any oil olive in that country, nor wine of the vine, and they have none except what is brought from abroad, and for that reason the price thereof is high. But

[1] See John Marignolli, *infra*.

they make oil and wine from rice;[1] and all fruits grow there in very great abundance, excepting filberts which they have not. Sugar, however, they have in very great quantities, and therefore it is very cheap there.

The country is mighty peaceable, nor dare anyone carry arms or stir war therein, except those only who are appointed by the emperor to guard him or any city of his.[2]

In the empire of Boussaye aforesaid groweth a certain manner of trees which from their sap are of great help to the folk of the country. For there be some of them which from their bark give forth a white liquor like milk, sweet, savoury, and abundant, and the people of the country make drink and food of it as if it were goat's-milk, and that right gladly. And when they cut those trees anywhere, whether it be in the branches or elsewhere, they give forth where they were cut a manner of juice in great plenty, which juice hath the colour and savour of wine. And other trees there be which bear a manner of fruit as big as filberts, or as nuts of St. Gratian; and when this fruit is ripe the folk of the country gather it, and open it, and find inside grains like wheat, of which they make bread and maccaroni[3] and other food which they are very glad to eat.[4]

4. *On the ordering of the two cities of Cambalec and Cassay.*

These two cities are very great, and right famous. Each one of them hath good thirty miles of compass round the walls thereof. And so vast is the number of people that the soldiers alone who are posted to keep ward in the city of Cambalec are forty thousand men, by sure tale. And in the

[1] "Wine from rice and oil and from other seeds," he should have said.

[2] See Andrew of Perugia's letter, *ante*, p. 223, and Ibn Batuta, *infra*.

[3] "*Paste.*"

[4] I cannot explain these statements; nor tell what is called a *nut of St. Gratian*; (St. Gratian's day is December 18th.)

city of Cassay[1] there be yet more, for its people is greater in number, seeing that it is a city of very great trade. And to this city all the traders of the country come to trade; and greatly it aboundeth in all manner of merchandize. And the Saracens[2] aforesaid do very diligently guard the said cities by night and by day.

5. *Concerning the money which is current in the said realm.*

The Grand Caan there maketh money of paper. And this hath a red token right in the middle, and round about there be letters in black. And this money is of greater or of less value according to the token that is thereon; one is worth a groat[3] and another is worth a denier; and so some are worth more and some less. And they fix the value of their money of gold and silver with reference to their paper money.[4]

You find in this country a greater variety of merchandize than in the territories of Rome or of Paris. They have great store of gold and silver and of precious stones. For when any merchants from foreign parts come thither to trade, they leave there their gold and silver and precious stones, and they carry away the products of the country; spices, silk, cloths of silk and cloths of gold, of which they find great quantities for sale here.

The emperor above mentioned hath very great treasuries; indeed it is a marvel to see them; and these are for this paper money. And when the said paper money is too old

[1] The Cansay of Odoric, etc., *q. v.* Pegolotti also calls it Cassay.

[2] There are no Saracens mentioned before. But the word translated *soldiers* is "*servans*," which perhaps was "*Sarazins*." Or *vice versâ*, the *Sarazins* in the second passage should be *servans*.

[3] "*Maille*."

[4] The phrase is *avalicent leur monnoie dor et dargent à leur monnoie de pappier*, which Jacquet explains as in the text. The explanation does not seem very satisfactory, and the statement certainly is not true.

and worn, so that it cannot be well handled, it is carried to the king's chamber, where there be moneyers appointed to this duty. And if the token or the king's name is at all to be discerned thereon, then the moneyer giveth new paper for the old, deducting three in every hundred for this renewal. All their royal grants are also made on paper.

6. *Concerning the manner of life of the people of this country.*

The emperor's people are very worthily arrayed, and live in a rich and liberal manner. And though silk and gold and silver are in great plenty, they have very little linen, wherefore all have shirts of silk; and their clothes are of Tartary cloth,[1] and damask silk,[2] and other rich stuffs, oft-times adorned with gold and silver and precious stones. They wear long sleeves, coming down over their finger nails. They have sundry kinds of dishes made of canes, which are there very great and thick.[3] They eat meat of all kinds of beasts, and when they will make a great feast they kill camels, and make fine dishes of the flesh after their own fashion. They have fish in great abundance, and other things; and on these they live after their manner, as other people do after theirs.

[1] *Tartary cloth* is mentioned by Mandeville and other mediæval writers. No doubt it was some rich Chinese stuff, for the Tartars proper could scarcely have been entitled to a reputation for fine textures: Dante alludes to it—

> "Con più color sommesse e sopraposti
> Non fer mai in drappo Tartari ne Turchi
> Ne fur tai tele per Aracne imposta;"

and his expressions seem to imply that it was of variegated colours; shawl-work or embroidery perhaps. I find that Dozy says *Tatariyát* were robes of satin garnished with borders of gold stuff. (*Dict. des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, p. 94.)

[2] *Tamotas* (for *Camocas*, regarding which see a note upon Pegolotti, *infra*.)

[3] See Ibn Batuta, *infra*, and note.

7. *Of the manner in which they do bury their dead.*

When a child is born they take good heed to register the day of his birth, and when he dies his friends and kinsfolk put the body on a bier of paper adorned with gold and with silver; and on this bier they place myrrh and incense with the body. And then they put the bier upon a car, and this car is drawn by all of the dead man's kin to the place appointed specially; and there they burn the dead, with bier and car and all. And they give a reason for this, for they say that it is thus with fire that gold is purged, and so must the human body also be purged by fire, in order that it may rise again in all purity. When they have thus burned their dead they return to their houses, and in memory of the dead they cause an image to be made in his likeness. And this image they set in a certain place, and every year on his birthday they burn before this image lignaloes and other manner of fragrant spices; and so they keep the dead man's birthday in remembrance.[1]

8. *Concerning the Minor Friars who sojourn in that country.*

In the said city of Cambalec there was an archbishop, whose name was Friar John of Montecorvino, of the Order of Minor Friars, and he was legate sent thither by Pope Clement. This archbishop did establish in the said city three houses of Minor Friars, and these are a good two leagues apart one from another.[2] He made also two others in the city of Zaiton,[3] which is distant from Cambalec a three months' journey, and standeth upon the seashore. In

[1] Though burial of the dead appears to be the universal custom in China now, it is seen from many passages of Marco Polo that cremation was a usual practice in his day. See also Ibn Batuta, *infra*.

[2] We have seen the history of two of the churches in the archbishop's letters. The third must have been built at a later date.

[3] See Odoric, p. 97, and Ibn Batuta and Marignolli, *infra*. The latter about 1346 found three churches at Zayton also.

those two houses were two Minor Friars as bishops. The one was by name Friar Andrew of Perugia, and the other was by name Friar Peter of Florence.[1] That Friar John the archbishop converted a multitude of people to the faith of Jesus Christ. He was a man of very upright life, pleasing to God and men, and stood in high grace with the emperor. The emperor at all times caused him and all his people to be furnished with all that they required; and much was he beloved by all, pagans as well as Christians. And certes he would have converted that whole country to the Christian Catholic faith, if the Nestorians, those false Christians and real miscreants, had not hindered him and done him hurt.

The said archbishop was at great pains with those Nestorians to bring them under the obedience of our mother the holy Church of Rome; for without this obedience, he told them, they could not be saved. And for this cause those Nestorian schismatics held him in great hate.

This archbishop, as it hath pleased God, is lately passed from this world. To his obsequies and burial there came a very great multitude of people, both Christians and pagans. And those pagans rent their mourning garments as their manner is; and both Christians and pagans devoutly laid hold of the clothes of the archbishop, and carried them off as reliques with great reverence.

So there he was buried with great honour, after the manner of faithful Christians. And they still visit the place of his interment with very great devotion.

9. *Concerning the Schismatics or Nestorian Christians who dwell in that country.*

In the said city of Cambalec there is a manner of schismatic Christians whom they call Nestorians. They follow the manner and fashion of the Greeks, and are not obedient

[1] One of the second batch of bishops, sent to the East in 1312.

to the holy Church of Rome, but follow another sect, and bear great hate to all the Catholic Christians there who do loyally obey the holy Church aforesaid. And when that archbishop of whom we have been speaking was building those abbeys of the Minor Friars aforesaid, these Nestorians by night went to destroy them, and did all the hurt that they were able. But they dared not do any evil to the said archbishop, nor to his friars, nor to other faithful Christians in public or openly, for that the emperor did love these and showed them tokens of his regard.

These Nestorians are more than thirty thousand, dwelling in the said empire of Cathay, and are passing rich people, but stand in great fear and awe of the Christians. They have very handsome and devoutly ordered churches, with crosses and images in honour of God and the saints. They hold sundry offices under the said emperor, and have great privileges from him; so that it is believed that if they would agree and be at one with the Minor Friars, and with the other good Christians who dwell in that country, they would convert the whole country and the emperor likewise to the true faith.

10. *Concerning the great favour which the Grand Caan beareth towards the Christians before mentioned.*

The Grand Caan supporteth the Christians in the said kingdom who are obedient to the holy Church of Rome, and causeth provision to be made for all their necessities; for he hath very great devotion towards them, and sheweth them great affection. And when they require or ask anything from him, in order to furnish their churches their crosses or their sanctuaries to the honour of Jesus Christ, he doth most willingly bestow it. But he desireth that they should pray God for him and for his health, and especially in their sermons. And most willingly doth he suffer and encourage the friars to preach the faith of God in the churches of the

pagans which are called *critanes*.[1] And as willingly doth he permit the pagans to go to hear the preachment of the friars; so that the pagans go very willingly, and often behave with great devoutness, and bestow upon the friars great alms. And so, also, this emperor most readily sendeth his people to lend aid and succour to the Christians when they have any need, and ask it of the emperor.

Here endeth the discourse concerning the governance of the state of the Grand Caan, sovereign Emperor of the Tartars.

[1] I have not been able to trace this term, but it probably contains the Sanscrit *Vihára*, a Buddhist monastery; perhaps *Viháraśthána*, if there be such a compound.

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KHANATE OF KIPCHAK
KHANATE OF CHAGATAI
KHANATE OF PERSIA
BAHARITE MAMELUKES
EMPIRE OF THE GREAT KHAN
EMPIRE OF THE SULTANS OF DELHI
CHURCHE
SOLANGHA
SIAM
TIBET
LARNAUTI
BANGA
CALCUTTA
Sketch
IBN BATUTA in BENGAL

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